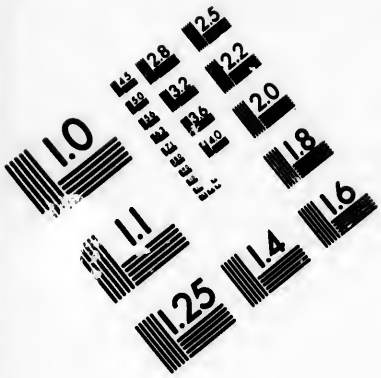

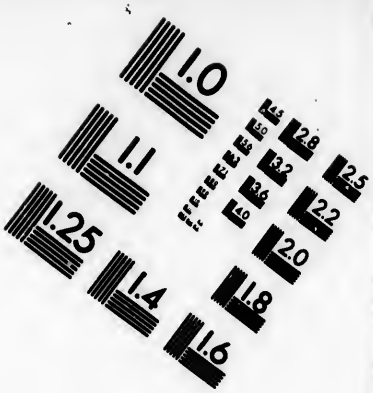

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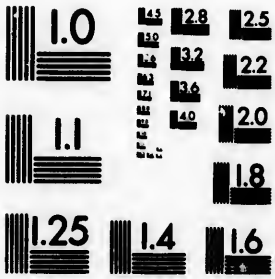

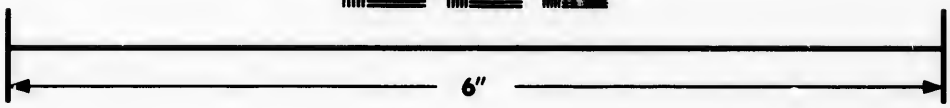

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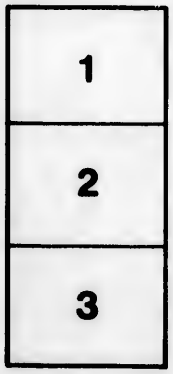

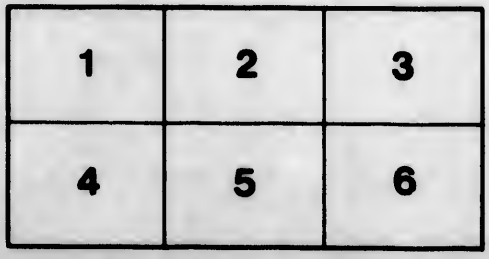

View of the City of Bangor

ALL AROUND THE WORLD

AN ILLUSTRATED RECORD

OF

Voyages, Travels and Adventures

IN ALL PARTS OF THE GLOBE.

EDITED BY

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With Hundreds of Illustrations,

AFTER DRAWINGS BY

GUSTAVE DORÉ, BÉRARD, LANCELOT, JULES NÖEL, AND OTHER EMINENT ARTISTS

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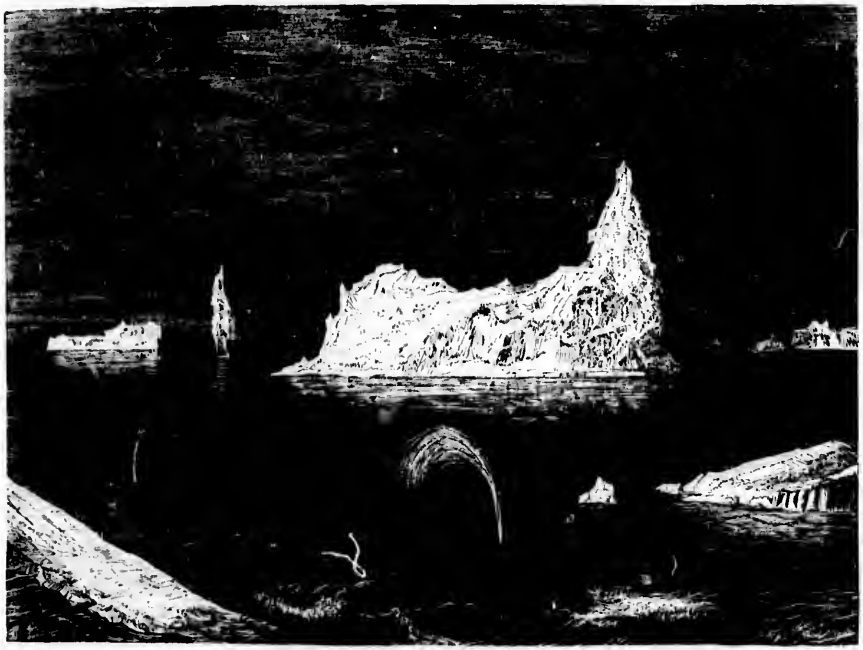

ICEBERGS OFF NEWFOUNDLAND.

I.

CROSSING THE OCEAN—AMONG THE ICEBERGS—HALIFAX—NEWFOUNDLAND DOGS—FISH-TRADE—NATIONAL WEAKNESSES—BOSTON—CURIOUS VEHICLES—AMERICAN HOTELS—COMMERCE—AGRICULTURE.

IT was a fine morning in the month of June that I sailed from Liverpool in the *Canada* for Boston. The steamer, of giant proportions, and capable of accommodating a considerable number of passengers, still did not suffice for the number of applicants, and many had to stay behind and follow in another of the Cunard line of packets. No sooner were we launched out of Prince's Dock, than the current carried us rapidly down the Mersey, and out into the open sea. Here we encountered a rough gale, which for two days kept most of the passengers down below, and balloted us about off the coast of Ireland. In the Atlantic, however, we found the sea to be less turbulent, and its long heavy swell seemed to give impetus to our progress to Newfoundland.

The monotony of the voyage, as also of this ever-recurring vision of a boundless expanse of waters, was interrupted as we were nearing the renowned fishing-banks by the presence of icebergs, which in their long journey from the north had melted away into the most strange and picturesque forms. At times they rose out of the sea in the shape of tall and sharp-pointed obelisks, at others they still retained their pristine rounded massive shape, and were even clad with the light snow-drapery of the Arctic regions. But they were all more or less creviced, and the deep cuts in their sides reflected the same azure blue tints as are seen in the fissures of Alpine glaciers.

Columns of water were thrown up here and there among the icebergs to a height of some seven to ten yards above the surface of the sea. These, we soon found, denoted the presence of whales that had pro-

bubly accompanied our icy neighbours in their journey from the north, and had been deceived by them into the belief that they were still in their native seas. Gradually a dense fog came over the stirring scene, and increased so in density that at last we could see nothing a few yards distance. The steamer was obliged, under these circumstances, to reduce its speed and proceed with the greatest caution. Not a person, even to the captain, but felt a certain amount of anxiety in thus navigating as it were in the dark, amid all these moving dangers. Needless to say that the sailors in the forecastle kept so sharp a look-out that their sight seemed to cut the fog. Thanks to them we reached the next day in safety the harbour of Halifax, hollowed out amid wood-clad hills in the shape of a pumpkin, with a narrow neck and a full round base. Luckily we had taken a hasty sketch of an ice-scene on the Newfoundland banks before the fog came on and wrapped everything in obscurity, and we present it to our readers at page 1.

Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, is built in the form of an amphitheatre, upon the slope of a hill. As we emerged from the gloom through which we had been voyaging, the effect of the magnificent harbour before us was enchanting. Dark-green spruce forests, emitting a delicious balsamic perfume, clad the coasts which swelled into undulating hills in the distance, canopied by a sky of unclouded blue, and the bay was dotted with strange-looking boats. Presently we ran along a line of wharves covered with piles of cod-fish and barrels, until we came to our moorings, where all Halifax appeared to be assembled.

And now commenced a bewildering scene of confusion, from which I quickly escaped, being delighted to exchange the confinement of the ship for an hour's run on shore. Accompanied by some fellow-passengers, I rushed to the citadel, and then mounted the heights, from whence there is a glorious view. Every object wore a novel aspect. The trees were different, the houses unlike our own, the flowers new, and to make the change still more striking, tiny humming-birds flashed like streaks of golden light before us. These fairy visitants from distant Florida, which have hitherto defied captivity in Europe, made me forcibly aware I was now indeed far from home. Of Halifax there is but little to be said, and that little is truly and well related by "Sam Slick," who is familiar with the town which he thus describes:—"A few sizeable houses, with a proper sight of small ones, like half-a-dozen old hens with their brood of young chickens." Gallantry, however, ought to have prompted him to add that the girls are pretty, a fact well known by officers who have been quartered here. But the great living feature of the place are the troops of noble Newfoundland dogs, with huge bushy tails and shining black hair, which are met with in all parts of the town. They are principally fed on fish: here a drug, seeing there are annually exported from Halifax about 500,000 barrels and boxes of dried cod.

Soon, too soon, the signal gun summoned us on board again, where we found the decks encumbered with a chaotic heap of coals, ice, and lobsters. Another gun announced the arrival of the mail; the gangway was removed, and we steamed out of the harbour as the sun was sinking in a flood of golden and purple glory beneath the western wave.

The remainder of the voyage (560 miles) was most prosperous. The Bay of Fundy, which bears a terrible reputation for its stormy waters, was, during our passage across it as smooth as a mirror; and thus, with the happy prospect of soon reaching our destination, even the most sallow-visioned among us wore a cheerful appearance. With the object, it is to be presumed, of exhibiting the extraordinary resources of the *cuisine*, our last dinner eclipsed all its predecessors in excellence and abundance. Salmon, as fresh as the day they were captured, appeared at the head of each table, and after an endless succession of dishes and *entremets*, wonderful artistic confectionary, displaying amicable relations between the United States and Great Britain, graced the board.

The intelligence that we should be in Boston by dawn brought me on deck in time to see the sun rise in crimson majesty, just as we were steaming into the outer harbour. Early as it was, nearly all the passengers were on the alert. A change had come over some of them which was almost ludicrous. The American ladies, with that sensitive regard for outward adornment which characterises them, had exchanged their sober sea-garments for robes of dazzling hues, in which, with bonnets of gaudy texture, and a superabundance of jewellery, they promenaded the deck. It seemed as if we had embarked a company of gaily-dressed ladies bound on a party of pleasure; for nothing could be greater than the contrast between our female friends as they had become familiar to us, and as they now appeared in their butterfly attire.

Compared with our bold western coasts, the eastern shores of America are very tame. Low land stretches as far as the eye can reach, skirted by small islands, between which lies the sinuous passage to Boston. Faithfully remembering the picturesque cliffs of the Emerald Isle, Mr. Weld relates on his first approaching the American coast, I confess I was considerably astonished by one of the patriotic Americans passing his arm through mine, and, pointing to the thin line of coast scarcely discernible from the sky, asking at the same time whether "that was not fine?" This large and rather unceremonious demand on my admiration perplexed me; for, unwilling on the one hand to offend, stepping on the threshold of his country, I was equally unprepared to assent to his proposition. Without compromising my regard for truth, I answered in a manner which I trusted would relieve me from all further questions of a like nature; but I was disappointed; and I do not exaggerate when I state there was scarcely an object on land or water I was not called upon to admire. This distressing pertinacity to worm from me praise when really, as it appeared to me, none was merited, recalled to mind a story told of a similarly exacting American, who, after sundry abortive attempts to exact admiration from Lord Metcalfe, who had just arrived in America during the winter season, exclaimed, "Well, I guess you'll allow that this is a clever body of snow for a young country."

As winter was not in the ascendant at the time of my visit, there was no snow to be lauded; but I half expected, when my admiration hung fire, that my persecutor would have appealed to me whether the sun was not redder and hotter than in England—a proposition which would have gained my immediate assent. As it was, I fear my coldness was annoying, as, probably with the view of taking his revenge, he pointed to the sea on our starboard, informing me, with a triumphant tone, "There, sir, we threw

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in the tea;" an act which, though perpetrated as far back as 1773, is remembered with great satisfaction by all patriotic Yankees; and lest my knowledge of that transaction was insufficient to make me fully aware of the bold independence of the American character, the republican—still linked to my arm—raised his hand from the saline tea-pot, and drew my attention to a tall, chimney-like structure, crowning North Boston heights. Conceiving the object was attached to some large factory, I hazarded a remark to that effect, which elicited the exclamation, and with considerable warmth, "No, sir, that is the famous Bunker-hill monument, erected"—but I spare my readers the rest; not that they would, I feel assured, wince under the announcement that the monument is a landmark of honourable American independence, but that they have had enough of little national weaknesses.

How long these would have been indulged in I know not; but happily we were now fast approaching our destination. Small, gaily-painted craft, differing in their rig from our coasting vessels, danced lightly over the green waters, mingling here and there with noble ships arriving and departing.

The delicious purity of the atmosphere cast a charm over the scene, which increased in interest as we approached the pier. Early as was the hour, our guns, which had been fired on entering the harbour, attracted a crowd of persons to witness our arrival. After threading fleets of merchant ships, the engines rested from their labours at the landing-place of the Cunard steamers, which is at East Boston: and as soon as the gangway was adjusted, I stepped on shore, thankful that, after many a long day-dream, I was at length in the United States

Remembering the long voyage, the effects of which were manifest in the erratic motion of my legs, it was startling to hear English spoken on all sides. There were, however, some novel and strange features in the scene; the strangest being a wonderful contrivance called a stage, slung on two enormous leather straps, which passed completely under it. The pannels were curiously carved and painted, and the interior ingeniously fitted—fixed, in Yankee phraseology—to contain nine persons seated on three cross-seats. The whole affair looked so antiquated, I thought it must have been imported from England in the days of our forefathers. There were several of these coaches waiting; but before we could avail ourselves of their services, we had to pass the ordeal of the Custom House. This, thanks to excellent management, and great civility on the part of the officials, was an easy operation.

A baggage-entry certificate was placed in my hands, which I was directed to fill up; and having solemnly, sincerely, and truly declared that my luggage consisted only of wearing apparel, it was at once passed. The words "So help me God," in large type, give the declaration a solemnity which, it is presumed, impresses travellers with proper awe, and may in some cases prevent them making a false declaration.

Now came a wonderful packing scene, which in my case terminated by finding myself in one of the aforesaid stages with eight Americans, with whom I drove to the Revere House, which enjoys—and justly—the reputation of being the best hotel in Boston.

Much as I had heard respecting American hotels, I confess the gigantic reality of the Revere House greatly exceeded my expectations. Before making my toilette, I indulged in the luxury of a warm bath, which was ready at a moment's notice; and, having dressed, I sought the eating saloon, a magnificent apartment, tastefully decorated with fresco paintings, where I enjoyed a breakfast, affording such abundant choice, that I transcribe the bill of fare as a specimen of the variety in the commissariat department of American hotels.

Broiled.—Beef steaks—pork steaks—mutton chops—calf's liver—sausages—ham—squabs. *Fried.*—Pig's feet—veal and mutton kidneys—sausages—tripe—salt pork—hashed meat *Fish.*—Cod-fish with pork—fish balls—hashed fish—fresh salmon—broiled mackerel—broiled smoked salmon—Digby herring—halibut—perch with pork. *Eggs.*—Boiled—skinned—fried—scambled—dropped. *Omelets.*—Plain, with parsley, onions and ham—kidneys—cheese. *Potatoes.*—Stewed—fried—baked. *Bread.*—Hot rolls—Graham rolls—Graham bread—brown bread—dry and dipped toast—hominy—fried Indian pudding—cracked wheat—corn cake—girdle cake. And for beverage, tea, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, and iced milk. Here, I think, it will be granted, is a choice of good things sufficient to puzzle the most determined gastronomist; and if the articles which I did not taste were as good as those of which I partook, the most fastidious person could not find fault with the *cuisine* of Revere House.

Indeed, it is impossible to conceive a greater contrast than is presented by an English and an American hotel; the first comparatively small, quiet, dingy, and expensive; the latter vast, noisy, glaring, and, for the accommodation offered, moderate in charge; for, taking into account that a guest is provided with three meals daily of infinite variety, a bedroom, and the use of handsome drawing and reading rooms, two and a-half dollars, or half-a-guinea a-day, including attendance, is clearly a moderate charge.

The interior economy of these large establishments is extremely curious. Those fond of studying human character would find abundant occupation without stirring from the hall, as from early morn until late at night there is a perpetual coming and going of all manner of people. This constant surging human tide, ebbing and flowing, in large waves through the entrance hall, is felt in even the most retired parts of the house. But what would be wearisome and harassing to an Englishman is apparently pleasant to our Transatlantic friends, who seem only in their element when in a noisy crowd. These huge establishments do duty as boarding-houses as well as hotels, large portions being devoted to families, who rent rooms by the year, month, or week, and take their meals at the public tables. For the accommodation of these guests, there are suites of apartments superbly furnished, designated the ladies' drawing rooms, but to which gentlemen have easy access; for the doors, in summer at least, are never closed. Here groups of ladies congregate, in wonderfully rich and gay dresses, reclining on damask-covered sofas, or lounging in the universal rocking-chair,—a few reading, or playing the piano, but the majority passing a *dolce far niente* kind of existence, which would be insupportable to the thrifty and domestic English wife. I had heard so much of the American bar-room, that I felt considerable curiosity to see one of these places. The bar attached to the Revere House is a large and handsome apartment, furnished with a number of easy chairs and loungers, having a counter across one end, on which stand

numerous bottles and decanters, containing the ingredients for the infinite variety of drinks patronised by Americans. It is worthy of remark that customers are allowed to help themselves to as much spirits as they please; and although this practice might be supposed to lead to excess, such a result is not the case; the consequence being, less is drunk at a sitting—or rather standing—though the bar is more frequently visited. Thus the interests of the proprietors of these dram shops are better served by their apparent liberality; and the Bostonians, in one respect at least, follow the advice contained in the distich—

> "Solid men of Boston make no long orations;
> Solid men of Boston drink no strong potations."

The usual charge for a drink is a dime, or ten cents, equal to sixpence; and when it is remembered that the bar is frequented from morning till night, it may be imagined this department of the hotel is highly profitable.

Within a short distance of the bar, and generally on the same floor, is the barber's shop, without which no American hotel would be perfect. This apartment, conspicuous by a large barber's polo, gaily painted, over the door, is fitted with especial regard to the comfort of its *habitués*, comprising the majority of the male guests of the hotel, who are in the habit of submitting their faces and hair daily to the practised hands of black barbers. Reclining in velvet-covered chairs, with their feet on high rests, cushioned and covered with the same material, these luxurious Americans are operated on by the negroes in a most artistic manner; and a process which is generally unpleasant, if not positively painful, becomes, under their hands, easy and delightful.

Such are a few of the most striking features in American hotel life, as first seen by me at the Revere House; and while every provision is made to meet Jonathan's requirements, his go ahead propensities are equally studied—a fact of which I had early experience. Before breakfast, I left a large bundle of linen in my room, with orders that it might be washed by the following day. Happening to return to my chamber in about a couple of hours, I found, to my infinite astonishment, all my linen, beautifully washed, on the bed; and on expressing surprise at the quickness with which the operation had been effected I was assured it could have been equally well accomplished in fifteen minutes. This led me to cast a reproachful glance at my plethoric portmanteau, into which I had, with considerable thoughtfulness for clean linen comfort, stowed a dozen shirts, with other linen in like profusion. Why, when a wardrobe of dirty clothes can be converted into spotless purity in a few minutes, lying in bed while a shirt is washing is no hardship. And let it not be supposed my informant exaggerated. At a subsequent period of my travels, I had the curiosity to visit a laundry attached to a large hotel, for the purpose of seeing how this magic-like ablution is performed. The secret consists in using a variety of ingenious contrivances, and employing numerous girls, who have each a part to perform; so that a shirt which begins its rapid journey in a state of deep mourning, speedily assumes a lighter complexion, and emerges from the hands of the active maidens and machines in a few minutes, fit to do duty in a Saratoga ball-room. This, as the Yankees say, "is a fact;" and it is equally true that the charge for this rapid washing is a dollar per dozen articles, which is not reduced if a slower process be adopted.

Impatience to see the New-World city in which I had landed forbade my remaining longer in my hotel; and, accordingly, provided with my letters of introduction, I started to explore the town, particularly interesting to an Englishman, it having been founded by those sturdy Puritans who went forth from their fatherland bearing the flag of civil and religious liberty. I emerged on the common—a large open space planted with trees, surrounded on three sides by some of the best private dwelling-houses of the citizens. A great charm is given to these residences—which happily not smoke-canopied—by the rich-hued flowers of the creepers mantling the walls, and graceful acacias, silver maples, sumachs, and other trees which cast a graceful shade before the doors. It is worthy of remark that the public seats in the park are covered with sheet-iron, to preserve them from the whittling propensities common in the States. At the upper end of the common is the State House, from the summit of which I enjoyed a glorious panoramic view of Boston; and in order that this varied and really fine scene may duly impress American visitors, an inscription meets the eye, enumerating various important national events and acts, not omitting the drowning of the tea, and concluding with these words:

"Americans, while from this eminence scenes of luxuriant fertility, of flourishing commerce, and the abodes of social happiness meet your view, forget not those who, by their exertions, have secured to you these blessings."

Descending the slope on which Boston is built, I came to the business part of the city, and found in Washington Street nearly as much bustle as exists in one of our great London arteries. The omnibuses are particularly striking, from their gay decorations and the absence of conductors, whose functions are performed by the driver. He has full command over the door by means of a leather strap, buckled to his right leg; serving at the same time as a check-string. He feels a tug—the strap is slackened—the door opens—and the passenger, handing up the fare through a hole in the roof, alights and goes his way. Thus the services of a conductor are dispensed with; and in the case of private carriages driven by their owners, who are rarely accompanied by a servant, I observed when the carriage stopped the horse was anchored by a leather strap to a leaden weight placed on the *trottoir*. Continuing my explorations, I came to the streets adjoining the wharves, fringed by stately ships and numerous smaller craft. These streets are lined by huge warehouses, the majority of which contain piles of boots and shoes. The feverish pulse of commerce throbs in every vein of this part of Boston, which was literally encumbered by bales and boxes to such a degree, as to render passage through them extremely difficult. On my way back I visited Faneuil Hall, celebrated as the meeting-place of democrats; and the adjoining market-house, where the various edibles, instead of being exposed to view, repose in enviable coolness in large boxes filled with ice.

I now delivered my letters of introduction, which called forth an amount of hospitality that made my sojourn at Boston highly instructive and agreeable.

I was indebted to Mr. Brown, the head of the celebrated publishing house, for a most agreeable day spent at his beautiful country seat, about ten miles

from Boston. On our way we visited Fresh Pond, a lovely sheet of water, which in our little island would rank as a lake. The water rising from springs of crystalline purity, changes under the magic hand of frost to ice of exquisite transparency. Vast storehouses, to contain this luxury, constructed of double wooden walls lined with tan, are built on the shores, some of which are still full of ice.

The ice-crop has become an immense article of commerce in the United States. Boston is the great seat of the ice-trade—all the lakes and ponds near the city being put under requisition to meet the consumption; which, however, is so great and increasing, that additional lakes are in course of formation. It is necessary to live in an American summer temperature to appreciate the luxury, or necessity rather, of ice. Throughout the States it is as common as water. Walking through Boston at six in the morning, I saw a large block dropped at every door. Four dollars is paid for a regular daily supply of ice during the five summer months. Besides the consumption for domestic purposes, vast quantities are used for preserving provisions, the price being only 16 cents for 100 lbs. Before the great ice-commerce had been established, much inconvenience was felt by the serious obstructions occasioned by the sawdust cast into rivers, as rubbish, from the saw-mills. Now, sawdust being found the very best preservative of ice, there is a constant demand for it, and the rivers are, consequently, no longer obstructed.

After an early dinner, at which I was introduced to the delicious Catawba champagne grown in Ohio, Mr. Brown drove me through his farms—among the most productive in the neighbourhood of Boston. The usual crops are corn, hay, carrots, pumpkins, apples, besides cheese and butter. Land which, ten years ago, was only worth £40 per acre, is now worth £200, and is annually increasing in value. The pay of labourers is a dollar and a quarter per day. The absence of trim hedges strikes the eye accustomed to them in England. The buckthorn (*osmundi spectabilis*) partly supplies the want; and when planted close, is, by its terrible armour of thorns, an effectual barrier against trespassers. The primeval forest has disappeared in this locality, but the distant hills are still clothed with ancient trees; and only twenty years have elapsed since a wild turkey was shot in the neighbourhood of Mr. Brown's house.

Having made a considerable circuit, I found myself in the evening seated under the verandah of a charming house, inhabited by a relation of Mr. Brown, with a large family gathering round an *al fresco* tea, at which a great variety of American fruits and preserves were handed round. The scene reminded me of Italy; and the illusion was strengthened by the balmy atmosphere, a sunset of great glory, and fire-flies which played round us as we drove back to Mr. Brown's house at a late hour of the night.

II.

NAHANT—LONGFELLOW AND AGASSIZ—SALEM—MANUFACTURE OF BOOTS AND SHOES—MR. PRESCOTT—LAURA BRIDGMAN—LOWELL—THE "YOUNG LADIES"—LAWRENCE—MOUNT AUBURN—SCHOOLS.

THE following morning I returned to Boston, and embarked on board a steamer for Nahant, a fashionable watering-place about eight miles from the city, much resorted to by the Bostonians. The object of this excursion was to spend the day with Mr. Longfellow, who had kindly invited me to his summer residence.

On this occasion I was introduced to an American coasting and river steamer. Built as lightly as possible, the engine, working partly above deck, impels these boats about eighteen miles an hour. The saloons, of which there are always two, are very elegantly furnished; that devoted to the ladies abounding with every kind of luxurious seat. In strange contrast with this expensive refinement, is the closely-packed store of life-preservers, which, like the skeleton in the Egyptian banquet-halls, reminds one of death. These life-preservers, which the law compels every steamer to carry, are placed in an accessible part of the ship, and, as newspapers inform us, are unfortunately in frequent requisition. Indeed, so common are boiler explosions on board American steamers on the western waters, that it is customary for experienced passengers to assemble in the after part of the ship when the engines are started, as it is generally at that moment boilers give way.

Nahant is a singular-looking place, consisting of a long and narrow rocky tongue projecting into the blue waters of the Atlantic. It is dotted by small cottages, built in utter defiance of all æsthetic architectural principles, surrounded by tiny inclosures of sward, and carries at its extremity an hotel of such gigantic proportions, as at first sight to give rise to the idea that the superincumbent weight must submerge the peninsula. In one of these cottages, somewhat less ugly than its neighbours, I found Mr. and Mrs. Longfellow, and received from them a welcome corresponding in every way to their reputation for amiability and hospitality. Seldom, indeed, have I met with any person possessing a greater power of making the stranger feel at home than this celebrated poet. Accompanied by him I called on Professor Agassiz, to whom I had a letter of introduction from my friend Professor Owen. This visit was highly agreeable and instructive; for we found the eminent Professor at work on his embryological investigations, which have occupied his time during the last fifteen years. His position is admirably adapted for these interesting researches, as the disposition of the rocks provides him, at low water, with an infinite number of *aquaria*, abounding with marine animals. During the summer months, the Professor, who holds a chair in Harvard University, where he habitually resides, devotes his time to this favourite branch of natural history—having, at his father-in-law's cottage at Nahant every facility for the study. Nahant also presents a rich field to the geologist. I remember with much pleasure a walk along the cliffs with Mr. Longfellow and Professor Agassiz, during which the latter drew my attention to the curious geological features of the place, and particularly to the rocks of hornblende and syenite, traversed by veins of greenstone and basalt, exhibiting polished grooves and furrows, indicative of glacial action.

After an early dinner (our Transatlantic cousins have the good sense to abjure supper-hour dinners), Mr. Longfellow drove me with his wife to Lynn and Salem, about eight miles distant on the coast, famous for the prodigious number of boots and shoes manufactured by their industrious population.

The scenery of the Lynn coast reminded me strongly

of that in Lincolnshire. Vast reaches of ribbed sand are covered by sea-weed—

> "Ever drifting, drifting, drifting,
> On the shifting
> Currents of the restless main;
> Till in sheltered coves and reaches
> Of sandy beaches,
> Here has found repose again."

Marine villas occupy every desirable locality along the coast. One of these belongs to Mr. Prescott, the historian, with whom we spent the evening. Our conversation soon took a literary turn, principally in relation to the vexed question of copyright; and it so happened, while we were deep in argument, Mr. Prescott received letters from England, informing him that the decision of the House of Lords being adverse to a foreigner possessing copyright in England, his bargain with a London publisher for a new historical work, for which he was to have been paid £6,000, had become void. Some men would have exhibited disappointment at this reverse of fortune: whatever Mr. Prescott may have felt, it is due to him to state his kind manner underwent no change on the receipt of the intelligence. The reader will be gratified to know that, although the eyesight of this eminent historian is dim, he can yet see sufficiently to write with the aid of a frame. It was late when we returned to Nahant, and later when I arrived at the large hotel, where I had secured a bed. Here I had an opportunity of seeing the Bostonians to great advantage. Accompanied by Mr. Longfellow's brother-in-law, I visited the drawing-rooms—superbly furnished apartments—where some 200 ladies and gentlemen were assembled. The change was startling. A few minutes before I had been creeping, through the dark night, along the edge of the rugged cliffs, and now I was in the midst of a gay ball, which had this peculiarity, that while the ladies, who were young and pretty, were dressed as assuredly only American ladies dress, the men, for the most part, were attired in morning garments. The saloons were brilliantly illuminated; and some idea of the scale and economy of these American hotels may be formed from the fact that gas is specially manufactured for Nahant House, and laid on in every bed-room

While an excellent band set many feet in motion, the outer galleries were occupied by parties, including numerous couples, who, by their demeanour, showed these convenient localities are not inappropriately named "*the flirtation galleries*" I was greatly amused, the following morning, observing the ladies bathing; for as they are attired for the double purpose, as I presume, of bathing and being seen, there is no impropriety whatever in looking at the fair creatures in the water. The garments worn on these occasions are of the gayest colours, consisting of a Bloomer kind of costume, in which the upper part contrasts strongly with the lower. The head is generally surmounted by a quaintly-shaped white cap, which seems to have made a deep impression on the author of a poem on Nahant, who says—

> "Still where the sea beats on the shore,
> I sit and drink its music in—
> The music of its thunder-roar,
> And watch the white caps swirling o'er,
> The blue waves restless evermore."

In truth it is a strange scene; and does not abate in interest when the ladies emerge from the water, in their gaudy costumes, exhibiting trousers of all colours, and countless pairs of little white feet twinkling on the sand. This early bathing must be as conducive to health as it is to an exhilaration of spirits; for during my travels I saw no ladies with such glowing complexions as those at Nahant. In the words of an American enthusiast, "They come down to breakfast after their bath, freshened up, looking as sweet and dewy as an avalanche of roses."

The tourist, not pressed for time, may spend a few days most pleasantly at Nahant. From its position, it is constantly fanned by cool sea-breezes, which modify the great summer heats. Inclination prompted me to remain another day, particularly as I received a pressing invitation to dine with Mr. Prescott. My plans, however, obliged me to return to Boston, where I had yet to see some celebrities. Among these were Laura Bridgman, and that nearly equal wonder, Oliver Caswell. The asylum for the blind, where the triumph of educating these persons has been achieved, is about two miles from Boston. I found Laura and her companion seated on a sofa, conversing with a rapidity perfectly bewildering, the process being carried on by simply pressing the fingers on the palm of the hand. Laura, who is now twenty-six years of age, manifests so high an amount of intellectuality that considerable apprehension is entertained respecting her health, which is not very good. Her frame is slight, and when excited during conversation the convulsive twitches of the muscles in her forehead are most painful to witness. Strong exercise tends to tranquillise her, and fortunately she is not unwilling to walk several hours daily. She purposes writing her life. The dawnings of intellectual consciousness will doubtless form a singular psychological feature. The task of educating Oliver Caswell, who is younger than Laura, was very arduous. The latter is far quicker; as an instance of which she wrote her name in my note-book in half the time occupied by Oliver in the same operation.

Furnished with letters from Mr Abbott Lawrence, I visited Lowell, famous for its factories belonging to a corporation, and for its factory girls, better known by the more elegant title of the "young ladies" of Lowell. About an hour's railway drive brought me to that phenomenon to an Englishman, a smokeless factory town canopied by an Italian sky. Here water, pure, sparkling, and mighty in strength, from the Merrimac river, does the duty of steam-engines, driving huge wheels and turbines attached to enormous factories. To describe these is unnecessary, as they differ but little in their internal economy from those in our manufacturing districts. There are eight manufacturing corporations and thirty-five mills, which produce 2,139,000 yards of piece-goods weekly, consisting of sheetings, shirtings, drillings, and printing cloths. These are fully equal in quality to similar goods manufactured in England Not being in the trade, the "young ladies" interested me more than the spinning-jennies or looms; and before I had gone through one mill, I was ready to admit that the difference between a Manchester factory girl and a Lowell "young lady," is great indeed. The latter is generally good-looking, often pretty, dresses fashionably, wears her hair *à l'Impératrice* or *à la Chinoise*, and takes delight in finery, and flowers, which give a gay appearance to the factory-rooms But it would be unfair to institute a comparison between the Manchester and Lowell factory girl; as the former is born in that hard school where work is a life-long taskmaster, while the latter is gene-

rally the daughter or relative of a substantial farmer, who enters the mills for the purpose of gaining a little independence, and seldom remains there more than a few years. Thus the employment takes higher rank than with us, and the "young ladies" live in a manner that would greatly astonish an English factory girl. Requesting permission to see one of the Lowell boarding-houses, where the "young ladies" reside, I was directed to the establishment usually shown to visitors, but conceiving it desirable to step aside from the beaten track, I knocked at the door of a different house. The residences of the "young ladies" are excellent, forming rows separated by wide streets, shaded by a profusion of trees, and bright with flowers. My request to be permitted to see the house did not meet with ready assent. After some parley with the servant, the mistress appeared, and made particular inquiries respecting the object of my visit, adding, it was not her custom to show her house to strangers. This made me the more desirous of gaining admission; and having succeeded in satisfying the lady I was merely a curious Englishman, she allowed me to enter, and took great pains in showing me her establishment, assuring me had she been aware of my visit she would have put her house in order. But it needed no preparation to convince me the "young ladies" are admirably provided for. A large sitting room occupied a considerable portion of the basement floor, beyond which was the refectory; above were airy bed-rooms, well furnished, containing from two to four beds. The provisions, which my conductress insisted I should taste, were excellent; and when I add the "young ladies" are waited on, and have their clothes washed, with the exception of their laces, &c., which they prefer washing themselves, it will be seen they are very comfortable. For their board and lodging they pay six dollars a month, one-sixth of which is paid by the corporation; and as their average earnings are about three and-a-half dollars a week, it is evident that, if not extravagant in their dress, they have it in their power to save a considerable sum yearly. But I fear, from the number of gay bonnets, parasols, and dresses which I saw in the "young ladies'" apartments, a large proportion of the weekly wages is spent on these objects. At the same time it is right to add that the strictest propriety reigns throughout their community, comprising 1,870 females; and it was gratifying to hear that, although the famous *Lowell Offering* periodical has been discontinued, the books borrowed from the town library, for the use of which half a dollar is paid yearly, are of a healthy literary nature. The total number of operatives at Lowell when I visited it was nearly 10,000, and their savings invested in the bank of deposit 1,104,000 dollars.

Among the lovely resting places of the dead, Mount Auburn, near Boston, eminently merits mention. On my way to it I visited Harvard University at Cambridge, and Longfellow's house,—historically interesting, as having been the residence of Washington in 1775, when he commanded the American army. The drive to Mount Auburn is peculiarly English: fine elm-trees, two centuries old, cast their graceful branches across the road; and villas, with trim gardens and lawns, carry thoughts back to the old country. The cemetery, about 300 acres in extent, is remarkable for the picturesque disposition of the ground and variety of trees: unhappily, however, man has greatly marred these beauties by the frightful monuments, cenotaphs, and obelisks raised over the tombs—sufficient to convict the American nation of being, as yet, sadly ignorant of artistic taste. It was really a relief to turn from these wretched productions into the cool glades, where lovely flowers blossomed beneath the shade of cedars and cypresses, peopled by shrill cicalas. Had the monuments been less painful to the eye I should have dwelt longer among them; for some stand upon ground occupied by the remains of men of whom America has reason to be proud.

Nearly in the centre of the cemetery, and on the summit of a mount, rises a tower, commanding a fine panoramic view, from which the silent abode of death wears a beautiful appearance, for the repulsive monuments are shrouded by the thick woods. Undulating country, dotted by flourishing villages, stretches far to the west; gleaming lakes, which produce the famous ice-crop, lying in the richly-wooded hollows; while on the east, Boston, with its wide-spreading suburbs, and its restless tide of human life, extends to the verge of the cemetery within which the weary are at rest. Gazing on this picture, flooded by the golden light of the setting sun, thought recurred to that period, not far distant, when the country fringing the Atlantic, where now mighty cities throb with the energy of millions, was little better than a trackless wilderness.

All the establishments in this city are on a very extensive scale. The educational institutions are models of excellence. The reproach which long attached to Boston, with respect to its poor theatre, is now removed by the erection of a magnificent structure, capable of containing 4000 persons. To the numerous literary institutions already existing in Boston, a public library has recently been added, which is supported by city funds. The establishment is free to all inhabitants of Boston above sixteen years of age, who are permitted to take books from the library for home use. This great privilege is duly valued.

There is a direct railway communication from Boston to New York by Newhaven, but, owing to the advantages presented to me of a passage by steamboat with some friends, I preferred the latter, and had thus the great advantage of approaching the empire city from the sea, and as it first burst into view after passing between Staten and Long Islands.

III.

Aspect of New York on entering the Harbour—Situation, Extent, Population, Streets, Houses, and Public Buildings—Manners and Customs—State or County of New York—Religious Denominations—Literature and Arts—Brooklyn—Navy Yard.

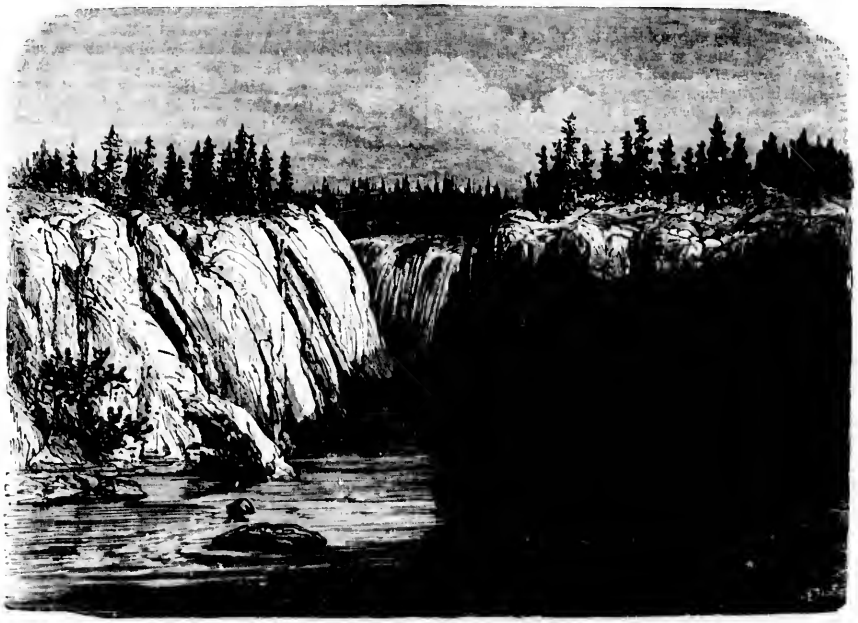
New York was originally called New Amsterdam, being first settled by the Dutch. On approaching this city from the Atlantic up the East River, from which only a true impression of the character of its position can be obtained, a scene of commercial bustle presents itself somewhat similar to that on the Thames towards London.

The first objects of attraction to a stranger, as the vessel moves forward up the stream, are the high lands of Nevisink, on a conspicuous part of which stand two light-houses marking the entrance to the harbour. The writer describes the scene as it presented itself to him personally as a voyager some years since, in company with some other passengers.

Before us lay Staten Island, with its snow-white

houses scarcely distinguishable through the dark mist that then spread over land and water. On the right stretched Long Island, green and verdant.

The narrows were next approached, situated between the upper and lower bay of the great American capital, the pass strongly defended by batteries; the sloping shores on either side disclosing scattered villas, reminding the spectator of the river scenery on the banks of the Isis or the Clyde. The bay opened out magnificently, bounded on the right by Long Island, and on the left by Staten Island and New Jersey, altogether presenting a most beautiful picture; the hills of the finely undulating country covered with wood, agreeably interspersed with villas and cottages, smiling in all the charms of the cultivated landscape. Beyond, appeared the delta of Manhattan Island, though, from the mist and rain, almost undistinguishable; as also several small islands—Blackwell's, Bedloe's, and Governor's. The latter chiefly attracted attention by its formidable batteries—Fort Columbus and Castle William—and its beautifully cultivated appearance. The city lay looming in the distance, very imposing in its outline as the mist gradually cleared away; while in its whole extent, as far as the eye could scan along the north and east rivers, by which it is almost environed, displayed a forest of masts. Long Island stretched away far onwards on our right. This island is the largest in the States, and is separated from the mainland by Long Island Sound; its western end approaching New York. It is about one hundred and forty miles in length and ten in width.

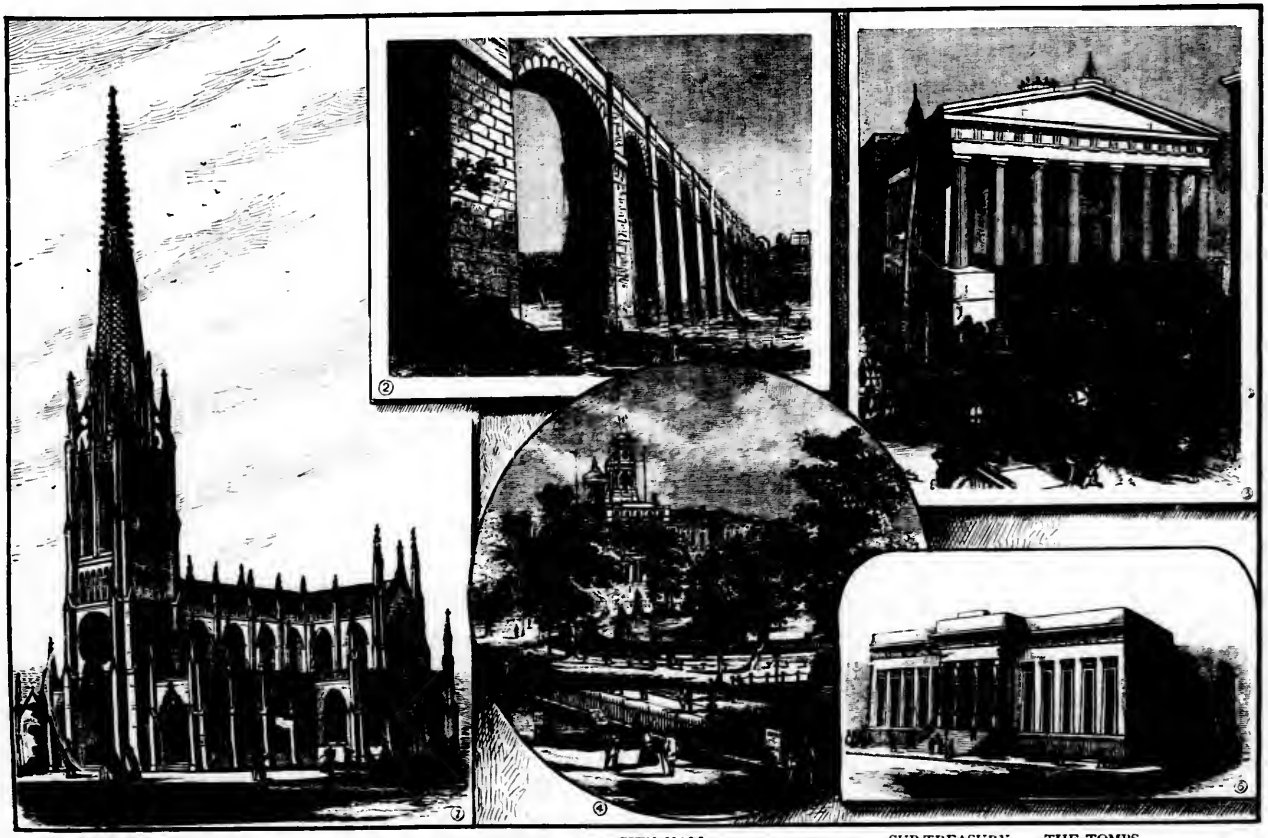


FALLS OF THE PASSAIC.

The land is in general low and level, with the exception of a few hills, viz., the landmark of Montauck, on which stands a lighthouse, and Hampstead, at its eastern extremity—the latter of which is three hundred and nineteen feet above the sea level. It is thickly populated, and, in conjunction with the surrounding scenery, presented a beautiful appearance from the deck of the vessel.

We soon anchored in the broad stream before the city, amidst a vast concourse of shipping, bearing the flags of almost all nations, and the most abundant evidences of bustle and activity. Steamboats and craft of all descriptions traversing the harbour—the creaking of machinery—the loud voices both on the river and from the shore—all indicated the presence of a vast commercial capital.

New York, the "Empire City," which is situated ninety miles north-east of Philadelphia, and two hundred and ten miles from Boston, stands on the southern extremity of Manhattan Island, which is thirteen and a half miles long, and about one and a half or two miles in medial breadth, enlarging in width as it recedes from the apex of the triangle, which is formed by the confluence of the two great streams before mentioned, called the North, or Hudson, and East Rivers bounding it on the east and west; and which, rising westward, fall into the Atlantic Ocean—the view terminating by the beautifully wooded shore of New Jersey. New York, however, is not exactly an island, though divided by the strait called Haarlem River, which crosses from the East River to the Hudson. Whilst New York itself may, as a whole, be considered defi-



GRACE CHURCH. HIGH BRIDGE. CITY HALL. SUB-TREASURY. THE TOMBS.

LAND-MARKS OF NEW YORK CITY.

cient in pictorial beauty as compared with many seaports in Europe, arising from the limited extent of the island or peninsula on which it stands, and the consequent absence of villas, yet the entire landscape it adorns probably transcends anything seen on so extensive a scale, and in the beautiful proportions of its different features; moreover, it is, perhaps, without a rival as to its situation for commerce.

In no season of the year can there be any obstruction to its communication with the ocean; and with the magnificent Hudson stretching nearly two hundred miles into the interior of a fertile country, its natural advantages are unparalleled. It is impossible to conceive of a finer site for a great mercantile city than that occupied by New York—a tongue of land jutting forth into deep water, and protected by the curved point and islands which form its bay. It therefore presents such facilities for commercial purposes as the whole world cannot rival. This city, indeed, has been compared to a large hotel, or caravanserai for the world.

The traffic of New York is immense, both by sea and canals and railroads. The latter penetrate to the very centre of the city, the cars being drawn by horses from the stations in the environs where the locomotive is detached, and run along the causeway. But New York is not merely a commercial emporium, she is largely engaged in manufactures of various kinds.

Constantly stimulated by the current of commerce ever flowing through these channels, business knows no rest and no termination. The mighty advancement of New York during the last ten years distances all that ever happened in the progress of a city; and considering its natural advantages and the commercial facilities to which enterprise and art have added, it is impossible to conceive how great a city and port it may become.

The police arrangements of this city are represented as being very imperfect. Nor can the State Legislature, nor the corporation, be complimented on their administration of its civil affairs in general. The admirable order and efficiency of the fire brigade is, on the contrary, the subject of universal commendation.

The province of which New York city is the capital, is three hundred miles from north to south, and three hundred and fifty miles from east to west. Its area is 55,000 square miles. It is said by another authority to be, exclusive of Long Island, about four hundred and eight miles long; but including that island, about four hundred and eighty, and in breadth from north to south, about three hundred and ten miles, the whole including a superficial area of 46,085 square miles. The population of the city and suburbs, in 1855, was 1,104,498.

On the west side of the city, as already stated, flows the North, and on the east, the East River. The latter is about a mile wide, dividing New York from Long Island. The entrance to the harbour lies between Sandy Hook, on which stands a light of great brilliancy, and a part of Lind Island on the north. At a distance to the northward of this there are also two beacons, which are illuminated, called the "False Hook Lights," serving as low lights to shipping in the night. The highlands of Nevisink are at the entrance of the harbour on the south side. At a distance, they appear like an island, nearly level on the summit, with the exception of some irregular elevations, and rise from about two or three hundred feet above the sea. Fort Diamond and Governor's Island are, as already intimated, at the entrance of the Narrows, situated between Long and Staten Islands, on the eastern shore. The latter island contains a battery that defends the pass to the city, surrounded by grounds of considerable extent, designated "The Castle Gardens," intersected by walks, shaded and ornamented with shrubs, trees, and flowers, for the recreation of the citizens. The battery itself is about fifty yards from the shore, and is approached by a substantial bridge. The gardens are often used for public entertainments, and are fitted up during the summer season for displays of fireworks—an object of great attraction—and on such occasions they are thronged with visitors.

Broadway is the principal street of the city, and is one of the finest in the world. It is eighty feet wide, commencing at the Battery, and extending in an unbroken line the whole length of the city—a distance of nearly three miles—along which omnibuses ply as they do in London. Here in this street, and towards its southern extremity in particular, the interest and attraction of the city seem to centre. It is the Fleet-street and Strand of the first city of the New World.

The houses in New York are good, many of them elegant, and present a different and more unique appearance than in the cities and provincial towns in England, as they are seldom intermixed with those of an inferior description.

The city, however, is not without its contrasts of poverty and riches, beauty and deformity, though not to the same extent as in European cities. The St. Giles's of the Empire City is the district named "Five Points," so designated from five narrow, filthy streets diverging from one place, where the lowest and most depraved of the population have their abode.

The dwellings possessed by the more wealthy citizens are generally of brick, sometimes of brown sandstone, others of brick faced with stone or marble—those in the Fifth Avenue are superb. Their interiors are very similar to the residences of the same class in England. The dining and drawing rooms are almost uniformly on the ground floor, and are made, in numerous instances, to communicate with each other by folding doors, which, on any occasion of entertainment or necessity, are thrown open for convenience. Superiority or splendour of furniture is not one of those adjuncts of wealth and station which the Americans in general take pride in displaying. Hence drawing-rooms are mostly more primitive in their appearance and appliances than those of the more opulent classes in England.

In about the centre of Broadway, and about half a mile from the Battery, stand the City Hall, the Merchants' Exchange, Hall of Justice, New York Hospital, and Post Offices. The first of these, with some other public buildings, is situated in an open space of ground called "The Park," a triangular inclosure of eleven acres, verdant in summer with grass and trees, and ornamented with a beautiful and capacious fountain, pouring its clear streams from the calyx of an Egyptian lotus. On the City Hall is a large bell, at which a man is always stationed to give notice of fires; conflagrations of a very destructive kind having been of very common occurrence in the city; although of late years, from the energy and the admirable order observed among the firemen, very serious damage but seldom results. The street terminates at the upper end in a handsome square, with the Governor's house in front, ornamented with public walks, gardens, and pleasure-grounds.

Among other attractive buildings in the city, are

large churches and chapels, some of them ornamented with elegant cupolas and spires. The new Trinity Church, in Wall-street, on the site of the first episcopal church in America, is a magnificent building, and the best specimen of pure Gothic architecture in the country. Other edifices of note are the New York Institution, occupied by the Literary and Philosophical Society; the Historical Society; the Lyceum of Natural History; the Museum; the Cooper Institute; and the American Society of Fine Arts, or Arts' Union The latter contains, among its other exhibitions of native talent, the celebrated marble bust of "Proserpine," the "Greek Slave," and the "Fisher Boy" listening to the sea sounds in a conch shell, the masterly performances of the famed artist Hiram Powers, as also some splendid paintings by Alston.

The Cooper Institute is a noble building, erected by Mr. Peter Cooper, of New York, to be devoted to the "moral, intellectual, and physical improvement of his countrymen." The building consists of an entire block, having a front on Third Avenue of one hundred and ninety-five feet, on Fourth Avenue, one hundred and fifty-five feet, on Eighth-street, one hundred and forty-three feet, and on Seventh-street, eighty-six feet. It is in the immediate vicinity of the New Bible House, the Astor Library, the Mercantile Library, and the rooms of various literary and scientific societies. In the basement is a large lecture-room, one hundred and twenty-five feet long by eighty-two wide and twenty-one high; and this and also the first and second stories, which are arranged for stores and offices, are to be rented so as to produce a revenue to meet the annual expenses of the institute. The institute proper, or the Union, commences with the third story, in which is an exhibition room, thirty feet high, and of an area of one hundred and twenty-five by eighty-two feet, lighted from above by a dome. The fourth story may be considered as part of the third, being a continuation of galleries, with alcoves, for painting and sculpture. In the fifth story will be two large lecture-rooms, and the library, consisting of five rooms, which connect with each other and with the lecture-rooms. There are also rooms for experiments, for instruments, and for the use of artists. The cost of the building is about 300,000 dollars, and the annual income from the rented parts will be from 25,000 dollars to 30,000 dollars. The whole is to be given to a board of directors for the benefit of the public; the courses of lectures, the library, and the reading-rooms, all to be free. In the munificence both of the gift and the endowment, and in the importance of the results intended to be secured, the Cooper Institute will be a monument to its princely-hearted founder more noble than the pyramids.

Nor must Astor House or Hotel be forgotten in this enumeration of splendid or otherwise attractive edifices It was erected by the proprietor, whose name it bears, at an expense of £100,000. This is the Astor of Washington Irving, recently deceased, whom the novelist celebrates in his Astoria as going over to America a poor German boy, and acquiring a great fortune. Others have more recently been erected that rival this splendid edifice, both in size, extent, and grandeur. Among these are the Irving, the Prescott, the Metropolitan, and the Nicholas Hotels, which have an elevation of five or six stories, with a frontage of from three hundred to five hundred feet, and resemble in their external appearance the palaces of kings.

The Hotel Nicholas is about one hundred yards square, five stories high, will accommodate one thousand guests, and cost upwards of 1,000,000 dollars in its erection. These establishments seem to concentrate every convenience, and every known requirement of life.

There are several squares in different parts of the city beautifully arranged and ornamented, particularly near the upper extremity of Broadway, among the residences of the most wealthy of the citizens, although compared with the cities of Europe they are few and insignificant. This deficiency, however, is being supplied. Several have recently been formed; and a new park is to be opened in the upper part of New York, extending from Fifty-ninth Street, a little more than half a mile above the Crystal Palace, to One-hundred-and-sixth Street, being about three miles in length, and from Fifth Avenue to Eighth Avenue, or about half a mile in width. There are seven thousand five hundred city lots taken from private owners and included in the park, for which more than 5,000,000 dollars is awarded The city is awarded 650,000 dollars for property taken from it. Owners in the neighbourhood whose property is improved are assessed about 1,650,000 dollars towards the expense.

One of the most important, as well as ornamental works in the State, are the Croton Water Works, or the aqueduct for conveying water into the city from the Croton River, reminding an intelligent observer of the aqueducts of the ancient Romans. It might be almost termed a miracle of engineering. It is forty-five miles in length, will supply sixty million gallons of water to the city daily, and cost between 12,000,000, and 13,000,000 dollars, or between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000 sterling. The aqueduct commences five miles from the Hudson River, and extends across the Haarlem River on a magnificent bridge of stone, called the High Bridge, and discharges its waters into a receiving reservoir, situate in Eighty-six-street and Sixth Avenue and containing one hundred and fifty millions of gallons.

Among the most remarkable benevolent institutions are the Refuge for the Destitute, the Hospitals, the Model Farm for Orphan Children, and the Model Prison at Sing-sing. Westpoint, up the Hudson, is celebrated for its military establishments, situated amidst scenes of great natural beauty and historic interest.

The public libraries in the city of New York are the Mercantile, the New York Society, the New York Historical Society, Columbia College, the Union Theological Seminary, the Apprentices' Library, the Free Academy, the Episcopal Theological Seminary.

Among some local peculiarities of custom observable by a stranger, is that in relation to the periodical domestic cleaning and change of residence. Just previously to the first of May, when spring really commences in the Middle and Northern States, it is an almost universal custom in New York city to have what is called a regular and systematic "clearing out" of their houses from the garret to the cellar; while it is equally the practice, previously to that day, to remove to new residences. In addition to the universal bustle of every domestic establishment, the trains of carts and waggons laden with household furniture that now crowd upon the sight would lead a stranger almost to believe that half the city was forming into a grand caravan to travel to Utah, Deseret, or California.

Nor are the customs of riding and driving here

less singular and novel to an observant English stranger. A horseman never rises in his saddle, almost all horses being trained to pace; and on meeting a horseman or a vehicle of any kind you are expected, if travelling similarly, to pass on the right hand side of the road, instead of the left, as is the custom in England. This seems to be a general rule in America, reminding the beholder of the well-known paradox, though here reversed,—

> "The law of the road is a paradox quite,
> For in orderly riding along,
> If you go to the left, you are sure to go right;
> If you go to the right, you go wrong."

The usual dinner-hour at New York, as is general in the cities of America, is three o'clock. Almost everywhere the tables, if not splendidly, are cleanly and neatly furnished; and the different courses at the principal hotels or lodging-houses are not brought in in succession as in England, but, as in Jamaica and the West Indies generally, the table is covered at once with the profusion prepared for the entertainment. Much has been said by some visitors of the ravenous manner in which the Americans despatch their meals, and their taciturnity during the process of eating them; but much of this is misrepresentation, or if it has been a custom, it is, like any other usages that deserve oblivion, fast disappearing, at least from respectable circles.

May-day in New York is one of great interest in many respects,—replete both with reality and romance. It is the grand nuptial day, when hundreds enter by marriage upon the realities of life.

It must not here be omitted that in this city are seen some encroachments upon democracy, such as *liveried* servants, and not unfrequent announcements of *distinguished* individuals at watering-places and hotels.

The state of New York, in form, is somewhat in the shape of an isosceles triangle, having the south-eastern shore of the lakes of Canada and the river Niagara for its base, and the city of New York for its apex. Each side of this triangle, except the base, is at least four hundred miles in length. Its superficial extent, already noted, is forty-six thousand square miles,—nearly as large as England,—and its population upwards of three millions, nearly equal to that of Scotland. The Americans call New York the Empire State; and whether we regard the fertility of its soil, or the astonishing facilities it affords for foreign commerce and inland navigation, it well deserves this lofty appellation.

Popular education in this state is almost universal. Upwards of five hundred thousand are taught in the common schools. There are also nearly three hundred academies, eleven colleges, and an university.

According to a directory published in the city in 1849, there were then in New York city three hundred and seventy-five streets and avenues, thirty-three banks, one hundred insurance companies, fifty periodicals, ninety-eight newspapers, one hundred and ten schools, one hundred and sixteen moral, benevolent, and literary associations, forty-one councils, two hundred and seventy-seven churches, of which forty-one were Protestant Episcopal, thirty-three Presbyterian, thirty-one Methodist Episcopal, twenty-six Baptist, seventeen Roman Catholic, fifteen Dutch Reformed, nine Jewish, seven Congregational, four Unitarian, four Universalist, four Friends', three Lutheran, two Associate Presbyterian, three Associate Reformed Presbyterian, thirteen Reformed Presbyterian, two Welsh, one Methodist Protestant, twelve miscellaneous.

It may be regarded as remarkable, as has been before observed with respect to the continent in general, that extremes of heat and cold are greater in this state than in England, which is in nearly the same parallel of latitude, and vary considerably more than in Naples, which is precisely identical in position, a fact ascribable to the influence of the surrounding ocean; and doubtless the climate depends for its variations, in a great measure, on the situation of any place with regard to the sea.

Connected with New York is Brooklyn, which is to this city what Southwark is to London. It occupies a peninsula on Long Island directly opposite, separated from New York, as before observed, by the East River, nearly a mile broad and sufficiently deep to float vessels of war. Brooklyn is a town of considerable importance and extent, and presents a very neat and rural appearance, many of its streets having avenues like those of Philadelphia, formed chiefly of the willow, the locust, the acanthus, or Chinese tree, of the acacia family. Unlike New York, Brooklyn has all the quietness of a suburban village. The land on which the town stands ascends gradually from the banks of the river, and the houses which occupy the heights, and which are many of them delightful residences, tenanted by merchants and others of New York, command a fine prospect of the extended harbour, the city, and its environs, as also of the beautifully wooded heights and green fields in its own immediate vicinity.

The principal objects of attraction it presents are its Navy Yard and Cemetery,—the latter remarkable for the beautiful monument of Iowa, an Indian princess; and that of a young eccentric poet, situated near the Sylvan Water. The cemetery is called Greenwood. Like that of Boston, and other provincial towns in the north-east, it is really beautiful, both in arrangement and appearance,—another "*Père la Chaise*" of the New World, but on a more gigantic scale than its prototype in France as to extent and design. It covers two hundred and forty-two acres of beautifully undulating ground, partly adorned with magnificent forest trees, presenting from its elevations beautiful and extensive views of land and sea.

The navy yard, called the New York Navy Yard, is the second in importance in the country; it occupies upwards of fifty acres of land, and gives employment to between four and five hundred men. It contains the largest dry dock in the United States, constructed to admit vessels of the largest size. The principal marine steam-engine works are also in New York; but there are large establishments of a mixed character in almost every town of importance in the Union. For the benefit of the men employed in the various works of the dock-yard, there is established an institution named the United States Lyceum. It consists of a splended collection of curiosities and mineralogical and geological cabinets, with many other natural curiosities.

The two places, Brooklyn and New York, are connected by ferries and steamboats, of which there are several. There are at present no bridges, as over the Thames, connecting London with Southwark. These conveyances leave each side of the river every five minutes of the day, and continue to ply through the greater part of the night. Carts, waggons, horses, and stock of all kinds cross over in great numbers. Sometimes horses and carriages are driven on the ferries and driven off again on the opposite side without either the

horses being detached from the vehicle or the driver or inmates of the carriage quitting their seats, the round ends of the boats fitting into corresponding recesses in moveable piers, which rise and fall with the tide.

Brooklyn has upwards of one hundred thousand inhabitants, a magnificent Town House or City Hall, and from fifty to sixty churches and chapels, with numerous schools. The Female Academy here contains five hundred young girls. At this institution they study and graduate as at Boston, and as is done by young men in the English universities. The principal public buildings are the City Hall, the Lyceum, the City Library, the Savings Bank, and the Female Academy.

The ferries also cross the North River to Jersey City, Whichawken, and Hoboken, where also, as at Brooklyn and Staten Island, it is mostly the wealthy who reside. At the latter are the Elysian Fields, which present an inviting retreat to the toil-worn and country-loving citizen of the capital, whither he occasionally flies to inhale the balmy breath, and to enjoy the soothing influences of nature. Steamboats also ascend the Hudson, morning and evening, to Albany and Troy, conveying thousands of passengers onward on their journey to the Hesperides of the far West—the only region of American romance—the golden land of promise that is ever in perspective.

PALISADES ON THE HUDSON.

IV.

THE SAINT NICHOLAS HOTEL—CONDUCT OF ITS GUESTS—TRIAL OF DR. GRAHAM—HOW TO SEE NEW YORK—COMMERCIAL QUARTER—BROADWAY—ARISTOCRATIC TENDENCIES OF THE YANKEES.

ONE of the most recent and least-prejudiced travellers in Yankee-land, speaking of the conduct of guests at the hotels, says, "Be sure," said all my friends, "to go to the St. Nicholas Hotel at New York." Without casting any reflections on the accommodations of that magnificent hotel, which I believe are excellent, I resolved, before entering New York, not to follow this advice, because the said hotel had recently acquired disagreeable notoriety, by a New Orleans physician of large practice killing a fellow-guest in the house, and by an outrage perpetrated by another Southerner on a friend of mine, who, with no further provocation than merely looking at him, had practical evidence of fiery southern blood, by receiving an ugly blow from a fork, which was hurled at his face across the public dinner-table.

During the summer months, when these events occurred, the large hotels in New York are thronged by Southerners, who not unfrequently exhibit a little outbreak of manners, more characteristic of society in the Southern than in the Northern States.

It will be seen by the following extract from the judge's charge, that a human being may be killed in the United States with an impunity which the English law does not recognize. "Killing," said Judge Mitchell, "is excusable when committed, first, by accident and misfortune; second, in the heat of passion; third, upon

a sudden combat; fourth, without any undue advantages being taken; fifth, without any dangerous weapon being used; sixth, and not done in a cruel and unusual manner."

The reader is now in possession of my reasons for not going to the St. Nicholas Hotel; so I went to Delmonico's, near the lower end of Broadway—an excellent house, kept on the English system of charging only for the meals eaten. Having secured a room, for which I paid a dollar per day, I made a general acquaintance with New York, by walking up Broadway, until I exchanged the crushing bustle and tumult of the business portion of the city for the stillness of antenanted streets. Thanks to the singular formation of the ground on which New York is built, which confines it in breadth to an average space of two miles, allowing extension only in a longitudinal direction, the city may be soon seen. Take an omnibus up Broadway, continue your explorations to the Croton reservoir, return by Fifth Avenue; sweep round the south-east portion of the city, taking care not to be annihilated by boxes, bales, and packages flung recklessly about in the vicinity of the stores; pause at the Battery, beneath the trees; ascend the spire of Trinity Church; and terminate your exploration by a ramble among the wharves crowded by throbbing steamers, departing or arriving from the North River, Jersey City, and Hoboken: all this may be done in three or four hours. And, though the New Yorkers doubtless consider their great and flourishing city requires and merits a much larger portion of the tourist's time, I am bound to declare it may be well seen and understood in the course of a morning, particularly if the ascent of Trinity Church be included in the programme I have sketched. The fact is, there are very few public buildings in New York to arrest attention. The tourist *blasé* by church, palace, and picture sights, will rejoice at this fact. But though New York may be "done" in a few hours, I do not advise so summary a dismissal of that great city. I spent three days in it, and all my time was pleasantly occupied.

As elsewhere, I was indebted to the great kindness and hospitality of warm, though new friends, for many pleasant hours in New York. I had the happiness of making Mr. Grinnell's acquaintance, who is known, wherever the sad story of Franklin expedition has penetrated, for his munificent endeavour to rescue our gallant countrymen. He was so kind as to introduce me to the Exchange, and point out many of the notabilities in the commercial part of New York, where stock and other jobbing have reared altars to Mammon. The fiery fever of speculation—a besetting sin of all great cities—rages in New York. It is said New York merchants toil in their stores to sleep in palaces. The ceaseless bustle in the business part of the city in some measure confirms this. Within and without the vast stores a continual ebbing and flowing of goods goes on from early morn till eve, and stately ships discharge their varied cargoes on the crowded wharves. The tortuous nature of the business streets contrasts curiously with the general formal plan of the city. This arises from the circumstance that the founders of "New Amsterdam" built without any settled design. "The sage council," says the immortal Knickerbocker, "not being able to determine upon any plan for the building of their city, the cows, in a laudable fit of patriotism, took it under their particular charge, and as they went to and from pasture, established paths through the bushes, on each side of which the good folks built their houses; which is one cause of the rambling and picturesque turns and labyrinths which distinguish certain streets of New York at this very day."

Emerging from these commercial purlieus, which would be greatly improved by a few judicious police regulations, we entered Broadway. The throng of people and vehicles in this great artery is only paralleled by the Strand or Cheapside, which notable streets it somewhat resembles in width, for it would be more appropriate to call it Longway, as it is much more remarkable for its length than breadth.

The variety of characters streaming through this channel is very striking. Our Regent-street and City blend. But the commercial portion of the community hurry along with a rapidity unknown in Cheapside, and the ladies dress in a manner which would attract considerable attention at the West-end of London. Glaring colours prevail, and harmony is set at defiance. Every article of dress is of a different colour. Pink bonnets, green robes, yellow gloves, and blue silk boots, are not uncommon phenomena. The best time for seeing Broadway in all its feminine glory is on Sundays, when the churches and chapels pour forth their motley congregations. A few years ago Trinity Church was a fashionable place of worship. Now, the fashionable world must be sought higher up the town; for as commerce engrosses the streets in the neighbourhood of the Park, wealth and fashion seek more distant localities.

The New York belle will not, therefore, be seen in Trinity Church. I attended service in that building, and during my walk at the conclusion of service, I was much struck by the more dashing dresses and style of the women as I advanced up Broadway. The answer of a New York girl to a friend who asked her to go to Trinity Church is well known: "I am not dressed for Trinity." So it is—as every church and chapel have their religions, so have they their standing in the New York world of fashion.

It would, I apprehend, be impossible to find a greater contrast than the wealthy and poor quarters of the city. The mansions in the neighbourhood of the Fifth Avenue are of the most magnificent description; furnished regardless of cost. The power of wealth is here abundantly conspicuous. Every quarter of the globe has been subsidised to minister to the gratification of the merchant prince, who, despite his professions, is no longer the simple republican trader. Observe the equipages in Broadway. The majority bear coats of arms; strange devices for the most part, and would send "Garter," "Rouge," and "Dragon" into fits. But they have their meaning. They show that wealth cannot and will not be satisfied by the mere accumulation of dollars. Rank is the coveted object. To claim kinship with an ancient and honourable English family is an American's great boast. He may rave as he will against monarchical and aristocratical institutions and families—his worship of a lord and love of titles is greater than an Englishman's. New York abounds with shops where vanity may be fitted with coats of arms at small cost. The love for these things is not new. Seventy years ago Americans were lashed by Franklin and Jefferson for their desire to establish an order of hereditary knights, in direct opposition to the solemnly declared sense of their country. It was then contemplated to found an order of the Cincinnati. "If people," says Franklin, "can be pleased with small matters, it is a pity but they should have them; but I greatly wonder,

that when the united wisdom of our nation had, in the articles of confederation, manifested their dislike of establishing ranks of nobility, by authority either of Congress or of any particular state, a number of private persons should think proper to distinguish themselves and their posterity from their fellow-citizens."[1] The knighthood of Cincinnatus has no existence, but the spirit and desire for the order, or one of a similar nature, remain. And it is worthy of remark, that while Franklin was rebuking this love for worldly honours and distinction among his republican countrymen, he himself bore a coat of arms, of which he made habitual use. Numerous letters, preserved in the archives of the Royal Society, written by Franklin to various scientific persons in Europe, are sealed with his arms. The crest, a fish's head in pale, or, erased gules, between two sprigs vert, is identical with that of the Lincolnshire Franklins. It further appears that Dr. Franklin was at much pains to search out the history of his immediate ancestors. He traced them back four generations, and was gratified that the name of Franklin was anciently the common designation of families of substance in England. Talking one evening with an American lady not unknown among the English aristocracy, I happened to say that I wondered at her frequent allusions to English lords, ladies, and sirs, as I thought such people were held in no greater respect by Americans than their fellows. Upon which the lady desired the servant to bring a certain "picture" from the library, which was placed in my hands. "There," said she, drawing my attention to the design, which was an emblazoned coat of arms, appertaining to her husband's English ancestry, "this is the way we honour aristocracy in America." Titles as high-sounding and empty as those which puff up the vanity of Germans are already common, and it is not unreasonable to infer that with the growth of wealth the desire will increase to make their distinctions hereditary. Jefferson partly predicts this; writing to Washington, he says: "Though the day may be at some distance, beyond the reach of our lives perhaps, yet it will certainly come, when a single fibre left of this institution (the order of the Cincinnati), will produce an hereditary aristocracy, which will change the form of our government from the best to the worst in the world."

The admiration and desire for social distinctions is not confined to the man of wealth. A learned American professor, describing his recent visit to London, when he attended a meeting of a scientific society in Somerset House, states that he was somewhat overpowered by the circumstance of his being in the ancient palace of English kings (which, by the way, the professor was not, as Somerset House never was a royal palace). And more recently, a well-known New England savant has considerably startled English aristocratic propriety, by distributing among scientific societies a quarto volume, elaborately illustrated, and filled with glowing panegyrics of an ancient English family, to which he desires to be linked.

Unless the tourist be sorely pressed for time, he should further not omit making an excursion to Staten Island, six miles from New York. It is a favourite resort of merchants, who occupy charming villas on its wooded heights. I spent an afternoon and evening in one of these pleasant abodes. A huge steam-ferry, constructed to carry two thousand people, besides vehicles, plies frequently between the Battery and the Island. The trip on a fine day in autumn, when the air is balmy and the sun silvers the bay, is delightful. In half an hour we reach the Island. A short walk from the landing-stage up the hill brought me to my friend's house. Seldom have I seen a more lovely view than that from the verandah. Beyond a rich foreground of luxuriant foliage lay Long Island, from which Staten Island is separated by the Narrows. The bay was alive with vessels, from stately sailing ships and magnificent steamers, to spruce pilot-boats and tiny fishing-craft. Westward, the great city, fringed by forests of masts, lay on the waters with outstretched arms, receiving contributions from all parts of the globe. Seen from this point, her claim to the title of the Empire City, with the motto "Excelsior," cannot be disputed.[2]

[1] The order was so far established, that a person was despatched to France to procure ribands and medals to decorate the Cincinnati.

V.

Up the Hudson—Railway Cars and News Boys—The Palisades—Military Academy of West Point—Valley of the Hudson—Hercules Pillars—Dutch Settlements.

An experienced traveller, remarking upon the climate of New York, says that the sudden changes, and especially the sudden brightenings of the atmosphere in this country are truly wonderful. A few hours ago it seemed as if New York and its sky were floating away together in murky cloud and storm, and now, just as I am setting off, a sudden glory lights up land and water, the clouds vanish—the houses and every object stand out in clear sharp outline, and the deep bright blue sky, smiling like a child after a brief shower of tears, shows the beautiful shores and the silvery river stretching far away in unclouded splendour.

The Hudson looked as tempting to me as it once did to the world-renowned captain of that name, its discoverer, and I had been told that the steamer Alida would afford me the means of gratifying my wishes, but when I proceeded to the place where she was lying at anchor, I perceived that she was making no sign of preparation, and had not even begun her travelling toilette. On inquiry I was told "Yesterday she has ceased to run."

As no day-boat was to be had I determined on proceeding by rail, and I did not lose much by the change, for the line runs along the very margin of the stream, and it and its beautiful valley are never out of sight.

I found the company in the carriage by no means

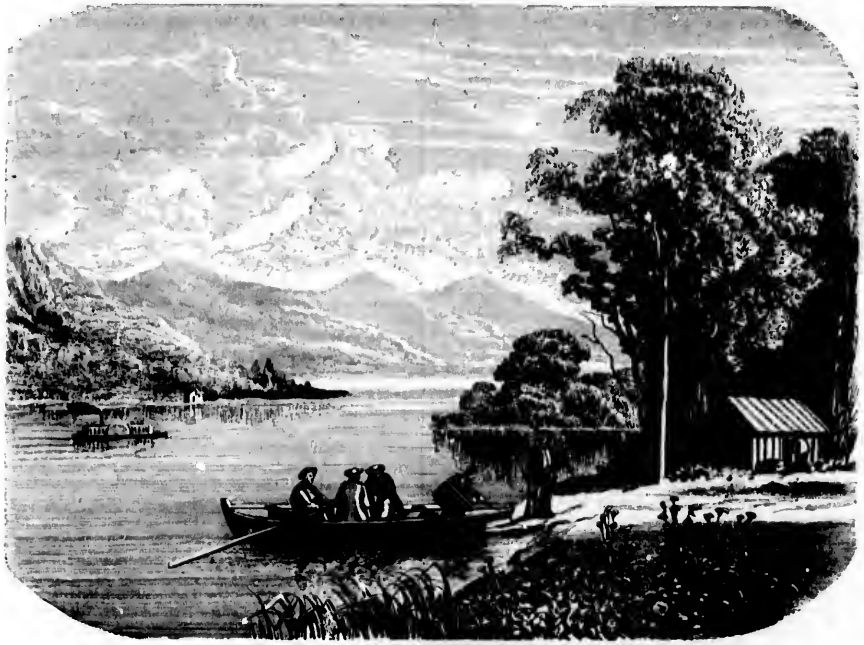
[2] A curiosity in the suburbs of New York that is visited by all tourists, are the Falls of the Passaic. A ferry-boat takes the traveller to Jersey, on the south side of the Hudson. Here is a railway station, ordinarily the focus of prodigious bustle, for it is the point of departure for the trains to Philadelphia, Lake Erie, the Ohio and the Far West. Starting at five in the morning, a train took me, in less than an hour, to Paterson, across a rural and picturesque country. My way lay thence along the banks of a small river, with a rocky and diversified bed, and whose torrential waters put no end of mill wheels in action. Arrived at the summit of a hill, we found the chief fall of the Passaic right before us; a picturesque bridge had been carried across the rocks above. The rocks were covered with glossy green vegetation, below which the spray dashed against reddish coloured walls. Close by was also an establishment, embosomed among trees, from whence the comforts of infinite pic-nics held at this pleasant spot are generally derived (*See* p. 8).

disagreeable, though they would have been among us divided into three or four classes. I did not see a single individual whose exterior was in the least offensive. Running about from carriage to carriage were little boys, who offered for sale apples, peaches, and confectionery.

I was much interested by the way in which the railway public was supplied with literary spiritual refreshment. The little news-boys were not content with displaying their goods to the passengers as they took their places, but shipped themselves along with us. A traveller, before he is seated, has little time to buy and pay for newspapers, but the probability of custom for them is much greater when all are quietly placed. Ennui, too, is sure to create, before long, an appetite for mental aliment, which is not felt in the excitement of departure.

The news-boys have, in the meantime, arranged their little stock of political, commercial, serious, and humoristic literature in some convenient corner, and then from time to time undertake an excursion through the flying community, and whenever they see anybody yawn, immediately apply the remedy; and, since their goods are moderate in price, and reading is here as customary as alternate talking and sleeping among us, they generally do a good deal of business.

It is quite usual for them to bring a selection of new books with these newspapers, and they afford no contemptible assistance in the diffusion of literary productions. American books are published ready cut, and in a convenient form for a traveller's use. Even English books are not altogether as well adapted to this sort of use. Here in America people expect to have no more trouble in reading a book than in smoking a cigar.



LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

In America they are continually throwing books in your way, and you have but to stretch out your hand to reach them. It may be easily imagined that when publishers can command the services of thousands of such active and energetic assistants as I have described, they can sell their productions at low prices, and in quantities otherwise incredible.

I had not, on setting off, a place near a window, but a young man, who afterwards told me he was a steamboat steward returning from California, civilly resigned his to me when I explained that I had never made the journey before; and I had then an opportunity of enjoying the beauty of the landscape.

We were passing the remarkable high precipitous rocks called the "Palisades" (*see* p. 13), which extend for twenty miles along the western bank of the river. They are full of stone quarries, and a fellow-passenger informed me that the materials for the reconstruction of the Mexican fortress of San Juan de Ullos, after the French bombardment, had been taken from them, and that afterwards, in the Mexican war, the Americans had found themselves shooting down their own native granite.

The Palisades occasion a slight contraction of the

HARBOUR OF NEW YORK

bed of the river, and when they cease to offer it any obstruction, it spreads out into a kind of lake called Tappan Bay, but in the wide as well as in the narrow part it is of great depth. On this account, as well as from its almost imperceptible current, it is more like an arm of the sea than a river; and for a considerable distance up the water is salt or brackish. Several kinds of sea animals (*Cirripedia*) are found as much as seventy miles above New York, and even at West Point cover the bottoms of vessels and floating timber, as in a sea-port. Since also the river has so slight a fall, in fact almost none at all, the tide is felt two hundred miles from New York as strongly as at New York itself. It goes as far as Albany, and is there only three feet lower than at New York; so that it appears doubtful whether the Hudson falls into an arm of the sea at New York or at West Point, or even higher.

The sea-like river now contracted its channel—mountains appeared again, and when the evening was pretty far advanced we reached West Point, and a small steamer received us and took us over to the other side.

The moon rode bright and high in the heavens, and shone down on the beautiful landscape, the richly-wooded hills, the not very numerously scattered dwellings, the lofty forest clad shores, and the calm waters, fifty fathoms deep. How gladly would I have gone on for many miles thus, but my enjoyment of the scene was very brief. We were soon seated in a carriage and driving up to the high plateau, on which the hotel is the only house besides the long row of buildings which constitute the celebrated Military Academy of West Point.

The mountain country on which you look from the heights of West Point is one of the most beautiful districts in the United States. The mountains are of very graceful forms, with many terraces and gradations, and they are covered far and wide by woods and meadows of richest verdure, through which flows majestically the broad tranquil river. These advantages are perceived at once, but the geographical and historical importance of the position is not so immediately obvious, though it is readily admitted when pointed out.

One of the principal ridges of the Appalachian system, called by the New Yorkers their Highlands, is cut through by the Hudson, and the mountains to the east and west are of precisely similar geological structure. It is evident that the same series of elevations has taken place, and that the same formations exist, from the western side of the Hudson to the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Probably at one time this geological connection was also a geographical one, that is to say, the two mountain-ridges were united. At that time the waters on the north-west declivity must have flowed towards the St. Lawrence and its lakes, or rather these lakes must have extended to the foot of the declivity. Only when the chasm through which the Hudson now flows was formed, did a part of the water of those lakes burst forth and find an outlet to the south, and thus constitute the present system of the Hudson and its tributaries. That this chasm was the work of the river, such as may be seen in many other passes of the Alleghanies, is more than doubtful. In the midst of the chasm the bed of the river is extremely deep, as much as 200 feet, and at the same time its current is unusually tranquil, and it glides along its whole line with a scarcely perceptible motion. In the whole 150 miles from New York to Albany, it has not a fall of more than three or four feet.

The case is quite different, not only at Niagara, where a river is cutting through a rock before our eyes, but at the many other gaps and breaks in the districts of the Susquehannah, the Delaware, and the other rivers of Eastern North America. All these rivers have a perfectly different character, and the Hudson may be said to be quite unique among them. They mostly take an excessively winding course, while the Hudson flows as straight as a canal from north to south. They are only deep at a very short distance from the sea, while the Hudson is navigable for large ships more than a hundred and fifty miles from its mouth, up to which distance the tide reaches, whilst it is never felt above fifty miles up in any of the other streams. They have almost all a deep fall and a rapid course, and form cataracts and rapids, whilst the Hudson along its whole course has neither one nor the other. Those rivers and their branches must have flowed first through the long valleys between the two Alleghany chains, but afterwards turned aside and slipped through gaps or clefts, hurrying rapidly on through beds which it is almost certain they themselves hollowed out; but the Hudson shoots like an arrow through the mountains, apparently in no way affected by their conformation, and flows among them as deep and as tranquilly as in the plain.

From all this we may, I think, conclude that the bed of the Hudson was not hollowed out by itself, but that it existed before the river. Probably some great rent or chasm was formed by volcanic forces, and then the river, or rather some little springs found their way into it, the sea entering at the same time at the opposite extremity, and both together have rather choked up than enlarged the chasm.

From these circumstances, which, as I have said, are quite exceptional on the whole eastern coast of North America, result the peculiar advantages for the harbour of New York. The Hudson appears as a canal, which, beginning at the north-west in the region near the Canadian lakes, flows right on to the Atlantic, forming a grand water communication between plain and plain. Westward and northward from Albany all is level, and to this point roads, canals, and railways may easily be led, and there intrust their treasures to the longer watery arm. The level country near Albany is only the south-eastern corner of the immense plains, which do not even terminate at the sources of the Mississippi, and which in their broad and numerous lakes possess such a system of water communication as scarcely any other country in the world can boast. They may be regarded as one connected fresh-water sea, but in its own natural outlet, the St. Lawrence, this inner sea has hitherto had a very inconvenient connection with the ocean. This way is too a very long one; it turns far to the north, is interrupted by rocks and rapids, and is much encumbered and deteriorated for navigation by ice.

The Hudson valley rivals the St Lawrence as a natural outlet for those plains and lakes; it is the horn of plenty, the artery through which the rivers of those regions are poured into New York. They are sent down to Albany by many channels from Ontario and Erie, and at New York they are delivered to the great reservoir the ocean.

It is the wonderful natural formation of the cleft or gate at West Point that we have to thank for the

possibility of this combination. Here was the grand difficulty of the route, and human hands would never have succeeded in overcoming it in so grand a manner as nature has done. It was much more than the cutting through Mount Athos, and were the New Yorkers of the mind of the old Greeks, they might erect at this beautiful gate of their Highlands, on the summit of these Hercules Pillars, a temple to Vulcano, as well as to Neptune, and celebrate here their Olympic games and their Eleusinian mysteries But as matters stand they are rarely good enough geographers to admire specially the work of nature at this point, and to perceive its advantages—far less to offer up a portion of the wealth it brings them in sacrifices.

Immediately above West Point you enter into quite a different region of Nature. The climatic effects of the ocean cease at the New York Highlands, and are replaced by those of the interior continent, by the sky of Canada. Thus far do the winds and other weather phenomena of the north-west prevail—and thus far from the other side do the eastern clouds and fogs come up from the ocean—as well as the more equable ocean temperature.

In winter, when the Upper Hudson is sometimes covered with ice as far as the gate of West Point, and you travel in sledges over land and water, the vessels below West Point move about freely, the streets in New York are deep in mud, and the people are rejoicing in alternate sunshine and rain

As the atmospheric conditions, so do the plants and animals of the north-west find at West Point and along the mountain-range the end of their vast territory. Very important geological differences are also found on the two sides, if not in the internal structure of the mountains, at all events, in the more modern and superficial structure of the lowlands and plains.

The ocean and continent are both in a hydrographical and commercial relation here connected and confounded together, whilst they are separated by the still in a great measure undisturbed mountain dykes.

The railroad runs close to the water-side as far up as Albany, and it is an extremely pleasant and varied route. Sometimes there was between the rocks on the right and the river on the left only just room enough for our locomotive to slip through. Sometimes the line runs on dykes and bridges fairly into the water, and as the tide was in when we passed, the water was up to the level of the dykes, and it seemed as if the carriage were rolling along its surface. Sometimes the rocks opened to the right into a wide valley watered by a smaller stream, and we obtained a glimpse into the interior of the country, over meadows, swamps, wooded declivities, and here and there a little town; but the fine, broad, brimming river on our left proved the most attractive.

It was not a bright Canadian day; the clouds and mists of the ocean had forced their way through the Hercules Pillars of West Point, and hung low and heavy over the landscape. The Hudson at this part, too, again resembled an arm of the sea, and we could scarcely see the opposite shore; but it was a pleasant surprise when it sometimes emerged suddenly from the mist, and revealed a town or a headland surrounded and set in clouds. There was, of course, no lack of sails and shipping, innumerable small craft glided up and down, and vessels of considerable size were moving along with a fresh breeze and full sails, and, as if they had been at sea, without any anxious soundings; and occasionally a steam-tug would appear with a whole fleet in tow. A different method seems to be adopted by tugs from that in use with us. Instead of dragging the ships along slowly by long ropes one after another, the steamers here have them close to her on her right and left and moves along in the midst of them The motive power is said to be more efficient by this method. If only one ship is to be towed, the little tug does not take it behind her, but attaches herself to its side, so as to form an acute angle with it. Her prow seems to pierce the hull of the large vessel, as a little narval does the belly of the whale, and she rather pushes than drags it along.

Many of the villages and localities on this part of the Hudson still bear the names bestowed on them by its discoverers the Dutch, who first opened it to the world of commerce. The Dutch possessed the river and its shores about sixty years, and when the English conquered both, they changed the names of the principal places,—"New Amsterdam" became New York, and "Fort Orange" Albany; but the Dutch had sown so many little settlements over the country, and so filled it with local appellations, that it seemed impossible to root them all out from the intercourse of daily life, and they are therefore mostly still in use On [illegible] we passed was called Rhynbeck; another [illegible] a third, Schodack; and on the other side [illegible] we saw Malden, Catskill, &c. Near New York are Hoboken and Brooklyn, and the beautiful and celebrated group of blue mountains that stretched northwards from West Point and to the west of the river bears still its old name of the Catskill Mountains. The Dutch *kill*, or spring, has been retained as a generic name for little tributary streams—such as "Norman's-kill," "Fish-kill," &c., such as the English in Australia call creeks. Besides these names, many other traces and reminiscences of the Dutch time are observable. Many landed estates are still held according to the provisions of the Dutch law; and many of the old Dutch, though now Anglicised families, are still in possession of the same lands as at that time. Such, for instance, as the family of Reusselaer—the most distinguished one in Albany and its neighbourhood—which has even retained an old Dutch rather aristocratic title through all the vicissitudes of the times. Down quite to the present day the head of that family was known as the "Patroon." There are other families of similar descent in Albany and New York, who form the kernel of society. They are the oldest families of the town, and a certain air of dignity and solid opulence distinguishes them Dutch steadiness and English enterprise are the two chief elements in the character of the true New York merchant; and it is but lately that they have become thoroughly amalgamated. Many of the customs and habits of the few hundred Dutchmen who first founded the city have now become those of millions. Even the Dutch language has not quite died out, but is still spoken in the old colonies of Long Island and New Jersey, and in some of the domestic circles of the above-mentioned old families. It is not, however, modern Dutch, but that which was spoken at the period of the settlement. In confirmation of this fact it was mentioned to me on good authority, that when a few years ago an American from Albany was sent as ambassador to the King of Holland, and the king at his first audience addressed him in French, the ambassador apologised for his in-

ability to reply in that language, and spoke Dutch. King William listened to him for a while in great surprise, and then exclaimed that he spoke exactly as people did two hundred years ago in Holland.

VI.

ALBANY—OLD FORT ORANGE—TROY—SARATOGA—CONGRESS SPRING—LIFE AT SARATOGA—LAKE GEORGE—SQUIRREL-HUNT—TICONDEROGA FORT—LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

A POWERFUL steamer came to fetch us from our last railway station over to Albany. A forest of ships of all kinds and a labyrinth of houses met our eyes as we approached it; and ships, quays, and streets were all swarming with people.

The greater steamer delivered us at a still more colossal hotel, which rose like a mountain not far from the shore. It was tea-time; the gong was sounding far and wide, and from all the innumerable doors and staircases came trooping the guests—ladies and gentlemen, old and young, and taking their places at some one of the long tables The attendants at table are all of the feminine gender, and a little army of waitresses was drawn up in rank and file awaiting us. We charged into the room at speed, and in much the same tumultuous throng which in London invades the House of Lords when Her Majesty has spoken the words "Call the Commons in."

The troop of maidens was immediately in motion, pushing chairs into their places, and distributing cups of tea and coffee, sandwiches, cakes, mutton-chops, &c., with the celerity of a practised player dealing cards. To my astonishment they were commanded, and all their movements directed, by a negro, who was the head-waiter. I say to my astonishment, for, according to my notions of the prejudices of American whites against blacks, I should have thought it impossible that these white republican damsels could have been induced to submit to such a rule; though, under different circumstances, the same thing may be seen in the harems of Oriental grandees I did see, too, a few little tossings of the head, and saucy faces, which reminded me of the well-known picture of a girl mocking a eunuch in a seraglio.

This negro appeared, however, born to be a head-waiter; he did the honours of the room with a skill, politeness, and tact that was really surprising. He had nothing of the noisy, obtrusive manner of head-waiters in our country. He received every guest at the door with a decorum and even dignity which was equally remote from too great obsequiousness and too much self-assertion: just the true mean which a gentleman is accustomed to observe.

After tea I walked through the town of Albany, from one end to the other, to pay a visit to a celebrated geologist of New York, Professor Hall. A little Irish boy accompanied me, and amused me not a little. "Do you know the way to Delaware turnpike?" I asked. "I know it first-rate, sir," was the reply; he supposed I was going westward, and would like to go himself. I asked why, and what he knew of the West? "Oh, sir, the West is a good money-making place, I guess." On the way I was much struck by the extent and importance of the bookselling establishments: they were large, and filled with a great number of handsomely bound books. Albany is, it appears, a great staple place for the literary productions of New York, Boston, and other book-producing places of the Eastern States; and as the line of the great immigrant march to the West passes through it, it provides also for the spiritual wants of the wayfarers.

The appearance of the apothecaries' shops, too, both here and in New York, make it seem quite a pleasure to be ill, so gaily and elegantly were they decorated. All this external splendour is, however, it must be owned, somewhat deceitful. These gorgeous shops are often mere whited sepulchres, where I am told the most ignorant quacks pursue their nefarious trade.

The streets of the suburbs, as we proceeded on our walk, gradually became wider, darker, and more desolate, until at last we found ourselves in an entirely houseless region. The so-called streets terminated in broad, deep, seemingly bottomless streaks of mud, along the side of which a few boards were laid by way of pavement. You go on for miles along these planks, keeping your balance as well as you can in the darkness; right and left no houses are to be seen, and nevertheless you are still inside the town. After a while we again came to some human habitations, and I knocked at a door to ask my way, for my little Irishman, in spite of his "first-rate" knowledge, had lost his way. The people of the house were Germans from Cobourg, and I stopped with them for a short rest. They had lived here fourteen years, and were, they said, extremely content, though the father of the family was still only what he had been in Cobourg, a day labourer. Even as such he had been able to make some savings, and to buy a piece of land. He had a house of his own, a horse, a few cows, and pigs, and he would assuredly never have attained to such opulence as that in Cobourg.

Following the left bank of the river, we arrived at Troy, celebrated as the great depôt of the lumber trade, from whence enormous quantities of timber are sent down the Hudson. The Americans are proud of their Troy. The classical visitor will, however, seeing it is a busy manufacturing town, exclaim, alas, for *Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum!* and he will be the more inclined to sigh over past and present associations, when he hears that two small hills in the vicinity of the town bear the high-sounding titles of Ida and Olympus. The traveller has an excellent opportunity of seeing the principal streets, as the railway passes directly through them before crossing the Hudson, and thus passengers are conveniently dropped at the doors of the hotels.

It was dark when we arrived at Saratoga. Following a train of passengers who were going to the United States Hotel, I found myself among a crowd of eager applicants for rooms. Having obtained an apartment, I was seized by four negroes, who with prodigious large whisks, commenced a vigorous attack on the dust covering my clothes and hair. After this operation, I indulged in a luxurious bath, and, having changed my dress, mingled with the numerous and gay company promenading the corridors. The vastness of the hotel was amazing. In comparison with its halls, those at the Revere House sink into insignificance. After supper strains of music drew me upstairs, where, in a large and handsome ball-room, about two hundred ladies and gentlemen were dancing and promenading, the former *en grande toilette*, while the latter, as at Nahant, wore their morning costume.

The following morning I rose early, and went to the celebrated Congress Spring, which rises in a small park at the end of the main street. The bubbling fountain, inclosed by a temple, was surrounded by a crowd of

both sexes, drinking the curative element out of glasses handed to them by boys. The ladies were dressed in loose morning robes, and wore on their heads a kind of fringed hood of crochet work. An advertisement suspended in the temple, set forth that Congress Spring was discovered in 1792 by a member of Congress. The water is a purely natural acidulous or carbonated saline aperient, and is pronounced peculiarly beneficial in stomach complaints, and diseases of the blood.

So fair a promise of restoring health, combined with fashionable amusements, draws a large concourse of invalids and pleasure-seekers to Saratoga. Such, indeed, are its real or imaginary attractions, that as many as two thousand visitors have arrived in a week.

Exercise being enjoined in the interval between drinking the requisite large number of glasses, an ingenious contrivance has been devised combining exercise and locomotion. Not far from the spring is an extensive circular railway, on which run gaily-painted miniature cars holding two persons, who turn the wheels for themselves. A number of these cars were careering round at a great rate on the morning of my visit, the amusement consisting in the different parties running races with each other, the [illegible] helping their partners most vigorously in propelling [illegible]chines.

Besides this, bowls, and [illegible], or ten-pins as they are called in America, were in [illegible]gue, the ladies joining heartily in the game. At a short distance from the springs is an establishment where the water is bottled, and despatched to all parts of the Union, for the Americans implicitly believe it is the best mineral water of its kind, and the consumption is consequently very large. It was difficult to recognise the ladies at the spring as the same I had met at the breakfast table, so great was the change in their dress. Remembering that the majority purpose passing through two more transformations, for dinner and the nightly ball, and that to appear in a different dress on every occasion is the height of fashion, I no longer doubted the story of some ladies travelling with fifty dresses. It is also said, that when ladies have exhibited their wardrobe, they depart, the great object of their visit being accomplished.

Independently of the attractions of Saratoga as the most fashionable watering place in the United States, its historical associations are interesting. Not far from it, and on an elevation, about a mile from Hudson, is the celebrated battle field, claimed by Americans as the locality where the advancing wave which threatened to overwhelm their liberty was arrested.

The great event of the day at "the Springs" is dinner, which takes place at half past three. This, at the United States Hotel, is a tremendous undertaking. Conceive sitting down in an enormous saloon, or rather four saloons, at right angles to each other, with some six hundred guests, waited upon by one hundred and fifty negroes, commanded by a black maître d'hôtel. The operation of finding places for such a multitude—in itself no trifling task—being over, the waiters, dressed in spotless white jackets, extend their hands over the covers, and, at a signal from their chief, stationed in the centre of the saloons, remove them simultaneously. Then arises a clatter of knives, plates, and forks perfectly bewildering, in the sharp rattling fire of which conversation is drowned, and confusion seems established. But a glance at the commander-in-chief shows that, although his black troops are rushing hither and thither in hot haste, at the bidding of impetuous Southerners or less irascible Northerners, he has not lost his authority. At a clap of his hands they fall into their places, and at another all the dishes are removed. Bearing these dexterously on their extended arm, they march in step to the side-doors, through which they disappear. Scarcely, however, are they out of sight, when, like harlequin in the pantomime, in they come again, each with three fresh dishes, with which they marched to their appointed places. Then, with their eye on the commander, they hold a dish over the table, and pop it down at the first signal. With clap two the second dish descends; and at the third signal the tables are covered. So through the dinner; for even in the changing of knives, forks, and spoons, the same regularity is observed. The whole thing is excessively entertaining; and, what between looking at the various manœuvres, and at the ladies' dresses, I fared badly in the way of eating. The fault, however, lay entirely with myself, for the abundance of dishes was overpowering. This admirable organisation is, of course, a great economy of time; for although no counting-houses are near, the guests, without any display of quick eating, were evidently desirous not to remain longer at table than necessary; and in less than an hour the rooms were deserted.

At Saratoga, to see each other and to be seen is evidently the main object. The ladies, in their gay attire, with their beautiful hair uncovered by bonnet or cap, promenade in the galleries and through the main streets, from hotel to hotel; some of the gentlemen, meantime, being seated in very remarkable attitudes in the verandahs, from whence they enjoy commanding views of the ladies; while others seek the billiard-rooms or shooting-galleries. As evening closes, the promenaders return, and at seven a loud gong summons to tea. After this repast, the drawing-rooms fill, and some of the ladies play and sing. Later, there is generally "a hop," as the negro waiters call it.

Such is a sketch of the life I saw at Saratoga—highly amusing to contemplate for a short time, but presenting no temptation to the stranger to mix in for more than a couple of days.

Leaving the gay and glittering scene, in the afternoon I took the railway cars to Monroe, and proceeded by stage over a plank road to Lake George, a distance of eighteen miles. I was the only passenger, and for some minutes it seemed doubtful whether the driver would proceed with so unremunerative a load. However, I insisted on his starting, having been assured at Saratoga that a stage invariably communicated with the trains at Monroe; and, after a little growling, he mounted his box and we set off. The road was wretched. The planks had not been renewed for many years, and we floundered about in a manner more ludicrous than pleasant. When we had accomplished about half the distance, and the night had set in, we came to a wooden bridge, at the approach to which the driver paused. "What is the matter?" I demanded. "Why, I guess there's a darn'd hole in this 'ere bridge," was the reply. At this intelligence I suggested, as it was very dark, he should get out and lead his horses. This, however, did not meet his approbation; and, before I could alight, he whipped the animals furiously, and over we went, clearing hole and bridge at a bound. As this was my first introduction to American disregard to life and limb, it made a considerable impression on me. Subsequent adventures tended greatly however to harden me. At ten I arrived at the hotel, situated at the southern

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Lying up the grounds to the Village of Tobias

extremity of Lake George, and soon after forgot my fatigues in a comfortable bed.

I had made a *détour* for the express purpose of seeing this lake; and the scenery which burst upon me the following morning was so lovely, I resolved on devoting a day to its varied beauties.

I was confirmed in my determination by hearing at breakfast there was to be a grand squirrel hunt in the neighbouring woods, and all the farming population were to take part in it. These hunts, or, as they are called, "Squirrel Bees," take place at the close of the harvest, and are generally attended with a terrible destruction of squirrels and other animals; for, although squirrels are the principal objects of pursuit, no quadruped or bird comes amiss to the hunter. A recent battue in the woods to the east of Lake Champlain had yielded 1 wild cat, 7 red foxes, 29 racoons, 76 woodchucks, 101 rabbits, 21 owls, 42 hawks, 103 partridges, 14 quails, 39 crows, 4,497, gray, red, black, and striped squirrels, 25 wild ducks, besides unnumbered pigeons, jays, woodpeckers, &c.

On the present occasion only 4,300 squirrels fell, of which about 200 were black. I shot one of these, and eight red squirrels, and might have easily added to the number, but from a circumstance which paralysed my energies, and kept me in a state of constant apprehension. This was the unwelcome information that the woods swarm with rattlesnakes, rendering it highly dangerous to traverse them without having the feet and legs protected by stout boots. Now, as I wore shoes which left my ancles entirely unprotected, I confess I felt very uncomfortable, and was particularly careful not to stray from the beaten track in my pursuit of game. These terrible reptiles are not, however, shunned by the hunters. Some men are particularly dexterous in capturing them for the sake of their oil and gall, which are reputed to be valuable specifics for certain diseases; and my friend, Mr. Lanman of Washington, who is well acquainted with Lake George, says that the principal amusement of the girls residing in a small hamlet on the shores of the lake is rattlesnake hunting. Their favourite play-ground is the sunny side of Tongue Mountain, near Rattlesnake Island, where they pull the reptiles from between the rocks by their tails, and, snapping them to death, carry them off in baskets as trophies of their skill. In this manner he was told they had killed, in one day, the incredible number of 1,100.

While the mountains and forests are tenanted by a variety of game and reptiles, the angler will be glad to hear that the waters of this beautiful lake are famous for the number and variety of trout, and particularly for black basse, which, like trout, seem to be partial to romantic places. This fine fish is a genuine native American, and justly takes high rank among the game fish of the country. The true angler will respect it more for its love for gaudy flies, which it seizes with the avidity of a salmon trout. I was informed that in the vicinity of the numerous islands, dozens of basse of from two to six pounds weight may be taken in the course of a few hours; so the angler may reckon on excellent fishing should he feel disposed to remain some time on the shores of this lake, and should he tire of sport, he will have abundant opportunities of studing herpetology if he be inclined.

Let the Americans praise Lake George as much as they please, its great beauties cannot be exaggerated. Its Indian name is Horicon, a musical and appropriate word, signifying "pure water," and it is to be regretted that this was exchanged for the more common-place name which it now bears. It is thirty-four miles long, from two to four wide, and reflects upwards of three hundred islands on its clear bosom. It is completely surrounded by elevations, the most prominent of which are Black and Tongue Mountains, famous for their dens of rattlesnakes. French Mountain, which rises picturesquely at the south extremity, is memorable as having been the camping ground of the French during the Revolutionary War. Instead of ascending the mountain, I visited the remains of Fort George, and Fort William Henry, celebrated as the scenes of the terrible massacre of the English army by the Indians in 1757.

The following morning I embarked in a small steamer for the head of the lake. The day was lovely, and the trip most beautiful. An old fellow belonging to the boat pointed to all the objects of interest; and when we came abreast of Tongue Mountain, confirmed its unenviable reputation for rattlesnakes, by producing a large box containing about a dozen of these reptiles which he had caught on the slopes. It is his yearly habit to catch, at the beginning of the season, a number of these snakes, which he keeps without food, and at the end of the year kills them, and sells their oil. Those which he had were extremely large, and in a furious state of excitement.

At the head of the lake rude stages were waiting to convey us to Ticonderoga, five miles distant. This drive introduced me to a corduroy road, over the irregularities of which our vehicle rose and fell with a violence of motion threatening every moment to hurl me from my outside seat. On our way we passed several log huts. Altogether the drive was of the wildest nature At Ticonderoga, or, as it is called, "Old Ty," we had to wait some hours for the Lake Champlain steamer, during which time I explored the extensive ruins of the fortress. This was built by the French in 1756, and called Carillon. The Indian name was Cheonderoga, signifying sounding water, on account of the rushing waters at the outlet of Lake George at the Falls. The place is identified with the most deadly strife between the English and French, and subsequently between the former and the Americans. The ruins are situated on a peninsula, comprising about five hundred acres, and are at an elevation of about one hundred feet above Lake Champlain. It was a very strong fortress, and the numerous relics of war, in the form of bullets and arrow-heads which are still found, attest how fiercely battles must have raged about its walls.

The storm which had raged on Lake Champlain the day before our arrival, with such violence as to occasion some shipwrecks, had passed away when we reached it, and the little fury now lay peaceful, and smiling, and smooth as glass before us. A north-west wind, here called the "fine-weather wind," had swept the sky clear of clouds, and one of the beautiful steamers, white painted and exquisitely clean, was floating like a swan on the water at Burlington, and ready to carry us away to the north. The Americans are certainly the cleanest people in the world, and a traveller who has not yet convinced himself of the fact may do so by inspecting one of these steamers. There is not a place in them which the most elegant passenger could hesitate to enter; throughout the drawing-rooms, dining-rooms, sleeping cabins, he will

find everything in the most perfect order, and brilliantly clean. The washing and bathing rooms, perfumery and hair-dressers' shops (for all these things are to be found on board), are as elegant and as well kept as in the streets of New York or Boston.

For the enjoyment of the air and scenery too these steamers are admirably adapted. A broad high platform called the "Promenade Deck" rises in the midst, floored like a dancing-room, and affording a free view all round, and you have plenty of room for pacing about it. If the wind is cold you descend to the floor below, where you find open verandahs and wide balconies, and where you are protected from the wind without being hindered in the enjoyment of the scenery; or you may go lower, and find a still more sheltered seat under the colonnade that runs round the apartments of the ladies. It was really no trifling enjoyment to navigate this glorious lake in such a vessel as this.

The Frenchman Champlain was the first man who ever fired a gun upon these waters. In 1609, when he came here from Canada, he had but three musketeers with him, but with these he struck terror into the country, and gained many victories over the wild tribes round the lake. That a man who must be regarded as the real founder of Canada, and who did more to spread European civilisation and authority here than any other, should have given his name to the lake, is what no one can object to, especially as he has scarcely any other geographical monument here in the north. It is certain, however, that the Indians would long since have found a much better one.[1] In the language of one of the tribes it is called *Petawa bougue*, or 'Change of land and water,' which on account of its numerous islands is very suitable. Another called it *Camaderi guarunte*, which signifies 'Mouth or Gate of the Country.' The small lake connected with it to the south, which we call Lake George, the Indian natives called by a name that signifies 'Water attached to the great lake.' The appellation 'Mouth of the Country' particularly pleased me, for Lake Champlain, and its continuation, the River Richelieu, which runs into the St. Lawrence, is the only natural entrance to the wide mountain district around it. It is doubtless an old Indian road, and in the time of the French dominion in Canada it was the mouth through which the hostile nations, the French and English, spoke to one another continually with musket and cannon thunder. But now for forty years past this mouth happily no longer pours forth armed soldiers and ferocious Indians, guns and blood and scalps, but steamers and locomotives and peaceful traders, and bales of goods from New York and Montreal —between which two great marts it forms the chief if not the only direct connection. On the line four hundred miles long between New York and Montreal, Lake Champlain, with the Hudson, is the principal channel of communication. It offers a hundred miles of water navigable for the largest ships; but, unfortunately, its outlet, the Richelieu, is hindered by rocks and rapids. There remained, therefore, an isthmus between the northern extremity of the lake and the St. Lawrence, as between the southern and the Hudson; but canals and railways have now removed this difficulty, and made of it a single uninterrupted line.

Sea-shells and brackish water and the sea-tide reach, as I have said, as far up as Albany; and here on Lake Champlain I learned that seals come up the lake, along the path of the whales of old times. They come through the mighty St. Lawrence, and wriggle their way among the rocks and cataracts of the Richelieu to the land-locked water, where in the winter they are often killed on the ice. On talking the subject over with the captain of the steamer, I learned that it was by no means uncommon; and that two or three seals were found every year as far south as Whitehall. There is much of the islander in the character of the New England men. It is more narrow, compact, and solid than that of the people of the other States.

The whole northern part of Lake Champlain is filled with larger and smaller islands, some covered with forest, some cultivated and inhabited, and some even with little towns or villages, and others again mere rocks rising out of the water. (*See* p. 16.)

It was a beautiful evening on which we were steaming through these islands, the sun went down behind the Adirondac mountains in a flood of light, passing into a thousand glorious tints, till the moon rose and melted them all into her silvery splendour. The crew of our steamer consisted entirely of French-Canadians, the first whom I had seen, and they made a very favourable impression on me. They were all lively, well-behaved, agreeable men, and they still retained so much of the spirit of *la belle France*, as to find perpetual amusement in gossiping and joking with one another, when there was nothing else to be done; and the captain declared he preferred them to the Americans, who were too "independent," and would not do all kinds of work. Here also I met with Indians for the first time. As they sat in silence, wrapped in dark mantles, I took them for a group of poor German emigrants, until one of them, to whom I had in vain spoken in French, German, and English, repeated several times, "I am *savasch*,"—that is, "savage."

VII.

MONTREAL—DONNAGANNA'S HOTEL—VILLE MARIE—HOCHELAGA—CATHEDRAL—SUPERSTITION—ARTILLERY BARRACKS—GEOLOGICAL MUSEUM—VICTORIA BRIDGE—FARMS OF THE HABITANS—SEIGNORIAL RIGHTS—IMPORTANCE OF MONTREAL.

I FIRST touched Canadian soil at Rouse's Point, at the northern extremity of the lake, on a beautiful moonlight night, and it was on entering into British territory, at the same place, that a foreigner said that for the first time in his life he was treated by custom-house officers as honest passengers ought to be treated.

"Gentlemen, have you anything that pays duty?"

We answered in unison, "No," and were then passed, with bag and baggage, without the officers making any examination to discover whether we were or were not liars and cheats. On the quay was a post with a board, on which was inscribed, "No smoking allowed west of this board;" and I have often had occasion to notice how completely this wandering people must have the compass by heart to profit by such directions. Even in the labyrinth of streets in a great city they seem never at a loss, and on the addresses of letters you will see, "Two doors east or north of such a street."

Though in a railway train and at night, I immediately perceived indications of being in a different country. There were differences in the arrangements

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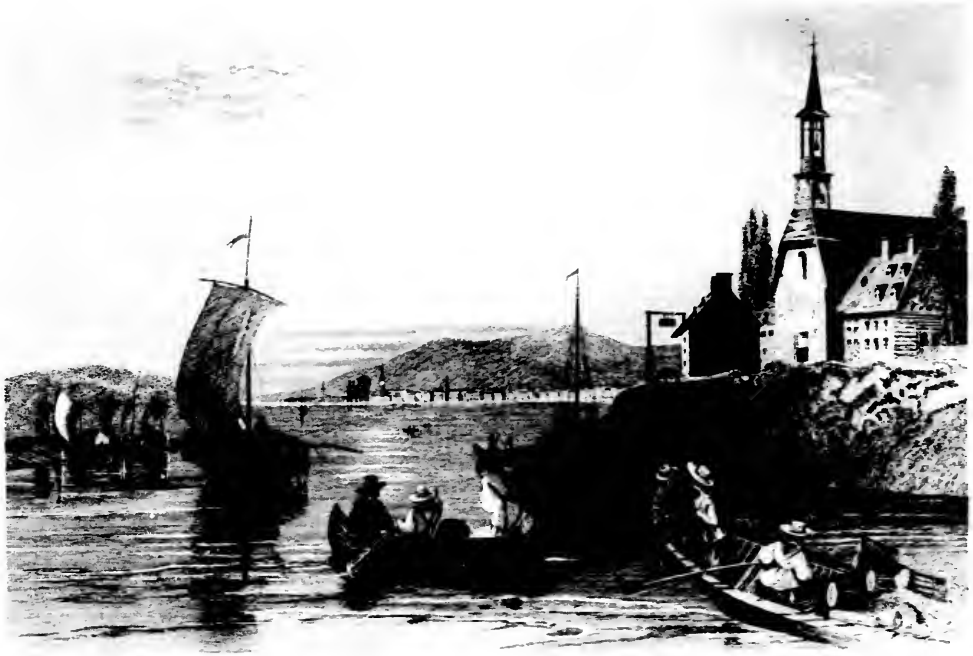

of the carriages, different figures and costumes, and from time to time I heard French, or rather Canadian, spoken. The mountains and hills of Vermont and New York had now entirely disappeared, and the moon shone over a wide plain, in which we could distinguish tracts of forest, of stoney heath or grass-land, intermingled with corn-fields and thinly scattered villages. At some of these we stopped, and I could see that the outlines of the houses differed widely from those of the United States;—girls with their hands stuck in the pockets of their aprons, and young peasants with long nightcaps were talking to them as they lounged against the wall. We were passing through the counties of Acadie and Chambly, and at the last station, St. Lambert, we came in sight of the mighty St. Lawrence, its broad flood gleaming in the moonlight; the steam ferry-boat took us up a the steam carriage set us down, and we were soon gain afloat. In former days, when steam did not toss people this way head over heels from one place to another, we should have passed the night in St Lambert, and have had time the next day before the "*bóteau*"[1] came, to have duly considered the situation, and made many philosophical reflections upon it; but there is now only time for this in winter, when the river is covered with ice, and the two shores are long separated from one another. We proceeded in a straight line across the river, but we had nevertheless several miles to go

MONTREAL.

before we saw anything of the handsome "Silver Town." At last something glimmered silvery through the mist, namely the tin-covered houses and churches of Montreal. This metal, *un-precious* as it is, nevertheless preserves its white brightness a long time without rusting, and when the moon or the setting sun plays on the roofs and cupolas they produce an effect that Canaletto, or Quaglio, or any other painter of cities and houses, would be enchanted with. When I saw Montreal by common day-light, indeed, I could not help thinking the epithet of "Silver Town" far too complimentary; but subsequently, when I saw the church towers under the rosy light of evening, they seemed to glow with eternal fire, and I became of a different opinion.

The Americans regard Montreal and Quebec much as we do Memphis or Thebes, as places of the highest antiquity, and go thither if they desire to see something very old-world and European. The carriages in which we and our effects were received, on our arrival at Montreal, were certainly adapted to support this view. One cannot imagine how a coach-builder could hit on such a contrivance, and still less how such an old-fashioned, inconvenient machine could have continued in use to the present day. Fancy a large, high, clumsily-made sort of a post-chaise, or rather box, hung between two rickety wheels. At the top of the machine sits the driver, and as soon as you have engaged

[1] Canadian for "*bóteau*."

aim he backs it so as to enable you to step in at the door behind, and then away it jolts, you and your trunks and hat-boxes and carpet-bags tumbling about together, and settling your respective places as you can. For the use of this contrivance, too, you have to pay very dearly, at least if you get an impudent extortionate Irishman to drive you, instead of a modest, good-tempered, honest Canadian.

In certain departments of social life—hotels, railroads, river-steamers, and newspapers—Canada is a good deal Americanised, and the great hotel at which we alighted, "Donnaganna's," was quite on the plan of those of the United States; it was, too, very republican in its spirit, according to which, while the great mass of the guests are admirably served, each individual appears neglected. When the multitude, summoned by the loud tones of the gong, come crowding into the vast dining-room, they find a whole army of waiters ready to supply every possible want; but if, as an individual, he requires, out of the regular time, as much as a cup of broth, he may starve before he gets it. Society at large finds saloons fitted up with princely splendour, but when you withdraw your individuality into your private room, you find yourself shut up in a mere cell, with four white walls, with a gas-pipe sticking out from the wall, at which you must yourself kindle a light, and where you may ring and stamp and call yourself hoarse even for a glass of water, and probably at last find that the only way to get it is to fetch it yourself.

Standing at an early hour the following morning on the summit of the mountain at the back of the city, I thought of the emotions Jacques Cartier must have experienced when he first beheld the magnificent prospect disclosed from this elevation, to which, in honour of his royal master, he gave the name of Mont Royal. At that period (1535) the Indian village of Hochelaga stood on the site of Montreal. For many miles above and below the St. Lawrence is seen flowing majestically through a richly-cultivated country, expanding frequently into lakes of vast proportions. A century after the discovery of Hochelaga, the French, with much solemnity, founded a city on the site, to which they gave the name of Ville Marie; and although, in common with all other French settlements in North America, it subsequently came into the possession of Great Britain, the original French features remain singularly unaltered. The streets in the old parts of the city retain their ancient saintly names; French is heard in all quarters, particularly in the markets; and the vast Roman Catholic cathedral, calculated to contain 10,000 persons, with its convents, nunneries, and other ecclesiastical establishments, attest the former sway of the French and the abiding influence of the Roman Catholic religion.

Among the many bold and gigantic structural designs for which North America is celebrated, the Victoria Railway Bridge at Montreal takes high rank. The Colossus of Rhodes, under which the pigmy shallops of former ages sailed, was esteemed a wonder of the Old World. But an iron bridge, spanning a river two miles in width, giving safe passage to burdens of hundreds of tons on its rivetted floor, and permitting ships of large tonnage to sail beneath it, is an achievement still more remarkable for the New World, and is worthy of the young giant rising in the West. The great enemy with which the structure will have to contend is ice, which, in spring, rushes down the river in vast masses with a force apparently irresistible. Mr. Stephenson designed the piers of his bridge in such a manner as to resist an amount of pressure far greater than what the best authorities describe as existing in the severest seasons.

In the course of a drive through the environs of Montreal, I saw the farms of some of the *habitans*, descendants of the original French settlers. These settlements are interesting, as being relics of the ancient feudal tenure which was transplanted to the New World when the system was in full force in Europe. The kings of France, as feudal lords, gave to noblemen and officers titles to lands, denominated seigniories, held from the sovereign *en fief*, on condition of their rendering fealty or homage for the same. The kings of Great Britain becoming successors to the claims of the kings of France, the custom was continued and the gifts were extended.

Great prosperity existed among the farms which I visited. Orchards, famous for their delicious apples, abounded, and the variety of other fruits and vegetables shows that the land is highly prolific, and cultivation successfully practised. Indeed, it is a pleasant sight to see these French settlers on their prosperous little farms.

There are many charming villas in the neighbourhood of Montreal commanding lovely views. Some of these belong to merchants engaged in extensive business operations in the city. Montreal, from its population and situation, may be regarded as the capital of Canada, though no longer enjoying the honour of being the seat of government.

Besides its importance as a great commercial emporium, Montreal is celebrated for its extensive financial operations. The tourist whose exchequer needs replenishing will do well to remember he can obtain all descriptions of coin in this city; and it may be worth mentioning that the English shilling bears the rather perplexing value of fifteen pence, and the English sovereign of twenty-four shillings and four pence.

VIII.

THE OTTAWA—LA CHINE—INDIANS OF KORNAWAGA—OTTAWA STEAMERS—FINE BRIDGE—CARILLON—BYTOWN OR OTTAWA CITY—ORIGIN OF THE TOWN—REASONS FOR SELECTION AS THE METROPOLIS OF CANADA.

THE Ottawa is the largest tributary of the St. Lawrence, and it is also, from its geographical position, the most important. The east and west course of the main stream is continued by it, while the upper St. Lawrence bears more to the south. The Ottawa is the shortest water route to the great upper lakes, and has, therefore, served from the earliest times more than the upper St. Lawrence as the high-road to the west. Lake Superior, Lake Huron, and the Georgian Bay were discovered by means of the valley of the Ottawa, and most of the Jesuit missionaries passed up this valley, and reached thus the western branches of those inland seas.

The canal route of the Ottawa was, as early as the first quarter of the seventeenth century, one of the best known navigation lines of Canada, though subsequently it was from various causes much neglected; so much indeed that at the present moment many parts of it, and especially its sources, are nearly unknown, but steamers and railroads are now active in restoring the Ottawa country to its natural importance. It will

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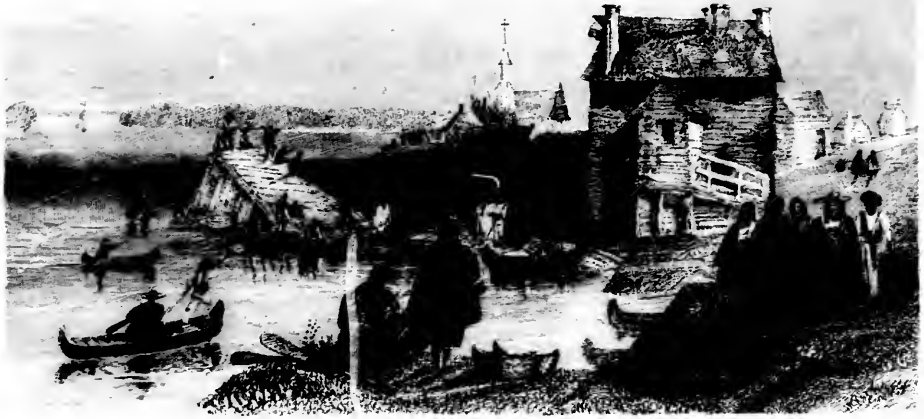

become once more what it was at first—a great road to the west—but in a much higher degree.

That it is at the same time a new country, and the scene of old and primitive undertakings, made it so attractive to me that I determined on an excursion to Bytown,[1] the capital of the country.

I went first to "La Chine," the principal port of Montreal for all vessels going up the Ottawa. The rapids of St. Louis interrupt the navigation, at least for upward-bound vessels, and you make a circuit by land to reach La Chine, where the water is again deep and tranquil. A railroad and a canal lead thither by the most direct route, but we preferred taking a carriage and driving along the old road, in order to enjoy the sight of the water falls.

The whole mighty river here divides itself between rocks and islands into a number of wildly foaming torrents, but with high water the steamers coming down venture the passage, and a very interesting one it is said to be. In our little chaise, however, we got so close to the rapids that it was nearly as good. The road was very lonely and ran on the very edge of the water, and we often had, before and behind and on either side of us, roaring waves, black foam-covered rocks and wooded islands, with here and there glimpses of distant water, and at last the church tower and the white cottages of the Indian village of Kohnawaga, or St. Louis, which lies exactly opposite to La Chine. That Indians should have remained so long at this point, is probably to be ascribed to the existence of the cataract. The Indian natives were the first guides of European ships through this dangerous labyrinth, and they are still the best pilots to be found here. They are not only acquainted with every rock and shallow, and the state of the river at various seasons of the year, but they have peculiarly the quick eye and the energetic hand required to turn the arrow-like course of a ship from a danger which is perhaps only indicated by a spot of rather darker colour in the water. Many of the pilots on these waters are to this day Indians of Kohnawaga.

La Chine, though only a village, is one of the oldest and most famous places in Canada. Its name is a memorial of the time when it was still supposed that the St. Lawrence was one of the shortest ways to China, and that Montreal and Quebec were destined to become the chief staple places for Chinese goods, and the little harbour of La Chine was to be the place where they were first deposited. These hopes were not fulfilled, but the extraordinary name of the village has remained as a memento of the geographical error. During the flourishing period of the old French fur trade, La Chine was the rendezvous of the voyageurs and Canadian hunters, and their little fleets of canoes, in which they brought down their furs from the north-west. Here was the end of their journey, for their wares were here unshipped for Montreal. Here the Indian chiefs were received and rewarded, and hither came the "*Ononthios*," or French governors, to listen to their speeches, say something pretty in return, and conclude treaties of peace or commerce with them, and much the same thing is going on at the present day.

A steamer carried us from La Chine, first on the broad bosom of the Lake of St. Louis, and from that lake the steamer slipped through a narrow pass and a group of islands into another lake. It is rather remarkable that the mighty St. Lawrence has not yet worn down the rocky steps over which it flows, and hollowed out its rocky passes into a regular channel, but consists, like all the other rivers of the northern half of North America, of an endless chain of lakes, cataracts, rapids, and river straits or narrows. In the Mississippi territory and the Alleghanies, the character of the rivers is changed A great raft of wood, such as the Prince of Wales floated upon down the rapids of the Ottawa, which is the chief forest plank and beam river in Canada, and supplies most of the timber for the trade of Quebec.

There are now above a dozen larger or smaller steamers on the Ottawa, but they navigate it only in a fragmentary manner. Between every two cataracts are stationed a few of these boats, which carry you over the lake or smooth part of the river, but you then go ten or twelve miles by land, till you come again to smooth water and more steamers, and the higher you go up the river the smaller they become. Our present one was as large and as luxuriously fitted up as the river steamers of America mostly are. The tables were covered at the appointed hours with a superabundance of all kinds of viands, and handsome and convenient little rooms were provided for our repose at night. I could not help thinking as we glided along in this floating palace, of the Jesuit fathers and their canoe voyages, and the numerous hardships and privations they underwent, and it was precisely on the River Ottawa that they made most of these adventurous journeys, of which they have left many descriptions.

The bridge beneath whose magnificent arches we passed out of the Lake of St. Lawrence to that of the "Two Mountains," is a work worthy of the Romans. It is built of vast blocks of dark gray limestone, and has an aspect of solid grandeur worthy of its destination, namely, to form part of the Grand Trunk railway, which is to connect the whole St. Lawrence system from east to west. I wondered not a little to find so superb a work in so thinly inhabited a region; but here in Canada, as I have said, they build for the future, and on a grand scale; they give the child a wide garment, and leave it to grow up to it. There will soon be people enough to avail themselves of all these things.

The first division of our steam-boat journey carried us as far as a French place called Carillon, where we found a whole crowd of Canadian stage-coaches with four horses each, waiting to convey us further, but both the vehicles and the cattle made a very ancient and broken-down appearance. The roads along which we drove were much more primitive than our carriages, and it required all the skill of a Canadian coachman, and all his practice in bad words, to carry us pretty quickly and in a good state of preservation, through all the holes and quagmires, and over all the blocks of stones and stumps of trees that lay in our way

Carillon, which lies at the beginning of our twelve-mile-broad isthmus, is the last French village. All beyond this are new British settlements, filled with Irish, Scotch, &c., and they do not wear by any means so pleasing an aspect as the old French ones. The first of these is Grenville, the opposite pole of the Portage; but it consists of merely wooden log-houses, among the rocks and tree stumps. The place seems, however, to be well provided with churches; indeed, to have nearly as many as houses. There was a little Presbyterian

[1] Since named Ottawa, where the Prince of Wales, on his recent visit, laid the first stone of the House of Parliament.

church of stone, with two windows; an English High Church with three; a Methodist chapel, built of wood, and not larger than a log-hut; and a Catholic church, with a cross made of two laths nailed together, and probably quite after the model of the first chapels that the Jesuits erected in the country.

From Grenville, where by degrees all the four-horse coaches came in, we glided like swans down a beautiful smooth part of the Ottawa river, which here again assumes a majestic appearance, consisting of a long broad expanse of water, like a rapidly flowing lake, bordered on either side with wooded hills.

Several of these straight, regularly formed portions occur as exceptions to the usually winding and irregular course of the Ottawa, but the most remarkable is that which is found about the middle of its course, above Ottawa City, and which bears a special name among the Canadians, though I have unluckily forgotten it. At this part of the river the current seems to have cut through the rocks, like a cannon-ball, and formed a broad channel of from thirty to forty miles in length, between high perpendicular walls of stone. You can look through it with a glass, from one end to the other; the depth of water is everywhere equal, and it flows quite smoothly. Canal digging would be most superfluous if Nature had formed rivers in general like this part of the Ottawa.

A section of somewhat similar character had occurred at Grenville, and our steamer glided pleasantly over its brown, glassy surface. The mountains were here higher and grander than further down the river, and not entirely uninhabited As it grew dark we could see lights twinkling here and there out of the woods, occasionally showing faint outlines of windows and houses, and as Carillon was the last village, we here reached the last "*Seigneurie de la petite nation*," as it was called. Here dwells, in complete retirement, M. Papineau, whose name was so conspicuous in the Revolution of 1837, and who has been called the Mirabeau of Canada; but I only saw his habitation from afar, as circumstances unfortunately did not permit of my paying him a visit.

About midnight we landed on a high shore, where the navigation of the river terminates, and had then half an hour's race over marsh and corduroy roads, before we found ourselves safely lodged in the capital, Ottawa, in one of the large crowded hotels, of which, in the youngest towns of Canada, there is never any lack.

It is little more than twenty-five years since the first tree was felled on the spot where now stands Ottawa, and it is a very few years since there existed here anything that could be called a town, and yet it already covers as much ground as Boston, and though its inhabitants did not, when I visited it, exceed 10,000, it was as grand in its pretensions as Quebec or Montreal. As yet it was only called a *town*, but as soon as its inhabitants should exceed the number above mentioned, it was to be declared a city, and, as a corporation, would attain to a greater amount of independence, and it was proposed that its name should then be altered.

The first occasion of building a town here was this: Both shores of the St. Lawrence are Canadian, or British, as far up as a little way above the mouth of the Ottawa, but from that point the southern one begins to be American; and since this part of the river is also difficult to navigate on account of the number of cataracts, the British government was desirous of finding a more inland water-communication between East and West Canada, by which the transport of troops, or other operations, could be undertaken without disturbance or observation from the Americans. They therefore passed up the Ottawa as far as its confluence with the Rideau, a small river which, by means of a series of lakes, has a pretty direct communication with the important town and fortress of Kingston on Lake Ontario; and it was determined to perfect the communication by canalling, and so obtain a much safer and more convenient route for soldiers and munitions of war than that of the St. Lawrence. Colonel By, of the Engineers, was commissioned to undertake the work, and this was the origin of the Rideau Canal, and thence also arose in the midst of the forest, at the mouth of the Rideau, where the chief supplies were received in the Ottawa, a little settlement of labourers, boatmen, engineers, &c.; and since in Canada you cannot drop a spark but that forthwith arises a forest conflagration, so from this little collection of huts sprang up the present city with its numerous houses, shops, magazines, churches, schools, colleges, and other buildings, varying in size and style, that now cover so wide an extent of ground. The man who gave his name to the city is still living in the "Old Country;" nay, the woodman who cut down the first tree, and the stonemason who hewed out the first block of stone for its foundations, are still extant, and their fortunes have run parallel with those of the city. They are rich landowners, "Honourables, and Senators," but the town still bears traces of its recent forest-birth, and presents a singular aspect.

There has been as yet no time to pave the streets, and in bad weather they are in a desperate state, only near the houses, as in most of the youngest towns of Canada, there run what are called "plank-roads," that is, footpaths made of boards. As for gardens, fruit-trees, or flowers, no one has had time so much as to think of them, and the old rough boulders and masses of rock are lying about still among the groups houses, and firs and other forest-trees are springing up again out of the stumps. Here and there amongst elegant colleges and churches are to be seen fragments of the primeval forest, lofty pines and firs, and thick underwood that occasionally may give shelter to a bear. Many spots still covered with these moss-grown rocks, roots, and stumps, are nevertheless inclosed, and serve sometimes for keeping cattle. By and by they will be changed into gardens, but as yet the unbroken mass of the primeval forest fences in the town on all sides, up to its very streets, and if you get a view of it from a high point you see for miles and miles nothing but a sea of woods, in which the town lies like the nest of a heathcock.

The grounds upon which Bytown—actually Ottawa City—has been selected as the future capital of all Canada, are, in the first place, that the Ottawans have calculated their city as geographically the most central position in all Canada, and is, on the average, nearer to the most important places in the country than Quebec, Toronto, or even Montreal, and so many telegraph lines, canals, and railroads are making, or made, that Ottawa is already intimately interwoven with the whole network by which the traffic of Canada is carried on. The persons forming and connected with the government who would have to reside here, and who are accustomed to the enjoyments and luxuries of civilisation, would find indeed no theatres, concert-rooms,

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&c., but what is there that cannot be quickly procured in America; and, on the other hand, they would not find here violent party discord among the inhabitants, and an unruly mob, such as that which burnt the Parliament Houses in Montreal. In the United States it is an old and judicious custom to place the centres of government out of the more populous towns, in comparatively *by-places*, where it can better act, without fear of disturbance, for the welfare of the country. The relation of Ottawa to Montreal is, in this point of view, the same as that of Albany to New York.

Finally, Ottawa has the advantage, at least over Montreal and Toronto, of being more secure from attack by an external enemy. Each is nearer to the frontiers than Ottawa, and cannot be made so secure in a military point of view; they are more exposed to *coups de main*. Ottawa lies more in the interior—has an excellent natural site for an Acropolis and citadel, and its enabling military preparations to be carried on without approaching the frontier, was the very occasion of its origin. The rivalry between the three large cities of Canada was also in favour of the claims of the future Ottawa city, so that the matter ended like the presidential elections in the United States, where the mutual jealousies of the powerful parties have the effect of keeping a Webster, Scott, or Clay out of the chair, and raising to it a Filmore, a Lincoln, and other inferior men

QUEBEC.

IX.

Voyage to Quebec—Heights of Abraham—Calèche—Bad Hotels—Fortifications—Magnificent View—Wolfe's Monument—Lower Town—Historical Society—Falls of Montmorenci — Spencer Wood — Saint Lawrence Steamers — Immigrants — The Thousand Islands — Kingston

The distance by water from Montreal to Quebec (180 miles), by the great comfort and elegance of the mode of transit, is almost annihilated. Large steamboats leave Montreal every evening at seven o'clock, and arrive at Quebec at the same hour the following morning. The vessel in which I voyaged was unusually crowded, upwards of 300 passengers being on board; fortunately I secured a state-room in the morning—a wise precaution—and thus suffered no inconvenience The saloon at supper-time, with its 300 occupants presented a singular appearance; but, though there was an extraordinary run on the provisions, and stewards were in great request, the utmost regularity and order prevailed. This was the more surprising as the company was very mixed, consisting of all political grades and parties, who discussed with great warmth the probable fall of the reigning administration.

At a late hour I retired to my state-room, where I enjoyed perfect privacy and an excellent bed. When I rose in the morning, the steamer was passing under high cliffs, which for a considerable distance above Quebec confine the St. Lawrence in a narrow channel. The cold was intense; and was the more felt as at

Montreal the temperature was uncomfortably warm. Large ships lined the left bank of the river, moored amidst enormous rafts. Presently the celebrated heights of Abraham appeared, beyond which Quebec was visible, with its picturesque church-steeples. (*See* page 29.) Gliding through a fleet of timber-ships our steamer took a sweep round, and, as the clocks were striking seven, came to rest opposite a pier projecting from the lower town. On landing my ears were assailed by cries of "Calash, calash," the old French *calèche* being still the favourite public carriage of Quebec. In one of these I proceeded through, or rather *up*, the lower to the higher town—for the road is almost precipitous—and was set down at Russell's Hotel where a friend had secured a room for me. At all seasons the Quebec hotels are bad; but when I was there, in consequence of the opening of parliament having brought crowds of people into the city, they were peculiarly wretched. My room was one of a suite improvised for the occasion out of a dining-room, and bore very great resemblance to a wooden box of rather large proportions with two small holes serving for door and window. There was, however, nothing better to be had; and I was told to consider myself fortunate, having my box to myself. After a wonderful scrambling breakfast I set out to explore the city, and bent my steps in the first instance to the citadel. This, thanks to an officer of the engineers, to whom I had a letter of introduction, I saw in detail, —passing through the underground communications and over bastions bristling with heavy cannon, which are not accessible to the public.

The circuit of the fortifications inclosing the upper town is two miles and three-quarters; the total circumference, outside the ditches and space reserved by government, on which no house can be built on the west side, is about three miles. The upper town may be said to be entirely surrounded by a lofty and strong wall of hewn stone. The castellated appearance produced by the battlements, ditches, embrasures, round towers and gates, adds much to the grand and imposing effect of the place. But although the fortifications, with all their complicated war machinery, are exceedingly interesting, and should not be left unvisited, the view from the flag-staff tower, three hundred and sixty feet above the river, is the great feature lingering pleasantly in the remembrance of the traveller. This is admitted to be one of the finest in the world, presenting a rare combination of mountains, valleys, and plains, watered by the St. Lawrence and St. Charles Rivers, and if the scene be lighted by a September sun, its magnificence and rich variety are the more impressive.

Few cities have had so fine a cradle as Quebec, which was founded on the site of an Indian village, called Stadacona, signifying, in the Algonquin language, the Place of a Strait. Gazing on it, we cannot wonder at the French striking a medal with the words,

"Francia in Novo orbe victrix,
Kebeca liberata 1690;"

when in that year success crowned their arms; nor that proportionate sorrow was felt, when, in a little more than half a century afterwards, the daring prowess and judgment of Wolfe transferred it to the British Crown.

Having prepared myself, by an examination of the very interesting original plan of the Battle of Quebec, preserved in the citadel, I went to the plains of Abraham, which commence a short distance from the fortifications. Here the fate of Canada was decided; and when we look at the scene, and remember how fearful the odds were against Wolfe, we are lost in admiration of his courage and military strategy. For it must not be forgotten that, a short time before this event, he had experienced a sad reverse at Montmorenci, which struck despair into his troops, and inspired the brave Montcalm with fresh energy.

The gray dawn of morn, however, saw Wolfe's army undismayed on the heights of Abraham, which had been scaled in the face of frightful difficulties, and before the sun went down Quebec had fallen. The mortality and number of wounded were very great. An account of the battle by an eye-witness, preserved in the Seminary, and lately printed by the Historical Society of Quebec, states that, although five hundred beds were set up in that convent, as many more were required. Among the wounded were seventy-two officers, of whom thirty-three died. Lint and linen were sadly deficient. The nuns, however, gave all their available linen, and tended the wounded with great tenderness. The spot where Wolfe received his mortal wound is marked by a column surmounted by a helmet and sword. The base bears the simple inscription—

"Here died Wolfe victorious."

The chivalrous Montcalm was also slain. A monumental pillar erected to these heroes, by Lord Aylmer on Cape Diamond, bears this well-merited tribute to Wolfe's gallant enemy: "Honneur à Montcalm: Le Destin, en lui dérobant la victoire, l'a récompensé par une mort glorieuse." It adds considerably to the interest of the scene of this victory, to learn that scarcely any alteration has been made in the disposition of the battle-field, which is still rugged and barren. Among the chronicles of warriors who have died in the arms of victory, there is none, perhaps, to which an Englishman clings with greater interest than the story of Wolfe's brilliant career and immortal end.[1] And yet it would seem that when on the eve of his desperate enterprise, peaceful thoughts occupied his mind. Drifting slowly down the river on the night before the battle, when silence was strictly imposed on all in the ships, Wolfe repeated to his officers surrounding him, the whole of Gray's undying Elegy, adding, when he had concluded, "I would rather have written this poem than take Quebec." Had he a dark foreshadowing of the truth,—

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave,"

or did his spirit yearn for peace?

The tourist will rejoice that there are no distracting guides on the plains of Abraham; and should he not have the misfortune to visit them at the season of the Quebec races, which are held in an adjoining inclosure, he will be able to meditate over the past unmolested. At least, I was left alone; and, indeed, so little are the people in the neighbourhood alive to the interest of the

[1] When a motion was made in Parliament for a monument to Wolfe, Pitt spoke thus:—"The horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire won, with a handful of men, added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating life where his fame began,—ancient story may be ransacked, and ostentatious philosophy thrown into the account, before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe's."

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place, that a small public-house near the plains bears an erroneous designation of the hero of Quebec.

I devoted the morning to a ramble through the lower town, which extends along the base of the precipice on the summit of which the upper town is built. The site has been gained by excavation in the cliffs, or redeemed from the river. The wooden houses are huddled together, and divided by narrow streets, disgracefully dirty. Here the emigrants land; and in the absence of commodious dwellings to receive them, it is not surprising that fever and cholera make sad ravages. Extensive wharves, fringed by serried ranks of stately ships, extend opposite and considerably above the lower town, and are carried more than two hundred yards into the water. The St. Lawrence is here a mile broad, and about one hundred and eighty feet deep; and yet we are nearly four hundred miles from the mouth of this majestic river. The two towns are connected by a tortuous passage, popularly known as Breakneck Stairs, only used by foot-passengers.

The population of Quebec has a very French appearance. The *habitans* in their ancient costume, consisting of a fur cap, loose coat gathered round the waist by a red or green sash, and large boots, are seen in all the streets; and, occasionally, Indians are met in their more picturesque dress. I saw one under the influence of *fire-water* reeling along, whooping, and brandishing his tomahawk. The present race of Indians are as fond of this beverage as their forefathers, who, according to an old missionary chronicle, were in the habit, when they obtained a portion of fire-water only sufficient to make one of the party drunk, of drawing lots to decide who should enjoy the extreme bliss, as they deemed it, of becoming intoxicated. Charlevoix, however, states that the Huron tribes near Quebec abjured all intoxicating liquors. Unfortunately the extremely low price of whisky in Canada, a quart costing less than the same measure of beer in England, leads to much intemperance among the lower classes.

I visited the Historical Society of Quebec, one of the oldest literary institutions in Canada. It has rendered good service by the publication (in French) of curious and important documents, relating to the early history of the country. Among the MSS. are nine original volumes of the Journals of the English House of Commons for the year 1642. I could not learn how they came into the Society's possession.

Canada happily retains her love for science and literature, though her present rulers have as strong a desire to make fortunes as their American forefathers.

The stranger visiting Quebec during the summer months cannot fail to be struck by the steep flight of steps to the houses. The height of the entrance from the ground is the measure of the depth of snow, which covers Lower Canada during six months of the year. When the earth has received its winter mantle, the steps disappear, as the snow is then on a level with the door-sills. The cold at Quebec is terribly severe. Lieutenant Noble, of the Artillery, who kept a meteorological register during the winter of 1853-4, informed me that during fifty days the thermometer was below zero; and on one day only, between November 15th and April 26th, did the mercury rise above 32°. Yet the Canadians enjoy excellent health.

Not far from Quebec, and on the way to the Falls of Montmorenci, a natural curiosity exists, which is well worthy of a visit. It is where the torrent rolls with great impetuosity between two banks of very different aspect, the one side rising up like a rocky wall, whilst the other forms a colossal staircase, the regular slab-like strata protruding the one below the other, represent, indeed, perfectly some great work hewn out by a population of giants The whole scene is wooded, and is as imposing from its solitude as it is picturesque in its details. (*See* p. 35.)

The St. Lawrence steamers had been equally crowded all the summer, and every year the number of immigrants is increasing. With respect to Canada, however, they are merely birds of passage, for nearly all of them are bound for the rich prairies on Lake Michigan and the Upper Mississippi.

The increase of the means of transport, the railroads, the steamers, &c., on the St. Lawrence line, is probably the cause of this increase of passengers, and great efforts are being made in Montreal and Quebec to strengthen still further the Canadian means of transport. Four large new steamers have been lately placed on the Quebec and England line, and the passage is cheaper than that by New York or Liverpool. It is now possible to reach Chicago, the great central port of the West, without ever leaving the ship, and this lake and river passage offers several advantages over the long railroad journeys by Philadelphia or New York.

The belief that the immigration by the St. Lawrence will now increase in an unheard-of manner is pretty general in Canada, and also that it will not have merely the transit trade, but retain some of the labour in the country.

I made it my business, of course, to observe and converse with the immigrants—for how much to occupy the understanding and interest the heart is offered by the sight of 300 people leaving Europe for America! They all looked deplorable enough, poor things! and seemed to have suffered much from the hardships of the voyage; they were very poorly clad too, and a few rather tastefully costumed Indian women, whom we had on board, were gazed at so respectfully by our German peasant lads, that if they had had to speak to them, I am convinced they would have addressed them as "Madame" or "Mademoiselle." (*See* p. 35.)

By the appearance of the yellow flaxen heads of the Scandinavians, it would seem that combs and brushes were scarce among them, and the babies that lay on their mothers' laps would, I hoped, some day consume more soap than had hitherto been expended on them. Germans, Swedes, and Dutch were all alike in this respect, but they looked, nevertheless, judging from their marked and characteristic physiognomies, as if something might be made of them.

The Swedes are quite a new element in the immmigration, although formerly their Gustavus Adolphus did send a few of them over to the New World. Many of these our Scandinavian companions had not yet used up all the coarse bread they had brought with them from Sweden, and I saw more than one Norna-like matron take out for breakfast and dinner a large paper containing a collection of pieces of this hard bread, and distribute them sparingly to her children; and I noticed too that every little crumb that was left was carefully packed up again. I hope they have long since been eating good American wheaten bread.

The middle of that portion of the St. Lawrence which was formerly called Cataragui, has become, I scarcely know why, the chief centre of traffic for the

part of the country. The two most important towns of the district here lie opposite one another. Prescott on the Canadian side, and Ogdensburg on the American. Railroads from the interior terminate at both places, and there is, therefore, a great deal of life and bustle on the water. The St. Lawrence is rather narrow at this point, and nowhere can a comparison be made more conveniently between a Canadian and an American town. Prescott exhibits much darker hues than Ogdensburg, where all looks brighter and pleasanter; the houses of the former are built in solid style, of gray stone, the same building material that has served for Montreal. The Americans have a passion for white and green houses, and plant willows and other elegant trees between them, and the contrast might be continued to many other particulars were it worth while

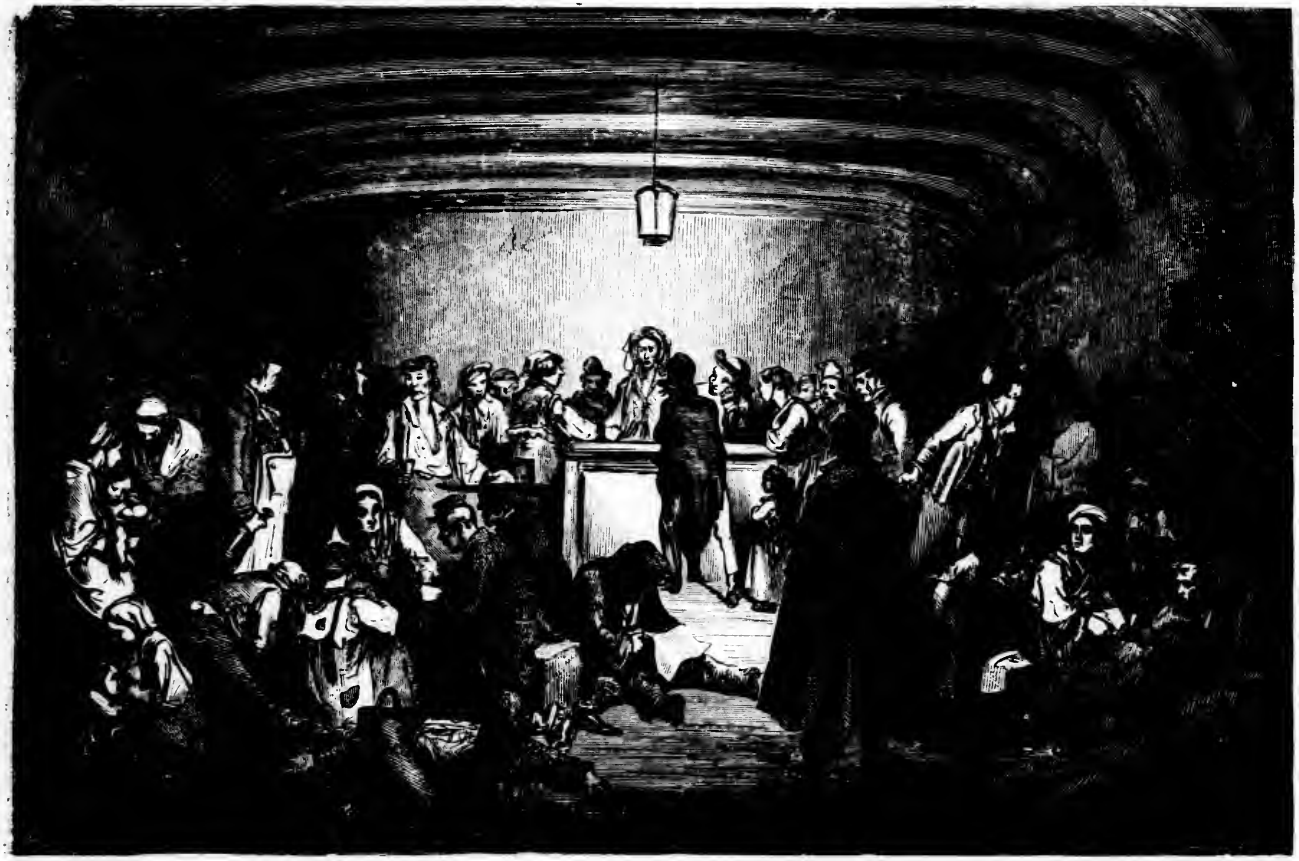
FALLS OF MONTMORENCY.

You have before you at once a piece of the "old country," and one of the quite new.

Some miles beyond Ogdensburg lies another pretty river port, Brockville, and then again some miles further begins the celebrated "Lake of a Thousand Islands;" but to have a clear idea of the origin and configuration of this lake you must begin at Lake Ontario.

Lake Ontario forms on its western side a regularly-drawn oval, with smoothly-cut shores, and no considerable islands or appendages. On its north-eastern side, however, where its waters have broken through the obstacles that opposed their progress, its hitherto broad smooth expanse is broken up among numerous islands and peninsulas.

First comes the large peninsula of Prince Edward, then Duck Island, and several others, as well as long gulfs, bays, and inlets, breaking the land right and left



EMIGRANTS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE.

Then near Kingston you have the great Wolf Island, Amherst Island, and others; rugged masses of land that the water could not overcome, or possibly which rose above the surface when the Ontario subsided into its present bed. At length, beyond Wolf Island the lake contracts to a breadth of six or seven miles, and here begins the "Lake of the Thousand Islands." (*See* p. 41.) These islands are, as the name indicates, extraordinarily numerous, and the water is split up into a corresponding number of channels: but at length the river developes itself again out of the labyrinth. For a distance of thirty miles, reckoning from Kingston, the waters contract more and more, hollow out a deeper and deeper channel, and wear away more and more of the islands, which gradually become less numerous, and cease entirely some miles above Brockville. The current now becomes stronger, the two shores appear, the lake disappears, and the river takes its place; but this is for any one coming down the river; we were pursuing an opposite course.

The name of the locality, "Thousand Islands," was probably bestowed by the Jesuits, or the celebrated Canadian traveller, Champlain, who was the first discoverer of Lake Ontario. The number of the islands is, of course, only guessed at; some make them 1,500, and some as many as 3,000, as they perhaps may, if they bestow the name of island on every separate bit of rock that sticks out of the water—or every reef or sand-bank that lies just under it.

Half of these islands lie along the American shore

GIANT'S STAIRCASE, CANADA.

the rest nearer to Canada, and the frontier line has been drawn between the two, and the channel for the steamers keeps pretty closely to this line. The whole scene is renowned as interesting and picturesque both in the United States and in Canada, and parties of pleasure, pic-nics, and sporting excursions are made to it both from Kingston and Brockville. People hire one of the elegant yachts or boats built at Kingston, and sail about with their friends from island to island, dine, camp under the trees, shoot the water-fowl, fish, and amuse themselves in many ways. Many remain for days together, for the tours among these almost countless islands have something of the charm of voyages of discovery. One of the party, perhaps, declares he knows of an island that has never yet been visited; another tells of a deep, wooded bay, in whose clear, calm waters no one has yet tried to anchor.

We reached the first of the islands a little above Brockville, and soon found ourselves surrounded by them; sometimes lying in a long string like a row of beads; sometimes thrown pell-mell together in a heap. Some are large and covered with thick woods; all have trees, and there are some so small that they have only just room for one tree or a bush. There is an infinite variety in the grouping of the trees too, some being gathered into social parties, some living as solitary hermits, so that perpetually new combinations are formed in the scenery. Some of these islands a

just barely hidden under a thin covering of moss and other vegetation, and sometimes the crystal water is flowing over a mass of naked rock that it barely covers.

The foundation of all these islands I believe to be granite, and in general they are not high, though picturesque pedestals are afforded for the trees by banks of twenty feet deep. The larger have hills and valleys, and are arable land enough to be worth cultivating, though hitherto little has been obtained from them besides game, fish, and wood. Villages there are none, and only a few scattered dwellings or shanties for sportsmen, wood-cutters, and lumber-men, with a few mechanical contrivances, such as are seen on the Ottawa, for the collecting and transport of the felled trees. The islands all have owners, but, as everywhere in America where land, wood, and water remain unused, they have been to some extent invaded by squatters, whose huts we saw here and there on the shores, and the owners seldom offer any objection, as they consider that these people help to reclaim the land and make some steps towards its cultivation.

The best time to visit the islands is in spring and in the early summer, for then the trees and shrubs are fragrant from every cliff; the woods are full of birds and various animals; and sometimes when the air is very hot, the water is so deliciously cool and fresh that it is a delight to plunge into it. But in the cold autumn day when I visited the lake the water is less attractive; Goethe's fisherman could only have been enchanted by the Nixie on a warm summer's evening.

The autumn is, however, the loveliest time for one of the greatest attractions of the islands, and the green, red, yellow, brown, and golden leafage was beautifully mirrored in the clear water beneath. Some of the islands, when the sunbeams fell on them, seemed quite to flame, and, in fact, this does sometimes happen in more than a metaphorical sense, and the burning woods produce, it is said, a most magnificent spectacle. If you chance to be passing in a steamer, you may enjoy the sight nearer and more conveniently than a similar scene elsewhere, as the intervening water renders it safe. The boats there run very close in shore, and the passengers can look deeply into the recesses of the blazing woods and yet remain in security. I was told this by a gentleman who had enjoyed the sight; and another, who noticed the interest I took in these Thousand Islands, mentioned some further particulars. In his youth, he said, they were still inhabited by Indians, remnants of the Iroquois or Six Nations, to whom the whole north of the State of New York belonged. These islanders were called *Massassoga*, a name that still occurs in various localities on the St. Lawrence; their chief resided on one of the principal islands, and the rest of the tribe was scattered about on the others, in birch-huts or tents. Their canoes were of the same material, and with these they used to glide softly over the water, and, in the numerous little bays or arms of the river, surprise the fish, which, having never been disturbed by noisy steamers, filled the waters in countless abundance. The birds and other game were equally plentiful in the woods; but now, when greedy squatters and sportsmen with guns have exhausted the district, the islands are comparatively devoid of animal life.

It was the practice among the Massassoga, at certain times of the year, to leave the islands to their young people, and make great hunting expeditions, northward into the interior of Canada, and southward to New York. My informant had visited them once when he was a young man, and being hospitably received, had afterwards repeated his visits, made acquaintance and friends among them, lived with them for weeks, and shared the joys and sorrows of the life of the hunter. Once when he had been on a journey to Niagara and the West, and had been a long time absent, he could not desist when he passed the Thousand Islands on his return to his native town, Brockville, from making a call by the way on his Massassoga friends. They recognised him immediately, gave him the warmest reception, and carried him on their shoulders to their chief, who made a great feast in his honour, and canoes full of Indians came gliding in crowds from the islands to see and welcome him. He had to pass the night among them; the squaws prepared his couch, and two of them insisted in serving him as a guard of honour at his tent-door, where they camped out and kept up the fire. "I was almost moved to tears myself, sir, on seeing my half-savage friends again. Believe me, it is a race very susceptible to kindness, though, at the same time, certainly very revengeful for injuries. They never forget their friends, but are terrible and even treacherous against their enemies. We have very erroneous notions of the Indians. We call them poor and miserable, but they appear quite otherwise to themselves. They are proud of their prowess and animal daring, and of the performances of their forefathers. In fact, they think themselves the first race in creation."

"Are there now any remains of these proud people on the islands?"

"No. They have been scattered like chaff; their fisheries and their hunting become continually less productive; the villages and towns of the whites grew up around them; they began to feel the pressure of want; their race died away like the fish in their waters, and at last the few who remained accepted a proposal of the government, that they should exchange these islands for a more remote habitation—I do not myself know exactly where."

The only living being that appeared very common here now was the bird the English call the "loon." It is a water-fowl as large as a goose, with a very thick head and long beak; its colour black with white spots on the wings. This large bird was swimming about everywhere among the islands, and it was curious to see how exactly similar was the impulse of instinct in the numerous specimens that we met in the course of thirty miles. As long as our boat remained pretty far off, they swam quietly about on the glassy water, attending only to their own affairs, and busy in catching insects or fish; but as soon as we came within three hundred yards they shot up into the air, with their long necks stretched out, and rolling about their still longer heads, so as to look at us timidly, now with the right, and now with the left eye.

In the second stage of their fear, this anxious movement was communicated to their whole body, and they steered alternately right and left, and at last flew straight on before us; but when they noticed that our winged steam monster was soon again within a hundred yards or so, they seemed fairly to give it up—rolled their heads about a little more, and then threw a somersault, and went down heels over head into the water and disappeared. All these motions were repeated by every individual as exactly as if they had been previously agreed upon.

FALLS OF NIAGARA.

These "loons," the "wintergreens," and the numerous watch-towers among the islands, were the only objects that specially attracted my attention. This wintergreen, or *pyrola*, is a low plant or bush, that does not at all, at least in the autumn, correspond with its name—for it looked blood-red, and covered the ground under the trees with a red carpet. Sometimes it ran as a border round the islands, and then the groups of trees seemed to be inclosed in a wreath of red flowers, as I have seen them in an English park. The light-houses, too, tended to convey the impression that we were not upon the mighty St. Lawrence, but on the artificial waters of some pleasure-ground—for they were elegant white buildings, like pavilions or kiosks—sometimes half hidden in a grove, sometimes rising from a little island promontory. They are numerous, and of course very necessary, as the winding watery channel is continually changing its direction in this labyrinth of islands.

By degrees—after you have breakfasted once, and had one dinner—the garden comes to an end, and you emerge upon the open field—that is to say, the broad water, and the approach of the Ontario and the city of Kingston is announced. On the Canadian shore to the north, close along which we were moving, the houses, farms, and villages were again numerous, and on observing the dwellings closely, I discovered in some of them, to my great satisfaction, a striking resemblance to those of my worthy French Canadians of Lower Canada; the houses lie along the river as closely as there, and in the midst of them is a church—from its form and style evidently a Catholic one.

X

KINGSTON—LAKE ONTARIO COMPARED WITH LAKE ERIE—TORONTO—CATHEDRAL—PUBLIC BUILDINGS—WAGES AND PROSPERITY—EDUCATION—ENVIRONS—FROM TORONTO TO NIAGARA RIVER—LOWER NIAGARA RIVER—LEWISTON AND QUEENSTON—DISCOVERY OF THE FALLS—APPROACH TO THE FALLS—EFFECT OF THE SCENE—ITS INFLUENCE ON THE MIND.

WE got into Kingston in the evening, a warm, bright, richly-coloured autumn evening, and the stately town, with its numerous churches, City Hall, and other buildings, made a most imposing appearance as it lay in the light of the setting sun before us. It is the largest and most populous place on the eastern side of the Ontario, as Toronto and Hamilton are on the west. All these three coast-towns of Lake Ontario are British or Canadian; the United States have two, Oswego and Rochester, but Great Britain has run its frontier line round the larger portion of the lake, so that more of it lies in its territory than in the American, and the British flag is consequently predominant on its waters. This is not the case with any other of the lakes of the St. Lawrence, and on the next in succession, Lake Erie, the relative proportions are reversed. The principal ports, Erie, Buffalo, Cleveland, Fort Clinton, Toledo, Sandusky, Detroit, all belong to the Americans, and though England has nearly the half of the coast oval, it has few or no important towns: here the American flag is most common, and the lake may almost be called an American water. An extraordinarily animated one it is; the Ontario and other St. Lawrence lakes seem half dead beside it. There is certainly not another lake in the world so covered with vessels. The town of Buffalo alone, which twenty years ago had but one small steamer, has now a hundred large ones, and if they go on increasing at the same rate the ships will be as thick here as herrings in the Bay of Fundy.

We passed a few hours at Kingston very agreeably, before the departure of the steamer that was to take us on, and I got such a fine view from a height of the whole situation of the town and its environs, that I shall not readily forget it. It is certainly the most picturesque site on the whole Ontario, for neither Toronto nor Hamilton are to be compared with it in this respect. The principal mass of the buildings lies on a peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the Rideau Canal; the peninsula is a gentle slope on which the town rises from the shore. On the other side of the Rideau Canal lies Fort Henry, which is a very strong and well-armed fortress, the next after that of Quebec, and consequently the second in all Canada. On other tongues of land between the town and the fortress lie other buildings, connected with the town by long bridges, and islands show themselves lying far and near before the harbour. On the one side you see the Bay of Quinté, a long, very picturesque and, I am told, interesting arm of the lake, that winds about in a zig-zag course for eighty miles at the back of the peninsula of Prince Edward. To the south you see between other islands the open water, the great expanse of the Ontario.

Kingston is the oldest of the Ontario towns, for the French had a fort and a village here, Fort Frontenac, that in the Iroquois wars, and in the transactions with the fur traders and the voyageurs, has played a great part. When the English took the place in 1759, its renowned old name, Frontenac, was exchanged for Kingston. The town has now more than 20,000 inhabitants, but I was not able to learn anything of the few French families that were probably living here. In Detroit, formerly a French fur-trading fort, and now a great town, you still find descendants of the original French settlers. Most of the houses in Kingston are built of the blueish gray stone which seems so abundant in the St. Lawrence territory, and has therefore, like other Canadian towns, a certain air of melancholy solidity and antiquity, but I must premise that I mean that when looked at by American eyes; the steamers of the British-Canadians are also less gay and brilliant than those of the American States. An American river or even sea-going steamer looks as if it were built for mere pleasure, perhaps for Queen Cleopatra's trips up the Nile. The English vessels were formerly mostly painted black outside, and, at least according to the Americans, were old fashioned, dusty, and melancholy within; but now they have begun to lay aside this mourning costume, and appear in gay, white, green and gold holiday garments, and have, in other respects, considerably Americanised themselves.

"Why, the British sea-steamers are not as near as fast as ours," said one with whom I had begun a conversation. "They have most likely a lot of old-fashioned instructions, according to which they are to take a certain time, and would be liable to penalty if they went faster, or came in sooner than is ordered; but in our country the steamers may go as fast as their steam will permit, and race each other too if they like. This does, to be sure, cost a good many ships and a good many lives. Just look here in the newspaper—only yesterday a boiler burst on Lake Erie and set the

ship on fire, and it burnt down to the water's edge; seven and twenty people lost their lives, and two or three whole families; a father was drowned with his daughter, and there were two or three other melancholy cases. It is horrible, it makes one sick to read it."

My Yankee really seemed to be growing quite sentimental, and giving himself up to serious reflections, and a countryman of his who had also read the "horrible" report, seemed for a moment inclined to throw some blame on the reckless American captain, but they very soon recovered their spirits. "Yes, it is grievous, that's true!" said one, throwing aside the paper, "but I dislike a slow ship; if I travel, I like her to jump in the water."

"So do I," was the response; "I don't care how quick she goes."

We reached at last the Queen of the Lake—the once boasted capital of West Canada. Toronto is indeed, *par excellence*, the show-city of Canada. I had heard much of its wonderful rise and prosperity; but the reality far exceeded my expectations. It is the growth of this century. In 1793 Governor Simcoe founded the town then called Little York. In 1813 the Americans burnt it; and, when rebuilt, the name, with great good taste, was changed to "Toronto," the original Indian appellation, signifying place of meeting. At that time the site was a bushy wilderness, which might have been purchased for a few dollars; now the value of the assessed property is upwards of 4,000,000*l.*, and the population numbers 45,000.

The day I arrived, which was Sunday, I attended divine service in the cathedral—a vast building of good architectural design, possessing an organ, built at Montreal, of great power and sweetness. The numerous congregation had a very English appearance; and, indeed, but for a general use of fans, the scene might have been in the old country.

It was apprehended that when Toronto ceased to be the seat of government its prosperity would suffer; but the contrary is the fact. Besides the large public buildings already erected, others are in process of construction: busy streets are stretching their long arms into the bush, and the wharves exhibit the vigorous activity of a thriving maritime port. Ships of 900 tons are built for the corn-trade, which proceed direct to Europe; the railways will shortly connect the city with Montreal and Quebec to the east, and with Lake Huron to the west. Lines already extend to Lake Simcoe, and through Hamilton to Detroit and Chicago.

Thus Toronto will soon enjoy the advantage of quick and direct communication with the Atlantic cities during the winter as well as summer seasons. It is interesting to contrast this progress with the state of things little more than half a century ago. The *Upper Canada Gazette*, under the date of Jan. 5, 1799, congratulates its readers on being able thus early to inform them of Nelson's naval victory of the preceding 2nd of August.

The shops in King-street, the main thoroughfare, already upwards of two miles long, are equal to any in the largest of our country towns, and contain an endless variety of goods. With this plethora of prosperity—for it is worthy of mention that the merchants and traders of Toronto enjoy a solvency not generally shared by their United States neighbours—property, and particularly land, has increased enormously in value. Houses command rents as high as are obtained in the States. Toronto is a favourite resort of fugitive slaves, many of whom have considerable property in and about the city.

It is pleasant to see, amidst so much vigorous activity, how large a place England holds in the memory of the citizens of Toronto. In every street, inns, with familiar household names, meet the eye, recalling associations dear to the native of the British isles. Pleasant, too, is it to find that the engrossing pursuits of commerce have not blighted a taste for literature and science.

Besides the two colleges, which bear a high character for their system of instruction, and enjoy ninety scholarships of 30*l.* annual value, there are excellent grammar-schools and literary and scientific establishments. The observatory is celebrated for the magnetic observations lately made under the direction of Captain Lefroy, and is now reorganised for permanent meteorological and astronomical observations.

I was highly pleased by several drives in the neighbourhood of Toronto. The country is very beautiful. Charming villas, surrounded by well-kept gardens, remind one continually of England. The cemetery, wisely placed at some distance from the town, is a most picturesque spot, happily undeformed by hideous monuments.

Altogether it is impossible to conceive a more vigorous or healthy Anglo-Saxon offspring than Toronto. Its situation, climate, and soil are all favourable; but probably much of its sound prosperity is due to the circumstance of the whole province having been settled by American royalists, who found here a refuge and a home.

The passage from Toronto to Niagara river is usually performed in the "Peerless," a large and swift steamer, elegantly fitted up, and of the same construction as ocean steamers, the engines being below the deck. Although the distance is only forty miles, the lake is sometimes very rough and Weld says he rarely suffered more from sea (lake?) sickness than he did during the three hours' voyage from Toronto to Lewiston. Others like Kohl, have had to make the passage in a mist—the fog-bell sounding the whole day. We were more fortunate, the lake was placid, the sky serene, and all lay bright and clear before us.

On entering Niagara river we come in sight of two forts and settlements, on the west a British, on the east an American, and between them the broad deep channel of the transparent river, and its sharply-cut banks. Nowhere else, I believe, are British and American cannon brought so closely together as at this port, where they gaze at each other across the watery abyss. May they never do anything else than gaze!

In the small villages near the forts where we stopped, we found the usual crowd of passengers of various classes and both sexes, labourers, pleasure-takers, ladies and gentlemen; and there were piles of goods lying heaped up in readiness. The bales and packages were snatched up by the negroes and hurried on shore with the utmost rapidity, and others were taken in and swallowed eagerly by our steamer, as if she had come in hungry; and through all the clamour locomotives rushed in and out, till one was quite perplexed to think where the people all came from, and where they were going to—all were as busy as a swarm of bees, as they usually are in busy America.

The river, up to the whirlpools and falls, is about fifteen miles long, and in this portion flows so calmly as to

seem almost motionless, as if it had need of rest after such passionate excitement. The shores on each side are from thirty to forty feet high, and adorned with villa-like farm-houses, and many beautiful trees. The autumn foliage was here what I may call more blooming than around Toronto, and the golden trees were reflected in the clear tranquil water below. Not a leaf appeared to have fallen, they were like the vigorous old men you sometimes see whose hair and beard has become gray, but who have not lost a single hair; our European trees in autumn soon get their tresses torn and dishevelled, and show many bald places among them.

The Niagara stream below the Falls has no islands, branches, nor divisions, but flows in one volume like a canal, but the canal is mostly forty fathoms deep, and passes with this depth through the sharply-cut bed, as through a volcanic chasm in the earth, almost as straight as a canal in Holland. It runs direct from south to north, and down to its mouth in Lake Ontario is not interrupted by so much as a sand bank, and even there it has no bar, but the lake is as deep as the river. Soundings show only a very slight rising of the bottom, like the commencement of such a bar.

A distinguished traveller remarks upon this that he should have expected the very contrary, and that it almost shook his faith in the generally accepted theory that the stream does not flow through a volcanic cleft

THOUSAND ISLANDS, LAKE ONTARIO

formed for it, but has worn a bed for itself through the strata of stone that form the isthmus.

The beautiful tranquil river passage is unfortunately of short duration; it lasts only to the edge of the plateau, at the foot of which lie opposite to each other two handsome towns the American Lewiston and the British Queenston. At this point the river becomes more agitated and unnavigable, and already begins to foam as it rushes through a deep mountain valley. As we rose gradually from Lewiston by a succession of ascents to the elevated plateau, along a villanous, muddy, rugged road, full of holes and stumps of trees, we enjoyed the most splendid views of the stream below. The plateau ridge, as I have said, though it appears when seen from a distance abrupt and sharply cut, offers much variety of outline when observed more closely. From some open points we obtain views over a wide extent of country, and could follow the highland for miles as it runs inland parallel with the shore of the lake. There is no doubt that it is the same ancient lake beach, that to the north of Toronto forms the highest of the oak ridges. The country all round was magnificently wooded, and promonteries covered with trees were seen projecting from among the lovely gardens of the villages with which the plain was thickly sprinkled.

The first man (white man *videlicet*) who discovered the Falls of Niagara is said to have been a Frenchman —Father Hennepin—one of the discoverers of the Mississippi. This statement is repeated in almost all

the works on the cataracts—one writer copying it from another. Hennepin travelled and wrote about the year 1678, but there is no doubt that this great marvel of nature was known to the Europeans at least half a century before, for on the maps of the St. Lawrence and Canada, made in the middle of the seventeenth century, we find the "Great Falls" laid down quite distinctly.

The approach to the Falls of Niagara reminds one more of the approach to a great city than of a wild and lonely abode of the water Nymphs and Nixies, and it is very possible that it may once have been true, though it now seems a fable, that you could hear the roar of the Falls many miles off in the forest. The hissing and screaming of steam-engines proceeding in various directions to and from it; the hallooing of coachmen and waggoners, and the countless noises of the farmers and the townspeople who are settled around the Falls, make the uproar of Nature seem quite gentle in comparison. Three miles off them the houses begin to be close and numerous, handsome villas of landowners alternate with spacious and excellent hotels, and between these you find numbers of small farmhouses. The ground is torn up like a ploughed field, with rails, tunnels, viaducts, and deep cuttings for the railroads, and magnificent suspension bridges, and other works of art rise out of it like rocks. Finally, on the level plateau of the peninsula point which the Niagara rushes round to form the Falls, there lies the so-called village of Niagara Falls, which is in no way distinguishable from what is usually in America called a city. The streets are straight, broad, and miles long; it has numbers of new houses, great and small; half a dozen churches, and a dozen of the great eating, drinking, sleeping, and doing-nothing establishments, known in all American towns as hotels. Of the ancient woods there is no trace; the forest has been changed into beautiful gardens and pleasure-grounds, and great saw-mills, corn-mills, and paper-mills crowd to the very edge of the Falls, of which a small portion at least has been like Pegasus in harness, tamed, forced into a mill-dam, and compelled to work. Should things go on at the same rate for another century as they have been doing for the last thirty years, we shall have crushed this prodigy of creation, like the ape-mother who kissed her darling to death; and people will not come here to gaze at the glories of nature, but at the wonders of human art. Many wealthy New York families, who hold lands in the neighbourhood, have their regular residences, which are like palaces, in the above-mentioned village.

Before venturing into the thick of the throng, I left my post-chaise, and betook myself, in accordance with the advice of a friend, sideways towards the river, following a little foot-path that winds along the top of the cliff. This path, on which I did not meet a human creature, is about a mile long, and runs over the flat tops of the rocks along the edge of meadows and cornfields. It is shaded by a narrow border of trees and bushes, perhaps a fragment of the old forest, and between the boughs, glowing with their crimson autumn tints, glimmer occasionally the white waves of foam. It is probably an old Indian path, and in all likelihood the one followed by that "first white man" before mentioned, whether his name was Champlain, Brébœuf, or Hennepin, who ever beheld the cataracts. By this path you pass round the stately village; you have lovely views on each side, and in the back-ground you catch glimpses of the grand picture at the end of a colossal rocky corridor. You only hear at a distance the occasional rattle of a carriage; and even one of the most recent inventions of man, the telegraph line, only came in my way once, and then it had assumed a certain rustic and idyllic character that brought it into harmony with the scene. It winds like a vine about the boughs and trunks of the ancient trees, and flings itself off from the last twig in a flying arch across the river from the United States to Canada, where again it clings to oaks, and climbs the heights in order to flash its messages right and left about a plateau covered with towns, the former country of the Hurons.

In Canadian and English works the Falls of Niagara are mentioned as a Canadian wonder of Nature; but in the American geographies they are entitled the greatest natural curiosity of the territory of the Union, and both parties talk as if it entirely belonged to them. In fact, however, it is pretty equally divided between them, and the frontier line of the two countries follows as far as possible that of the deepest water-channel of the river, and cuts through the innermost section of the great Horse Shoe Fall. America has, therefore, the half of this Fall and the whole of the smaller so-called American Fall, but Canada has by far the finest half, and the finest view of the scene. Its lofty shore runs along the whole line of the magnificent spectacle, and the American fall fronts towards this side, so that America cannot properly view her own treasure without crossing into a foreign country. The great Horse Shoe Fall, too, looks full towards Canada, and at its side lies the celebrated Table Rock, from which the most beautiful view of the whole is obtained. The Canadian shore also, though by no means lonely or desolate, is much more rural, or less town-like, and more open than the American. Except a row of pretty little "prospect houses" and curiosity shops, there is only a great hotel, the Clifton House, renowned throughout America, of which I had during my walk caught several glimpses through the trees.

A walk of a few minutes from the Clifton House Hotel brought me to the Table Rock, from whence I gazed on the descending sea before me with feelings of awe and wonder, tempered by a feeling of gratitude that I was permitted to look upon a scene whose stupendous majesty is identified with my earliest knowledge of the wonders of the world. (*See* p. 37.)

Seen from the Table Rock, no disappointment can be felt. For my part, so entirely was I unprepared for the enormous volume of water, that in the weakness of my comprehension and inability to grasp the scene, I was unwilling to turn my aching eyes from the glorious spectacle, apprehending it could only endure for a season, and that the overwhelming rush of water must speedily cease. But as I gazed with trembling anxiety, and marked no change beyond the masses of spray clouds, swayed by the wind across the mighty sheet, which ever retained its sublime proportions, the truth began to force itself upon me, that for thousands of years the waters had been falling, by day and by night, at all times and seasons, ever sounding, in a voice which once heard can never be forgotten, the praise of Him that bade them flow. It was probably with feelings of deep awe that the Indian of olden time, worshipping the Great Spirit, gave the peculiarly appropriate name O-Ni-aw-ga-rah, the Thunder of Waters, to this matchless scene. It is indeed eloquent "as with the voice of a great multitude—the

voice of many waters—the voice of many thunderings, saying, 'Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.'"

How long I remained spell-bound to the spot where I had seated myself, I know not; but as a proof of the entire concentration of all senses on the scene, I was entirely ignorant of the fact that I had been sitting some time in a pool of water formed by the spray.

The power of Niagara over the spectator within its influence is extraordinary, or, as one fanciful writer has it, all spectators on this glorious scene feel their garments a little plucked at by the water nymphs, and one of the guides mentioned, *à propos* to this feeling, an anecdote of curious physiological interest. He was one day taking a young lady and her mother to one of the finest points of rock surrounded by the wild foaming waters, and the romantic young girl stepped out on the extreme point, her hair and her dress fluttering in the wind, and seemed quite absorbed in gazing at the wild commotion below. At last the mother and the guide both became alarmed, and the latter laid his hand on her shoulder saying, "Young lady, you are exposing yourself needlessly to danger."

"Oh," she answered, smiling, "there's no danger, I feel as if I could just jump down! Do you think it would hurt me? I believe I should hover over it like a balloon. Mother, I do think I could fly."

The terrified mother and the guide with some difficulty got her back, and then she sank down as if recovering from a kind of fit.

XI.

Buffalo—Gigantic Steam-boats—Bridal Chambers—Lake Erie—Wooded Islands—Water Snakes—Detroit—New France—Vineyards—Dawn—New Buffalo—Lake Michigan—Chicago—Its Rapid Growth—Value of Land—Galena—The Upper Mississippi—Dog's Prairie—Immigrants on a March—Lake Pepin—Saint Paul's—Falls of Saint Anthony—Twin Towns—Fort Snelling.

My destination from Niagara was Chicago, to which I had the choice of two routes, one by rail to Detroit, the other by Lake Erie. I chose the latter. Leaving Clifton House in the afternoon, I proceeded by rail to Chippewa, six miles from Niagara The line passes within a few yards of the Great Fall; so my last view of the cataracts was from the window of a railway carriage. At Chippewa I found a steamer, in which I ascended the Niagara to Buffalo. We passed Navy and Grand Island, the former celebrated as the head-quarters of the leaders of the Canadian insurrection; the latter, from an attempt made by a mad-brained individual named Major Noah to gather within its precincts the lost tribes of Israel.

Shortly before entering Lake Erie we saw numerous ships which had passed through the Welland Canal, and were now spreading their sails to navigate the ocean-like lake. The resemblance to the sea was further increased when we arrived at Buffalo, where the harbour presented all the activity of a thriving maritime city.

As the steamer to Detroit was advertised to depart at nine P.M., I had ample time to explore Buffalo, one of the most remarkable examples of the rapid growth of American cities. Founded in 1801, destroyed by fire in 1813, it now contains a population of above 60,000. This extraordinary prosperity is due principally to its being the great natural gateway between the marts of the East and the producing regions of the West, for the passage of the lake commerce. The principal business streets contain an endless variety of stores full of pedlars' goods and "Yankee notions." I walked into the Clarendon Hotel, where I supped in the company of about three hundred persons, the majority of whom boarded in the house. The ladies were very gaily dressed, prismatic colours being greatly in vogue.

Much as I had been astonished by the steamboats on the St. Lawrence, they sink into insignificance compared with those plying between Buffalo and Detroit. Indeed, my determination in favour of the lake route resulted principally from my desire to make a trip in one of these mammoth ships. There are four on the station, similar in size and appointments. That in which I voyaged was *The Western World*. This ship is 2300 tons burthen, 364 feet long, has engines of 1000 horse power, and is provided with 116 state rooms, 113 permanent berths, and has additional sleeping accommodation for 1000 passengers. She has three boilers, each 37 feet in length, ordinarily subjected to a pressure of 56 lbs to the square inch. The officers of the ship are forbidden by law to touch the safety-valve. The diameter of the paddle-wheels is 64 feet; there are 6 life-boats, 75 buckets, 1000 life-preservers, and 700 feet of hose in constant readiness. The saloons are fitted up in a style of extraordinary magnificence, with rich carpets, luxurious sofas, lounging chairs and settees covered with costly velvet, pianos, marble tables, and enormous mirrors. At one end there is a large dome of painted glass, from which elegant chandeliers are suspended. The engines are visible from the saloon, being inclosed by plate glass. The portions exposed to view are highly polished and adorned by artificial flowers.

The doors of the state-rooms are elegantly painted, and provided with cut glass handles. These apartments are equally handsomely fitted up. Two, called bridal-chambers, are decorated in a style of regal splendour; as they were not occupied, the stewardess permitted me to see them. The beds are covered with white satin, trimmed with gold lace; painted Cupids are suspended from the ceiling; the toilet furniture is of the finest china; hot and cold water are laid on, and flow by pressing ivory knobs; the chairs and sofas are covered with the richest velvet; the carpets are of the softest pile; and the walls display beautiful floral designs. Everything was new and fresh, for the ship had only been recently launched, and the apartments had never been occupied. The charge for each is five dollars.

We steamed out of the harbour at nine o'clock; and, but for a slight tremulous motion, and the noise of the huge paddle-wheels striking the water, it would have been easy to have imagined the saloon in which we were seated belonging to a large hotel. Indeed, these huge steamers are hotels on a vast scale, comprising, not only the accommodation I have mentioned, but also commodious bar and smoking rooms; and barbers' shops, where black barbers perform tonsorial operations from morning to night. We numbered about six hundred cabin passengers, and five hundred emigrants, who occupied the lower deck; so great, however, was the space, no crowding or inconvenience was felt; and the meals were served with the regularity and order of a first-class hotel. It was an extraordinary sight to see the breakfast-tables covered with a profusion of

dishes, to which all the passengers did ample justice. My companions were principally commercial men. A few were curious to know my calling and pursuits; when satisfied, they volunteered to enlighten me respecting their own occupations; one gentleman was even so obliging as to favour me with his card, notifying that the blasting gunpowder he was commissioned to sell was the best in the world.

With a few exceptions, the male passengers were extremely well-behaved; and it is worthy of remark that the bibles, of which there were many copies on board, were in constant use throughout the voyage. On looking out in the morning, water only was in sight, dotted here and there by ships, some of which were of large size. About noon, we were running up Detroit River, the shores of which, like those of Lake

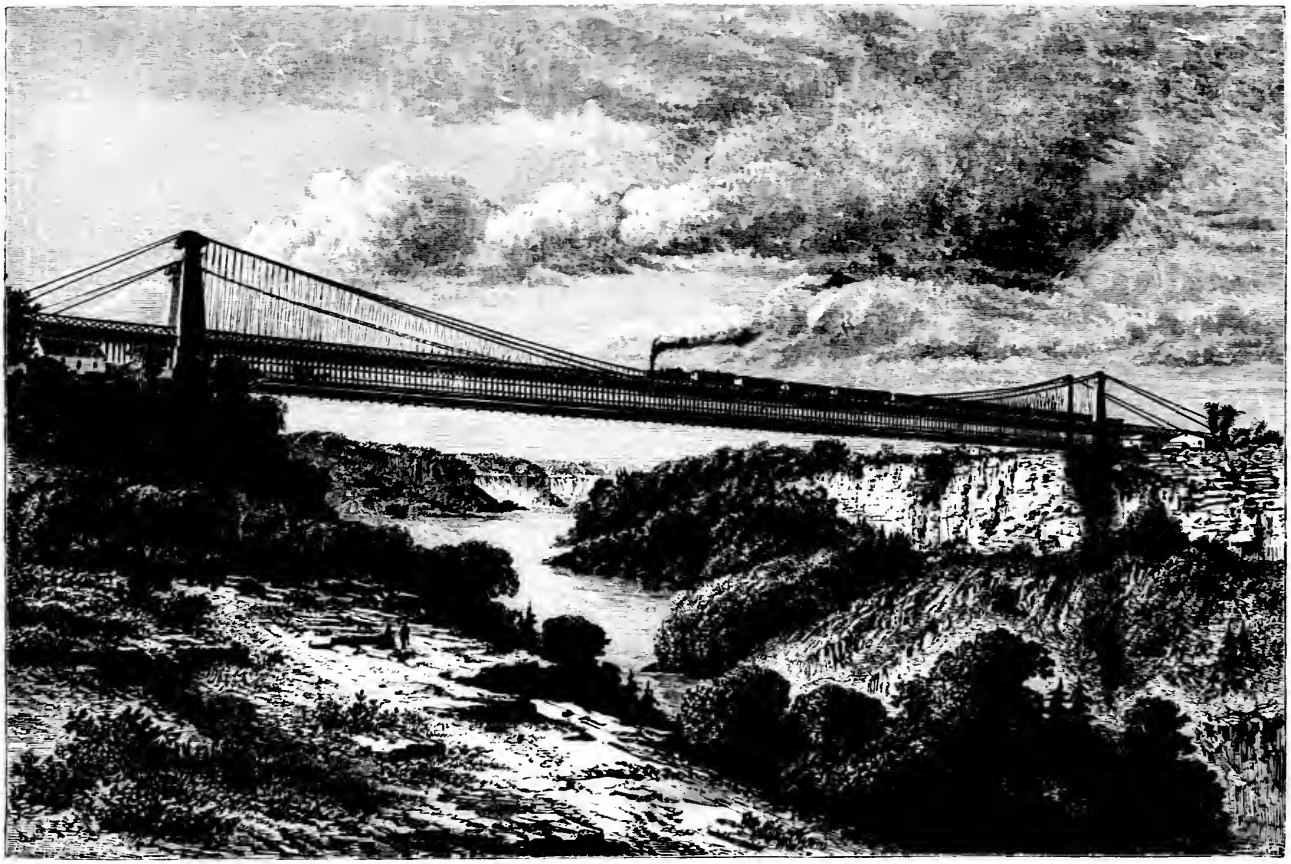
THE WHITE-HEADED EAGLE.

Erie, are exceedingly tame. The wooded islands at the head of the lake tend to relieve the monotony of the scene. These are fringed by beds of large lilies, a favourite basking-place for the water-snakes; alluded to by Moore—

> "Over the bed of Erie's lake
> Slumbers many a water-snake,
> Basking in the web of leaves
> Which the weeping lily weaves."

Up in the air, too, high in the regions of the clouds, white points might occasionally be discovered, describing circles or darting in zig-zags after the fashion of lightning. These were the white-headed eagles so ably described by Audubon, and the emblem of the once United States. (*See above.*)

Detroit, originally a little French village of wooden houses, is now a flourishing city, possessing large public buildings, huge stores and hotels, long quays lined with



DOUBLE BRIDGE OVER THE NIAGARA.

shipping. It is doubtless greatly indebted to position for its prosperity; but an Englishman may reflect with some pride that this is also in some measure due to the Anglo Saxon character.[1] "Les François ne savent pas coloniser," was said by a wise politician; but we must not forget that New France was attempted to be colonised by a government; New England by a people. Charlevoix tells us, that "Cartier eut beau vanter le pays qu'il avoit découvert; on insista qu'il ne seroit jamais d'aucune apparence de mines." A hundred years later, the fisheries alone were found sufficient to enrich France. At Detroit the American and British flags wave in close proximity, as the opposite side of the river is British ground. The small town of Windsor on the English bank of the river is about half a mile from Detroit. This is the ardently desired goal of fugitive slaves, who have arrived in such vast numbers as to have founded a settlement called Dawn, a short distance from the river, where I was told they are thriving. The climate here is very mild, as proof of which vines grow on the islands in the lake. I found the heat so great in comparison to what it had been at Niagara, that I was glad to be able to travel by night to Chicago. I left Detroit at nine o'clock by the Michigan Railway, which traverses the peninsula between Lake Huron and Michigan to New Buffalo, where I arrived at six in the morning, and from thence crossed the lake to Chicago, which occupied two hours This was a most fatiguing journey, and I was extremely glad to come to rest in the comfortable hotel.

Independently of the interest in contemplating the rapid spread of civilisation in the western states, nowhere more apparent than in Illinois, it is worth while going there for the purpose of seeing the prairies near Chicago; at least I thought so, for although they are not the prairies of the far west, where the herbage rolls in long waves under the passing winds, they are yet prairies covered by wiry grass and a profusion of wild flowers. Here and there clumps of scrubby trees appear like islands on the plain; but excepting these, there is nothing to arrest the eye, which takes exceeding delight in boundless vision after a long confinement in dense forests. It expands the mind too, to know that one may walk without a check westward across Illinois, which consists principally of prairie land. The summer had been so dry and hot that the surface was more than usually parched. Some miles to the west it had taken fire, and burnt over a large area. In the course of my ramble I started some prairie-hens, which afford excellent shooting.

The history of Chicago is startling. In 1829, when it was laid out a solitary log-tavern sufficed to supply the wants of the scanty population. Wolves outnumbered the white men, and the wigwam of the painted savage dotted the prairie on every side. In 1840, the population was 4,479; in 1854, 75,000. The oldest inhabitant born in the town is a lady, who according to our authority was only twenty-two years old in 1853. Spacious stores, fine ecclesiastical establishments—including a Swedish church, to which Jenny Lind contributed largely when she visited Chicago—large public buildings, and fine houses now meet the eye on all sides. All is new, excepting a block-house built thirty-eight years ago when the country was peopled by savage Indians, prior to the laying out of the town. The inhabitants of Chicago are proud of this relic of antiquity. In a journal advocating its preservation it is urged, "Let it be surrounded by a neat iron fence that we may be able to illustrate to our children the nature of the defences which the early settlers of Chicago were obliged to adopt. Let the giant arm of modern improvement sweep away, if necessary, every other vestige of Fort Dearborn; but let the shrill scream of the locomotive, as it brings up its long train of cars from the Gulf of Mexico, or rests from its labours after the mighty race of a thousand miles from the Atlantic seaboard, age after age echo around this humble but significant monument of the past."

The increase in the value of land has kept pace with the growth of the town. In 1810 the entire township might have been purchased for 500 dollars; now it is worth many millions. A New York clerk who came here to improve his fortune last year with 4,000 dollars, laid it out upon land, which he sold, six weeks after purchasing it, for 40,000.

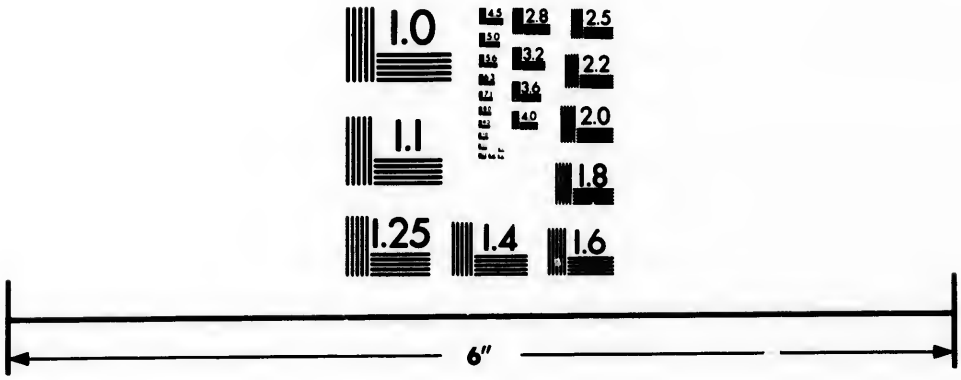
The newspapers teem with advertisements illustrative of the "Go-aheadism" of this busy and thriving community Excessive speed in every act seems to be the ruling passion. Under the head "Rapid Marriages," I observed several advertisements setting forth that parties were very desirous of "rapid union with, &c." Nor, as will be seen by the following extract, does bereavement cause the hymeneal torch to remain long extinguished:—"Married on the 10th July Mr. Patrick Welch to Miss Sarah E Davis. Died July 24, Mr. Patrick Welch. Married August 12, Mr. Thomas Collins to Sarah E. Davis, relict of the late Mr Patrick Welch."

After a brief stay at this city of yesterday, familiar to minds of many from the late sad steam-boat catastrophe, in which, among others, perished the proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*, my mineralogical predilections led me to take the railway to the lead-mines of Galena. The town, which thus derives its name, is built on the flanks of a hill over a narrow river. The houses are built on platforms rising one above the other, which gives to it a peculiar and striking aspect. There are steam-boats on this river, a tributary of the Mississippi, which ply between Galena and Saint Paul, the last station of the Mississippi boats proper. I took advantage of this circumstance for a further exploration westward. Progress, however, was but slow. There were villages to stop at, and stations wherein to take in wood. The navigation was also replete with obstacles, the water being very shallow. The aspect of the banks varied at every moment; sometimes they rose up like walls, and the broken rocks assumed the aspect of gigantic fortresses. This was also the case in the Upper Mississippi, which we joined in the heart of two beautifully wooded hills. In this greater expanse of water we found the navigation of the stream embarrassed by the presence of numerous islands clad with a dense vegetation. The scene presented by so wide an expanse of water thus dotted with islands was, however, at times exceedingly picturesque, and nowhere so than at the points of junction of the Wisconsin, or what is designated as the Dog's Prairie. (*See* p 53).

It is not now half a century ago, that Major Pike ascended the Mississippi in a boat to explore its upper

[1] The energy of the Anglo-Saxon race made a great impression on the Indians in the early days of colonisation. On one occasion, being exasperated by acts of oppression, they buried some Englishmen, saying, "You English, since you came here, you have grown considerably above ground; let us now see how you will grow under."

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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affluents, and to obtain permission from the natives to establish factories and military posts. Now in the place where the rare wigwam stood, beneath the shade of the cotton-wood tree, villages and even flourishing towns are to be met with, and flocks of sheep occupy the lands where the deer and the bison roamed but a few years previously. Such is human activity, and streams of immigrants may still be seen almost daily slowly wending their way to the sound of the creaking waggon, over the flowery prairies and past some new-born city, to found others along the great valley of the Father of Rivers, or up the wooded and fertile valleys that open into it to the right or left. (*See* p. 60).

Arrived at Lake Pepin, three Chippeway Indians came on board. They were fine tall men, but had coarse features, and very dark red skins. Nor was their dress much more inviting than their appearance. Leather gaiters, and no end of thongs and rags, the whole covered with a great blanket. They were going to Saint Paul's to reclaim a horse which they accused the Sioux of having made away with. Lake Pepin is formed by the river itself, which expands at this point to a width of three or four miles. On one side was the Maiden's Rock, so called from an Indian legend, that a young girl precipitated herself from its heights into the waters below, rather than marry a man whom she did not love. (*See* p. 61). The history of this poor creature seems to symbolise the destiny of the whole Indian race, which plunges itself into solitude, and suicides itself in brutalisation rather than wed with civilisation.

The town of Saint Paul, which we attained shortly afterwards, contained in 1860 a population of 15,000 inhabitants. It is the chief city of Minnesota, and is built in an amphitheatre on the left bank of the river, which it dominates. A magnificent bridge is being constructed to cross the bed of the river, to the opposite side, the banks of which are low, the Mississippi resuming its navigability below the falls of Saint Anthony. This is the point, as before observed, for the departure of steam-boats to the Lower Mississippi as far as to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico, as also of communication with Red River Settlement in British America to the north. There is a town on each bank at the falls: Saint Anthony on the one side, and Minneapolis on the other. Each possesses about 8,000 inhabitants, good hotels, and numerous saw and other mills moved by the rapid waters. The two towns are united by as many bridges, one an iron suspension bridge which is carried over the stream above the falls, which are some seven or eight yards in depth, the other crosses the river a little way below. Seated upon the platform crowned by Fort Snelling, whose ramparts, raised against the Indians, have now no meaning, a beautiful prospect is obtained of the two sister towns at the falls, of the rapids beneath, of the junction of the St. Peter's river, and, further off to the south, of the gardens and steeples of Saint Paul. (*See* p. 68).

XII.

Cincinnati—Burnet House—Rapid Changes—Commercial Statistics—Columbus—Zanesville—Ohio Coal Field—Cambridge—Morristown—Wheeling—Wire Bridge—Cross the Alleghanies—Magnificent Forests—Cumberland—The Potomac—Narrow Escape—Harper's Ferry—Arrive at Washington.

Fatiguing as was my journey back to Chicago, that to Cincinnati, a distance of 300 miles, was much more distressing. The railway was execrable, and what between the terrible jolting, frequently rendering it necessary to hold on, the great heat, and the tobacco-chewing with its sickening results, I had a sorry time of it. The passengers were as rough as the road. The usual courteous prefix of "gentle" was dropped, and I was addressed as "man." These were signs that the "aristocracy of soul," as a lady described it, which reigns at Boston, has not yet reached the Western States. The rude familiarity, had it not been attended by perpetual expectorations which flooded the floor of the cars, would have been amusing

The dinner in the middle of the day was a wonderful scramble, and though fully half-an-hour was allowed for the meal, it was bolted in five minutes. There was just sufficient light to see the vines clothing the picturesque hills, as, in the evening, we drew near Cincinnati. We passed through vast suburbs composed of wooden houses; and after a long drive in a wonderful omnibus calculated to contain any number of people, I was put down at the Burnet House, one of the largest and best hotels in the States, where I slept off my fatigue, though the heat and angry hum of baffled musquitoes, happily outside the net, were enemies to sound slumber.

Two dinners are provided daily at the Burnet House, served in different saloons. The guests at each repast averaged 300 persons. Printed bills of fare, including a great variety of *extremets* and dishes for both tables, are prepared every day.[1] The taciturnity at these large gatherings is remarkable. But here, as well as elsewhere in the States, people sit down to eat and not to talk.

Some Americans affirm that America does not commence until the Alleghanies are crossed, all to the east of that chain of mountains being old and worn-out, while the Western States are full of bustle and prosperity. Making due allowance for this burst of western patriotism, the couplet

> "The Eastern States be full of men,
> The Western full of woods, Sir."

no longer holds good, for the forests are fast disappearing, and cities, towns, and villages are as quickly springing up. The rapidity of these changes is marvellous. But little more than half a century ago there was not a single Anglo-American settlement in Ohio—now the population amounts to upwards of 2,000,000, nearly all of whom are Anglo Saxons. Cincinnati in 1800 was a hamlet of 750 inhabitants; by the last census, in 1850, it contained 115,435 persons. Enjoying the advantage of a beautiful situation on a series of terraces on the right bank of the Ohio, it is fairly entitled, from its locality and prosperity, to be called the "Queen of the West." In the year ending August 31, 1854,

[1] The consumption of provisions at these huge hotels is amazing. On the morning after my arrival at Cincinnati, I was roused from my slumber at dawn by the convulsive-like cackling of fowls the noise continued so long (above two hours), that I got up and looked out of my window commanding the back-yard. Immediately beneath were two long carts covered by netting, from beneath which a man dexterously drew unfortunate fowls by means of a stick provided with a hook. Seizing each fowl, he swung it swiftly round by the head, which he wrenched off, and dropped the body into a large cask, which was nearly full of the decapitated birds. The operation, which I was informed was repeated every morning on the same extensive scale, continued until the vessel was full; but I cannot vouch for the amount of murder on other days, as I changed my quarters to a front room after breakfast.

there were 3,887 steamboat arrivals; the value of the imports during the same period was 66,000,000 dollars, and that of the exports 46,000,000, being an increase over the preceding year of nearly 50 per cent. A walk through the business part of the city is sufficient to show that these figures are not mythical. The stores occupy a vast frontage on the river, and extend back over a large area, each a hive of industry. They are filled with almost every conceivable description of goods, for Cincinnati is at present the great emporium for supplying the countless thousands of emigrants settling in the west. Here domestic furniture is manufactured to an extent that would be almost incredible were we not made aware that the demand extends as far west as California.

With few exceptions, all the labour in and near Cincinnati is performed by Irish. Though the River Ohio only divides the city from Kentucky, which is a slave State, there were not more than 3,237 free blacks in Cincinnati in 1850. They occupy a quarter of the city near the river called "Buckeye," and are principally engaged in occupations connected with the shipping.

The Ohio, which, during spring months is sixty feet deep at Cincinnati, had now only eighteen inches of water in its channel; thus I was disappointed in my hopes of being able to proceed to Pittsburg by water, and was obliged to leave Cincinnati by railway.

My route lay over the Alleghanies; and as these mountains are crossed by two railways, it became a consideration which line I should take One starts from Pittsburg, and passes through the heart of Pennsylvania; the other, commencing at Wheeling, traverses Maryland, crosses the Alleghanies at an elevation of 2,400 feet, and follows the picturesque windings of the Potomac to Baltimore. I had heard so much of the grandeur of the scenery on this line, and of the engineering difficulties which have been overcome, that I decided in its favour; not being at the time aware of its reputation for frequent accidents, of which I was destined to have a practical illustration. It is a great convenience in America to be enabled to take a through ticket for a long journey involving change of railways. In the present case Washington, 680 miles from Cincinatti, was my destination; and although I had to travel over lines belonging to different companies, one ticket carried me through. Besides the saving of much trouble by this plan, it is a little less expensive.

I left Cincinnati in the afternoon, and arrived at Columbus, 120 miles distant, at ten o'clock. Here I slept; and, for the first time in the States, experienced incivility at an hotel. The following morning I resumed my journey to Zanesville, where I had to remain six hours, until a train on another line proceeded to Cambridge. I did not, however, regret this delay, as it gave me an opportunity of seeing in detail the very interesting and remarkable coral beds of this part of the Ohio.

The town stands on the sandstone formation near the falls of the Muskingum, in a most picturesque and beautiful region. Overlaying the sandstone in the adjacent hills, which rise about 200 feet above the river, are beds of bituminous coal which almost crop out at the summit and sides of the hills. These beds are on the verge of the great Pittsburg coal-field, which extends over portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Virginia, occupying an elliptical area 225 miles in its longest diameter, and about 100 in its maximum breadth; its superficial extent being about 14,000 square miles.

At seven in the evening. I resumed my journey, proceeding in the first instance to Cambridge, where the Baltimore and Ohio Railway terminated, as the works between that village and Wheeling were not completed. We arrived at Cambridge in a couple of hours, and found stages waiting to take us on to Wheeling. Although the distance is only forty miles, twelve hours are spent on the road.

At Cambridge I procured a bed, but not a room to myself, and the next morning, after a breakfast more notable for its rough abundance than elegance, consisting of beef steaks two inches thick, Indian corn bread, molasses, and very sedimentary coffee, I set out on a stage to Wheeling. The morning was delightful, the air was crisp, and the great heat of the past week had subsided. Although the large and ponderous stage on which I rode had only two passengers, a second vehicle of the same unwieldly construction accompanied us, in order to keep up the supply at Wheeling.

An American stage-coach is nearly as great a curiosity as one of our old four-horse stages; so I was not sorry to have an opportunity of travelling during the day by one of these vehicles. I was fortunate too in having an outside seat, for the country is extremely beautiful between Cambridge and Wheeling. We passed a succession of fine farms, situated in sheltered hollows, surrounded by fields of stately maize, whose flowing tassels waved in the breeze, orchards filled with ripe apples, and occasional vineyards. In the middle of the day we stopped to dine at a small place called Morristown—passengers, drivers, and conductors sitting down together. The repast was abundant, though coarse, including the sempiternal ham and eggs, and enormous crocks of molasses. These attracted clouds of flies, which were kept in an unsettled state by a company of grinning negresses waving peacock's tails over the table. The scenery continued to be of the same charming character as I have described, all the way to Wheeling. Occasionally beds of coal darkened the hill-sides, enabling the proprietors to procure this valuable combustible by the mere trouble of carting it from the surface.

As the evening was closing we came in sight of Wheeling, celebrated for its manufactures of glass and iron and for its wire bridge spanning the Ohio. The distance between the piers is 1010 feet; and the structure is so slight that a storm a few months ago permanently injured one carriage track. It is contemplated to rebuild it, so as to allow the railway to be carried across the river. My impressions of Wheeling are not favourable. The hotel to which I was driven was dirty and poor. My bed was straw stuffed into a coarse ticking, and the furniture of the room was of the meanest kind. I had the companionship of the driver and conductor at supper, who were treated with more deference by the waiters than other guests.

It was strange, after being so long accustomed to the delicious purity of the atmosphere in the towns as well as country through which I had passed—hitherto dimmed only by the smoke of the memorable forest fires—to wake up beneath a pall of dense coal smoke that would have done honour to Manchester or Sheffield. Indeed, for the moment, I fancied I had been spirited away during the night hours to a Lancashire manufacturing town. As this glimpse of Virginia was

far from pleasing, I was not sorry when the time arrived for the departure of the train to Cumberland at the foot of the Alleghanies. As the scenery on this line of railway is extremely fine, I obtained permission from the manager at the station to sit in the ladies' car, which, being the last carriage of the train, gave me an opportunity of seeing everything very well from the end windows and exterior platform. As far as Fairmont, seventy-seven miles from Wheeling, the country continued pretty level: here, however, we struck the roots of the Alleghanies, and commenced the ascent of the Appalachian chain of mountains Few persons in these days of travel have not seen an Alpine road zig-zagging up the face of a mountain. Convert the road into a railway; dwarf the height to 2,400 feet, which, however, is a very respectable elevation; substitute cars for lumbering diligences, and an iron horse for animals of blood and bone, and a very good idea may be formed of the passage of the Alleghanies *via* Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

The forests clothing this superb mountain region are very grand, consisting of glorious cedars, hemlocks, beeches, pines, elms, and maples; the latter being easily distinguished by their brilliant hues. Luxuriant rhododendrons fringe the cliffs, and the tropical-leaved sumach, with its clusters of bright berries, shows conspicuous among a dense undergrowth of evergreens. From the summit of the ridges I looked down upon vast amphitheatres of dense wood, and sometimes upon valleys over which I seemed to be suspended perpendicularly. The precipices, on the crest of which the railway is carried, are fearful, and remind me of parts of the Pyrenees. At five o'clock we were on the highest ridge, consisting of a kind of table-land, devoid of trees, in the middle of which is a small station called "Crest Line Summit." Here we paused for a short time, and then commenced descending the mountain to Cumberland. We were within half-a-dozen miles of our destination when our engine sent forth a terrific shriek, the agonising throes of which reverberated among the recesses of the mountains, and, as the sound died away, we came to stand still. A coal train had gone off the line before us, and, although a large force was employed to clear the rails, we were detained four hours, and did not arrive at Cumberland until near midnight. There I was fortunate in finding an excellent hotel, the landlord of which, late as it was, put a capital supper before me, during which I was waited on by slaves; Cumberland being in Maryland, a slave state. I was not aware of this fact at the time, or perhaps I should not have eaten my meal with equal gusto. As it was, I thought my sable attendants merry fellows.

I had so arranged my plans as to spend the following day, which was Sunday, at Cumberland. The town lies on the slope of the Alleghanies, where the mountain barriers turn the water-courses towards the east. Swelling hills rise around, among which the beautiful Potomac winds. The whole scene has an English aspect, similar to our lake scenery, and the resemblance is increased by a charming Gothic church, built of fawn-coloured stone, which crowns a hill in the upper part of the town.

I proposed proceeding to Washington by a train due at Cumberland on Monday morning at eight o'clock, and was in readiness with fourteen other passengers at the proper time. Ten o'clock arrived, but no train; accordingly three cars and a baggage-waggon were prepared for our conveyance. The conductor guess'd we were very late in starting, and guess'd again, 'twould be smartish work to pull up the time. To effect this required additional speed, and this was maintained where the line, following the windings of the Potomac, described sharp curves which no English railway train could keep. The consequence was the overthrow of the cars at a sharp turn, from which I luckily escaped half stunned, but with no broken limbs. We had to wait the train from Baltimore by which to proceed, and at length, after a detention of five hours, we resumed our journey; and, as it was no longer possible to pull up the lost time, our speed was not excessive. The wretched state of the line kept us in a continual state of apprehension; but we fortunately reached Harper's Ferry without further accident. Here the beauties of the Potomac centre, forming a scene which Jefferson declared worth going across the Atlantic to see, as being "one of the most stupendous in nature."

The main features consist in the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah rivers, which pass through a gorge in the Blue Ridge Mountains, here upwards of 1,200 feet high. In the distance, looking up the river, the mountains gradually blend their wooded summits, and, glancing outward, the country spreads in a soft, rich, cultivated landscape; this is the view so highly praised by Jefferson. There was happily sufficient light to see it while the train stopped, but the rest of my journey to Relay House was performed in the dark. Had all gone well I should have reached Washington in the evening; as it was, in consequence of the accident, and being obliged to lie by at sidings to allow trains to pass, I did not get to Relay House until two hours after midnight, of course too late for the Washington trains With some difficulty I obtained entrance into the hotel, where I was glad to rest after a long day of more than usual fatigue and excitement. The following morning I took a train, after breakfast, to Washington The country is picturesque, but not being favourable for agriculture, the curious spectacle of large tracts of land bristling with stumps meets the eye to the verge of the capital. When liberated from the cars, I fell into the hands, or arms rather, of a ravenous host of hotel touters and cabmen, whose conduct did not give me a very favourable idea of the police regulations of the United States' metropolis. At length I was rescued by the agent of the hotel to which I proposed going, and, after a long drive through sandy streets, I came to a pause for some days in the Marble House.

XIII.

Washington—The Marble House—The Capitol—Rome—Political Situation of Washington—Houses of Washington—The Bald Eagle again—Patent Office—Museum—Tanned Negro Skin—Franklin's Printing Press—State Paper Office—Observatory—Smithsonian Institution—Visit to Alexandria and Mount Vernon.

My first sight-seeing act in Washington was to ascend the Capitol, from the summit of which the city of "magnificent distances" is seen to great advantage. Moore's lines on this metropolis, written half a century ago, hold good now:

> "This famed metropolis, where Fancy sees
> Squares in morasses, obelisks in trees;
> Which travelling fools and gazeteers adorn,
> With shrines unbuilt and heroes yet unborn."

For with the exception of the heart of the city, traversed by the great artery, Pennsylvania Avenue, which is lined by fine blocks of public and private buildings, the greater portion consists of streets made up of houses alternating with groves, which, as the eye follows their shadowy outline, are swallowed up in the forest.

Bearing in mind the ambitious prognostications entertained by the founders of Washington, originally called Rome—Goose Creek having been at the same time raised to the dignity of The Tiber—the Federal metropolis must be considered a signal failure; for while almost every other town and city in the States has been and is increasing in a manner setting all calculations at defiance, the population of Washington still remains beneath that of fourth-rate towns, and her commerce is scarcely worth mentioning.

Had the extraordinary growth of the States been imagined, it is probable a more western locality would have been selected for the seat of government. A writer, who may be said to have been present at the birth of the city, as it was laid out in 1792 and he visited it in 1795, observes with respect to the site:—"In the choice of the spot there were two principal considerations: first, that it should be as central as possible, in respect to every State in the Union; secondly, that it should be advantageously situated for commerce, without which it could not be expected that the city would ever be distinguished for size or for splendour; and it was to be supposed that the people of the United States would be desirous of having the metropolis of the country as magnificent as it possibly could be. These two essential points are most happily combined in the spot which has been chosen."[1]

When, in antagonism to these flourishing commercial prospects, the statistics of Cincinnati, then undreamt of, are examined, we cannot fail to be struck by the short-sightedness of the projectors of Washington.

As a locality for government, it, however, enjoys advantages possessed by no other city in the States, being in the neutral district of Columbia, which, by an act of Congress, possesses no political privileges, and, therefore, cannot be regarded with jealousy by any State. That discord would result from the establishment of the legislature in any State city, is evident by antecedents. The writer before alluded to, observes: "Shortly after the close of the American war, considerable numbers of the Pennsylvanian line, or of the militia with arms in their hands, surrounded the hall in which Congress was assembled at Philadelphia, and with vehement menaces insisted upon immediate appropriations of money being made to discharge the large arrears due to them for their past services. The members, alarmed at such an outrage, resolved to quit a State in which they met with insult instead of protection, and quickly adjourned to New York, where the session was terminated. A short time afterwards, the propriety was strongly urged in Congress of fixing on some place for the meeting of the legislature, and for the seat of the General Government, which should be subject to the laws and regulations of the Congress alone, in order that the members in future might not have to depend for their personal safety, and for their freedom of deliberation, upon the good or bad policy of any individual State. This idea of making the place which should be chosen for the meeting of the legislature independent of the particular State to which it might belong, was further corroborated by the following argument:—That, as the several States in the Union were in some degree rivals to each other, although connected together by certain ties, if any of these was fixed upon for the seat of the General Government in preference, and thus raised to a state of pre-eminence, it might perhaps be the occasion of great jealousy amongst the others. Every person was convinced of the expediency of preserving the union of the States entire; it was apparent, therefore, that the greatest precaution ought to be taken to remove every source of jealousy from amongst them, which might tend, though remotely, to produce a separation. In fine, it was absolutely necessary that the seat of Government should be made permanent, as the removal of the public offices and archives from place to place could not but be attended with many and very great inconveniences."

If Washington were in keeping with the Capitol, it would indeed be a magnificent city. This building, constructed of white marble, with its imposing façade and immense wings, for these are nearly completed, is a remarkably fine object. With a liberality worthy of European imitation, the visitor is allowed to ramble freely through the interior; and although Congress was not sitting, the Houses of Legislature were open. These are on the east and west of the Rotunda. The House of Representatives, which is much larger than the Senate Chamber, is also more handsomely decorated, the ubiquitous American eagle figuring largely in gilt effigies. By the way, Franklin was right in his objections to this bird, which, being the bald eagle, is not an honourable emblem of America. In one of his letters he observes:—"I wish the bald eagle had not been chosen as the representative of our country; he is a bird of bad moral character; he does not get his living honestly; you may see him perched on some dead tree, where, too lazy to fish for himself, he watches the labour of the fishing-hawk; and when that diligent bird has at length taken a fish, and is bearing it to his nest for the support of his mate and young ones, the bald eagle pursues and takes it from him. With all this injustice, he is never in good case; but, like those among men who live by sharping and robbing, he is generally very poor, and often very lousy. Besides, he is a rank coward; the little king-bird, not bigger than a sparrow, attacks him boldly and drives him out of the district. I am, on this account, not displeased that the figure is not known as a bald eagle, but looks more like a turkey. For, in truth, the turkey is in comparison a more respectable bird, and withal a true original of America. He is besides (though a little vain and silly, it is true, but not the worse emblem for that) a bird of courage, and would not hesitate to attack a grenadier of the British guards, who should presume to invade his farm-yard with a red coat on."

The original design of placing an equestrian statue of Washington near the Capitol has been abandoned, and a colossal seated figure substituted. The work is by Greenough, who has erred by representing the hero in the half-naked garb of a Roman general, with his right arm extended in the direction of the Patent Office. This attitude led a witty member of the United States Legislature to observe, that Washington doubtless points to that building because it contains his uniform, which he very naturally desires to put on.

[1] Weld's Travels, Letter IV.

In the cool of the evening I strolled down to the Potomac, in whose radiant wave

"The dying sun prepared his golden grave."

The view of this river and of the country beyond, as seen from the Navy Yard, is extremely beautiful, fully realising Moore's praise—

"Oh great Potomac! oh you banks of shade!
You mighty scenes, in Nature's morning made,
While still in rich magnificence of prime,
She poured her wonders, lavishly sublime."

Alas that its clear waters should be now stained with blood spilt in civil warfare!

I was somewhat startled when, on sitting down in my room to write before going to bed, I found my portfolio literally covered by innumerable tiny red ants. Further examination showed that these animals had taken possession of every available spot. In my alarm at this plague of insects, I rushed down stairs, and begged to have another room. My wish was gratified, but the change was not productive of any benefit. The little insects were fully as numerous in my new apartment; and it seems the entire city of Washington suffers under a formific plague. Happily, however, the ants are not of a stinging species.

On the following morning, accompanied by two gentlemen connected with government, I visited the Patent Office, a handsome white marble building, resembling the Parthenon, having a frontage of 413 feet, with a depth of 280. Besides various offices for the transaction of "patent" business, large rooms are appropriated to the reception of models, now amounting to nearly 25,000, arranged in glass cases. The number of applications for patents has greatly increased during late years. In 1842, 761 were filed; in 1852, they had risen to 2,639. These figures show the inventive genius of America; and the multitude of "notions" in the shape of models of flying machines, and other possible and impossible mechanical adaptations for locomotive purposes, are convincing proofs of Jonathan's desire to economise time. The greater portion of these are consigned to the basement, where they are stowed in cases, without any attempt at arrangement. This, perhaps, is of little consequence; but it is to be regretted that no catalogue exists of the models—in many instances highly interesting and instructive—preserved in the upper rooms, illustrating inventions for which patents have been granted. The number of patents issued is less than the applications, the returns being 517 patents granted in 1842 out of 761 applications, and 1,020 in 1852 out of 2,639 applications. Of these, more than ten per cent. were for locomotive and engineering inventions. It is worthy of remark, that ninety per cent. of the patents were taken out by the Free States. An original inventor only is entitled to apply for a patent; the introducer of an invention has no claim whatever. The fees payable by a citizen amount to 6*l*. These are increased in the case of all foreigners, not natives of Great Britain or Ireland, to 63*l*., and to a native of these islands to 105*l*. This exorbitant increase appears the more unjust, as a citizen of the United States, applying for a patent in England, stands on an equality with British subjects.

The rooms above the patent Office are devoted to a museum, containing numerous articles of considerable interest. The curator, Mr. Verdon, has prepared a catalogue of the contents, but government will not be at the expense of printing it. This is short-sighted parsimony, as there are many objects of high scientific interest, including the natural history collections resulting from Commander Wilkes' exploring expedition, and that lately returned from Japan.

Englishmen will naturally look with interest at the original "Declaration of Independence," which is appropriately preserved in a glass case. This historical document, undoubtedly one of the most important in the world is written on a large sheet of vellum, and signed by the fifty-six representatives of the original thirteen states. The autograph of sturdy John Hancock appears boldly at the head of his republican brethren. In the same case are various relics of Washington. These consist principally of uniforms and other articles of dress, and bespeak the simplicity of the man. Indeed, the only courtly relic is a panel of his official carriage, covered with groups of Cupids, beautifully painted by Cipriani. In the same case are numerous presents made to American ministers by foreign powers, which, as their acceptance is unconstitutional, are preserved here. Among them were several jewels of great value, which a clever thief succeeded in abstracting a few years ago, and which may now be shedding their lustre in European ball-rooms; for the articles were never recovered. Near this case, and not far from the "Declaration of Independence," I observed the tanned skin of an African. Is this exhibited to show the use to which the animal may be put? or, as the leather is extremely thick, to illustrate the doctrine held by some slave-owners with respect to the corporal punishment of their slaves.

I examined, with great interest, the old worm-eaten printing-press at which Franklin worked when a journeyman printer in London. It is inclosed in a large glass case, which Mr. Verdon kindly opened. An inscription records, that when Franklin returned to England in 1768, as agent to Massachusetts, forty-three years subsequent to his residence in London, he visited Mr. Watts' printing establishment in Great Wild Street, and, going up to the press in question, addressed the men who were working at it:—"Come, my friends, we will drink together; it is now forty years since I worked like you at this press as a journeyman printer." Franklin then sent for a gallon of porter, and drank with them "Success to printing."

Before leaving the Museum, my attention was drawn to a frame containing portions of the hair of all the Presidents of the United States, with their autographs. The absence of white, or even gray, hair among these relics is remarkable. Although this museum is still far behind those in large European cities, it is well worth visiting. I must say, however, my pleasure was greatly destroyed by the seas of liquid filth which deform and befoul the marble floor. Black men were, it is true, removing the impurities caused by their white brethren, but it seemed an Augean task, never ending; for fresh visitors produced fresh cataracts of abomination.

My new friends took me to the State Paper Office, where I was introduced to the chief clerk, formerly a judge,[1] who kindly showed me several interesting documents. Among these was the original draught of the "Declaration of Independence," in Jefferson's

[1] The retiring allowance to superannuated officers in the United States is, generally speaking, so small that it is no uncommon circumstance to see judges acting as clerks.

handwriting, with various alterations, principally modifying his severity of language, as, for example, the words "destroy us" being substituted for "deluge us with blood." I also saw the letters of the unfortunate Major André, including the celebrated document penned on the eve of execution, in which he prays to be shot instead of hung. An early number of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* is preserved, with this curious advertisement:—"Printed by B. Franklin, who will give ready money for old rags, and sells glazed, fulling, and bonnet papers."

"From the State-Paper office I went to the Observatory, where I had the pleasure of meeting Lieut. Maury, director of the establishment, who kindly conducted me over it. This was a most agreeable and instructive visit. Lieut. Maury's profound acquaintance with the physical sciences generally is made apparent by the efficient condition of the Observatory. The instruments are of the best description, and all the recent scientific arrangements for the instantaneous record of observations by electric agency are adopted. A few days prior to my visit, a new asteroid was discovered by Mr. James Ferguson, assistant astronomer, to which the graceful name of *Euphrosyne* has been given. This is the first new star added to the family of asteroids by America, and is an honourable

DOG'S PRAIRIE, WISCONSIN

memorial of the zeal of the officers of her national Observatory.

It is much to be regretted that the locality of the Observatory, though favourable for astronomical purposes, is most insalubrious, being on the verge of a vast marshy area, which, during the great heats of summer, emits pestilential miasma, rendering residence in the Observatory highly prejudicial.

Officially connected with the Observatory, though in another part of the city, is the Coast Survey and Chart Office, where, under the superintendence of Lieut. Bache, the results of the admirable United States Coast Survey are laid down. The execution of the maps and charts is excellent, every pains being taken to render the work as perfect as possible. Here I saw the delicate instruments and apparatus used in the marine meteorological observations commenced by the United States Government at the recommendation of Lieut. Maury, and in which European governments now co-operate.

It forms part of the duties of this office to construct copies of the standard weights and measures. Besides these, three very accurate balances, weighing from 50 lbs. down to the ten-thousandth of an ounce, are supplied to the capital of every State, at a cost, for the three, of about £900. Twenty-four States have already been supplied. The workmanship is of the highest order of excellence.

Among the new buildings, to which, however, Washington is not indebted for architectural beauty, is the Smithsonian Institution, whose ugly towers and pinnacles are, unfortunately, very conspicuous. The building is so tasteless as to call to remembrance a Frenchman's observation on Fonthill, which edifice, by the way, was loveliness itself compared to the Smithsonian Institution: "Un homme doit avoir le diable au corps pour bâtir une maison comme ça." Not, however, satisfied by building an architectural deformity, a party possessing considerable influence are endeavouring to warp the sense of Mr. Smithson's will, by which he bequeathed upwards of half a million dollars to Congress "To found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Nothing can, apparently, be simpler or plainer than those words. Yet it is sought by the party in question to limit the expenditure of the trust to local purposes; such as founding a library, courses of lectures, &c. Smithson was a practical man; and though his illegitimacy soured his temper, his love for science was the pole-star of his existence.[1] His great desire was that the establishment he so munificently endowed should increase knowledge, and diffuse that increase world-wide And any deviation from a liberal and comprehensive interpretation of the terms of the bequest involves a breach of trust.

It is due to Professor Henry, the present excellent secretary of the Institution, to state he is not a party to any attempt even to divert the funds from their legitimate channel. The annual income at the disposal of the trustees is about £6,000, which, judiciously expended, may be made to diffuse much knowledge among men. It has been well observed, "Science is inseparably interwoven in all that gives power and dignity to a nation," and the United States Government will find there is more honour to be gained, and good to be effected, by carrying out the wishes of Smithson, than by circumscribing his reputation within the narrow limits of a library.

Hitherto the Institution has done good service by publishing valuable scientific works, which, through the agency of the Royal Society, have been extensively circulated throughout Europe. Among other interesting matters I saw here Mr Warner's invention of gutta-percha stereotype employed in carrying out Professor Jewett's method for printing catalogues by means of separate titles. "The titles of the books being set up, a matrix is made therefrom, and a stereotype plate cast in gutta-percha. This is sawn into the number of titles of which it is composed, and the alphabetising is accomplished by the simple assortment and arrangement of those titles, which are fixed together in the requisite pages. By this means the books added to any library may be inserted in their proper places, and an annual catalogue published at a comparatively small cost." The catalogue of the Congress Library is printed in this manner.

It formed part of my plans to visit Mount Vernon. This, during the summer and autumn, can be easily accomplished by means of a small steamer, which runs to and from the Mount twice a week. We set out at nine in the morning, and, steaming down the Potomac, stopped at Alexandria to take in passengers; and at Fort Washington, which is charmingly situated, we were allowed half an hour to ramble about the fort. In the course of my explorations I came upon a huge snake, which I had great trouble in killing. This fort has been garrisoned since the breaking out of civil war, and constitutes, since the defeat at Bull's Run, one of the chief defences of Washington. At the expiration of half an hour we were summoned on board by the ringing of a bell, which brought our party, including several pretty girls in evening dresses and sandled shoes, tripping down the hill-side at the great risk of encountering snakes in the long grass. We arrived at Mount Vernon at noon; two paths lead through a tangled wilderness to the house. One conducts to Washington's tomb, which is the first object visited. Whatever Americans may think and say respecting this great man, it is evident his remains concern them not; their resting-place is a disgrace to the nation. On arriving at the little inclosure, within which the tomb is situated, I saw a man busily engaged removing the dust and dirt from the monument. He was an American, but felt so pained by the state of the tomb that he had preceded us, hoping to remove the dirt before we arrived.

The house and grounds are equally neglected. A letter procured me admittance to rooms not usually shown; but every place was in ruin. Adjoining the house are a set of small cabins in which Washington kept his slaves. A writer relates:—"A person was kept at Mount Vernon during Washington's absence, whose business it was to attend to strangers, who were not only handsomely entertained, but provided with beds." *On a changé tout cela*, and although a descendant of Washington, bearing the same name, occupies the house, its appearance is forlorn and desolate in the extreme. And yet it possesses great natural advantages, being situated on an eminence commanding lovely views of the Potomac and the country beyond.

XIV.

Steam down the Potomac—Acquia Creek—Arrive at Richmond—Slave Market—Mode of Selling Slaves—Quadroon—Beautiful Children—Capitol—Houdon's Statue of Washington—State Penitentiary.

I had now exhausted the catalogue of Washington sights; and although the kindness of many friends desirous to extend their hospitality to me was a temptation to prolong my stay, my waning holiday forbade accepting their invitations, particularly as I determined to make an excursion into Virginia for the purpose of seeing the slave-market at Richmond. When this became known, several gentlemen evinced great anxiety to prevent me carrying this project into effect. It was clear they did not wish me to see the dark spot on their much-loved country. For, though slavery exists in Washington, there is no slave market there; and, indeed, the number of slaves in the district of Columbia has been decreasing since 1820. They are a merry set of fellows, taking a special delight in balls. Here is an invitation I received:—

[1] Hugh Smithson was the illegitimate son of Hugh, Duke of Northumberland, and Elizabeth, niece of Charles, Duke of Dorset. He originally intended to leave his property to the Royal Society; but in consequence of the rejection of one of his papers, he altered his will in favour of his nephew, at whose death the property was to revert to the United States, in trust for the foundation of an institution bearing his name.

"GRAND FANCY BALL.

"The pleasure of your company is respectfully invited to a Grand Fancy Ball, to be given by John Dade, at Page's large Brick House, at the foot of 7th Street, on Tuesday next, Oct. 13, 1854

"(PERMIT SECURED.)

"Tickets, admitting a lady and gentleman, One Dollar.
"Single Tickets. 50 cents.
"Omnibuses, 6¼ cents each way."

I am sorry I can give no account of the sable beauties who figured on this occasion; certainly, had it been in my power, I would have assisted at the ball; but, before it came off, I was obliged to leave Washington.

I left Washington at six in the morning by the steamer for Acquia Creek, on the Potomac. Not being well, I omitted the necessary precaution of looking after my luggage. The consequence was that, although it had been carried in the baggage van from the hotel to the quay, and was labelled "Richmond," the porter accompanying the van did not put it on board. I mention this to show the necessity of not trusting porters in the United States.

The sail down the Potomac, which is picturesque, was diversified by a very abundant breakfast; and the lively conversation of a charming girl, who gave me reason to believe she did not regret the fate which brought us together for a brief period, as she gave me her card when we parted. Of course I reciprocated the courtesy; but as our lives are cast in different quarters of the globe, it is not very likely we shall ever meet again.

At Acquia Creek a train was waiting to convey us to Richmond, sixty miles distant, where we arrived at two o'clock. The cars stopped in the middle of a thronged street. On getting out I was surrounded by a noisy set of oily and shining negroes, clamouring in favour of the hotels which they represented. I drove to the Exchange, lighter in property than on any previous occasion, for I was luggageless. Though I had sent a letter back by the steamer, directing my portmanteau to be forwarded by Adams's Express (an admirable establishment for the transmission of parcels throughout America), I deemed it advisable to take the additional precaution of sending a telegraphic message; but on going to the office, I was informed the telegraph was not in action, and would not be in working order until the following day. This was my last experience of United States telegraphs, and it must be admitted I was not fortunate in the results.

My first inquiry was respecting the slave-market. The landlord of the hotel looked upon this mart evidently in the light of a place for the sale of quadrupeds. The niggers, he said, were sold every morning, excepting Sunday, at ten o'clock, in the lower part of the town, and as this was Saturday, it was probable, if I wanted to buy, I should find a good chain of likely slaves at Monday's market. I at once disabused his mind of any idea he might have formed of me in connection with slave-owning, stating I was an Englishman, who had journeyed to Richmond for the sole purpose of seeing the slave market. "Ah, well I guess," he replied, "you'll see plenty of slaves without going there; all the niggers in the hotel are slaves, and all the work in Richmond is done by slaves."

Not, assuredly, greater is the contrast between a fair landscape illumined by brilliant summer sunshine, and steeped in the purple gloom of an impending thunderstorm, than that presented by the banks of the James River and the Richmond slave market.

I visited this place with mingled feelings of sadness and curiosity. The market consists of three human shambles, situated in the lower part of the town, far from the dwellings of the whites, easily distinguished by red flags over the entrances, to which are attached particulars of the slaves for sale. The number greatly varies, sometimes amounting to about fifty, and occasionally falling to one or two. On the day of my visit, fourteen male, and seven female "*likely*" slaves, with their children, were advertised to be sold by auction. The first establishment I entered, consisted of a large barn like room, about forty feet square, furnished with rude wooden benches and chairs; a platform for the display of the human goods; a desk, and a screen across the upper end of the room. The floor, walls, and indeed every object, were befouled by tobacco juice. About a score of ill-looking fellows were present, engaged, with scarcely an exception, in perpetual chewing and whittling. The benches, chairs, and all the woodwork, exhibited abundant marks how vigorously the latter practice had been carried on. The pillars were in many cases nearly severed. One man, who had tilted his chair back, was whittling one of the raised legs, with such energy of purpose, as to speedily threaten the amputation of that most important member of a chair's economy. By degrees more people arrived. When about fifty were present, the slaves were brought in from the neighbouring jail, where they had been confined. There were four men, and two girls. The former were immediately led behind the screen, stripped stark naked, and examined with great minuteness. Marks were criticised with the knowing air assumed by horse dealers, and pronounced to be the results of flogging, vermin, or scrofula. Little value was apparently attached to the answers of the slaves, though considerable pains were taken to ascertain their ages, (of which, by the way, they were generally very ignorant,) and the cause of their sale; with one exception, none could assign any reason. The exceptional case was a youth, who stated he was the slave of a tobacco manufacturer, and that although his master treated him well, the overseer was harsh and cruel, and frequently beat him. In proof of this he exhibited a scar on his shoulder. His master, he added, had consented to allow him to be sold. The women were more tenderly dealt with. Personal examination was confined to the hands, arms, legs, bust, and teeth. Searching questions were put respecting their age, and whether they had children. If they replied in the negative, their bosoms were generally handled in a repulsive and disgusting manner. When sufficient time had been given for the examination of the slaves, the auctioneer left his desk, and desired his assistant, who was a slave, to bring up the first lot. This was a male negro about thirty years of age, who had been working on a tobacco plantation. He was ordered to ascend the platform, and the auctioneer stood on a chair by his side. The assistant now tucked up the slave's trousers, bared his neck and breast, and the sale commenced. "Here," said the auctioneer, "is a likely young nigger, used to all sorts of farm work; what will ye bid, gentlemen? He's worth a thousand dollars. Who'll bid? come, 500 dollars to begin. Thank ye sir; 500 dollars—500 doll'r—doll'r—doll'r—doll'r"—(uttered with bewildering rapidity),

'500 doll'r—doll'r—doll'r: 600, thank ye sir." Here the bidding hung fire, and the auctioneer, after expatiating on the good qualities of the lot, ordered him to be walked up and down the room before the people, who now amounted to about 200. During his progress, he was frequently stopped by parties who examined him. On returning to the platform, the biddings were renewed with greater spirit, until they reached 858 dollars, at which sum the man was sold. The next lot—also a male, who stated he was worn out, and unable to do good work, though apparently under fifty years of age—sold for 630 dollars; the third male, about thirty years old, who had been working in a plantation, for 940 dollars; and the fourth, the young man who was sold at his own request, for 750 dollars. In all these cases the same process was gone through, each slave being trotted up and down the room precisely like a horse. Now came the women's turn. The first put up was a good-looking girl, gaily-dressed, her hair adorned with ribbons—who, according to her statement, was nineteen years old, and was skilful in the use of her needle. "Can you make shirts?" was a question put to her by a dozen men. "Yes," she replied, "and wash them too." The auctioneer expatiated at great length on the excellent qualities of this "prime lot," for which he expected 1000 dollars at least. He obtained more—the first bid was 500, and she was knocked down for 1005. The second woman, aged twenty-five, who had been a domestic servant, realised only 700 dollars, on account of some scars on her shoulders, which a man near me was confident were produced by the whip. As all the slaves present were now sold, I thought business was over in this establishment; but just as the last woman was led away, a mulatto entered the room with another woman followed by two little children about three and four years old, and carrying a third still younger in her arms. These were the children announced for sale. The circumstances of this woman, or lot, as she and the children were called, being brought in alone, led me to suppose there was some distinction between her and the preceding slaves. In slavery none—she and her children were slaves like those just sold; but in appearance the difference was great. She was a remarkably handsome mulatto, and her children were nearly, if not fully, as white as the fairest Americans. If any doubt existed in my mind respecting the revolting nature of this human traffic, the case of this woman would have determined my judgment. Her story was brief: she was not married, and the man whose passions had made her his mistress as well as slave, willed that she should be sold with *his* children. More she would not divulge; nor would she answer questions relative to her occupation. All attempts at extracting further information were met by a scornful refusal to divulge aught of her past life, and when her small soft hand and bosom were examined, on which her infant was reposing, her eyes flashed fire, and I sincerely believe, had a knife been within her grasp she would have plunged it in the hearts of her tormentors. Followed by her two little children, who clung to her dress like scared lambs, shrinking from the gaze of the rough men who pressed round them, she ascended the platform, and the autioneer recommenced his business. Whether he dreaded a scene, or that he deemed it unnecessary, I am unable to say; but he limited his prætorial harangue to the simple announcement that he had a fine young woman to offer, with her children, who would not be sold separate, adding that in a few years the boys would be fit for work. What could he say of her, whose heart's tiniest affections were perhaps at that moment lacerated to satisfy the greed of a man? He set a high price on the woman and her children, declaring he expected at least 2,500 dollars for the lot. The first bid was 800; languid bidding succeeded, until the amount reached 900 dollars. The woman was then ordered down, and, followed by her little children, was made to walk up and down the room. On resuming her place on the platform, the bidding became a little brisker; but as no eloquence on the part of the auctioneer could raise them above 1,100 dollars, the lot was withdrawn. I was informed the woman alone would have raised more than this amount, but there is a strong aversion against purchasing white children.

It is unnecessary to carry the reader to the other slave marts. I visited both, and saw slaves sold under circumstances similar to those described. I conversed with most of the slaves, a few expressed great sorrow at leaving their late home and masters, and gazed inquiringly on those that examined them with a view of purchasing; but the majority exhibited a dogged apathy, as if their hearts were callous to all sensations. The spectacle I had witnessed the previous day was, however, fresh in my remembrance; and I well know the black man has strong feelings.

Many masters, as I was informed, have a great dislike to pass slaves whom they desire to sell through the degrading ordeal of public auction. To avoid this, they dispose of them by private contract, or provide them with papers of sale, authorising them to sell themselves, on the understanding that they bring the price asked to their masters. Thus the business transacted in the Richmond slave market does not represent the total number of slaves sold. It falls also far short of supplying the demand.

The want of capital is a serious bar to improvement in the slave states. In expectation of supplying this want, a place called Manchester was laid out for cotton mills, on the James River, opposite Richmond, but up to the present time only two have been erected. These employ free white labour alone, but the manager is an Englishman. The entire State of Virginia is most favourably adapted, by its situation and command of water-power, for developing a large trade in cotton-spinning and weaving, yet it only possesses twenty-seven mills, employing a capital of under two millions of dollars. Contrast this with the cotton-manufactures of Massachusetts, and it will be seen how heavily slavery presses on the energies of a State.

The census, which always sheds clear light on the progress of a nation, shows still further how slavery has crippled Virginia. In 1810 she was the leading State in the Union, and had a population of 974,622, including 392,518 slaves and 30,570 free blacks. New York, her rival, had a population of 959,049, including 15,017 slaves and 25,333 free coloured. In 1850, Virginia had 1,421,661 inhabitants, of which 472,528 were slaves, and 54,333 free negroes—an increase of 343,266 whites, 23,763 free blacks, and 30,010 slaves. The comparatively small augmentation of slaves shows how large a number of the poor fellows have been consigned to dealers and consumers further South. Now turn to New York in 1850. The total number of inhabitants in the Empire State was 3,097,394, of which 49,069 were free blacks, and no slaves—almost the same increase of free blacks as Virginia, and an in-

crease of 2,112,609 whites to 343,266 in Virginia. These figures furnish a more unanswerable argument against the Nebraska bill than any figures of rhetoric.

If it were not for the moral pestilence proceeding from the slave mart, I should say Richmond would be a pleasant city to dwell in. It is agreeably situated on the ascending slope of the north bank of the James River, which is broken into several hills of different elevations, giving a picturesque appearance to the place. The residences of the upper classes exhibit considerable taste and are built of stone. The chief public building is the Capitol, finely situated in the centre of a small park on the brow of a hill. Mr. Jefferson intended that this building should be a copy of the chaste Maison Carrée at Nismes, a plan of which he sent from France to Richmond; but his ingenious countrymen fancied they could improve it, and accordingly placed the columns on the top of the attic storey. In many other respects the plan was inverted. The building contains a statue of Washington by Houdon, which possesses far more merit than the seated figure of the hero at Washington.

Apart from its artistic excellence, it is particularly interesting, as being by far the best likeness of Washington in existence, so authentic, in fact, that almost all the portraits of him have been copied from it. When the State of Virginia determined to have a statue of Washington, the Legislature commissioned Jefferson and Franklin, who were at Paris, to secure the services of the most eminent European sculptor to execute the work. Accordingly Houdon,[1] who at that period (1785) enjoyed a very high reputation, was engaged, and although he had many pressing professional orders to execute, he crossed the Atlantic with Franklin, for the express purpose of modelling a bust of Washington. The artist had the advantage of residing for some weeks at Mount Vernon, where he had every opportunity of studying Washington's face and expression. The result was an admirable plaster bust, with which he proceeded to Paris, and which served as his model for the present statue.

The costume was a subject of considerable discussion, terminated eventually by Washington, who, in compliance with a desire to have his opinion, wrote to Jefferson, suggesting that a modern dress would be preferable to "a garb of antiquity." In his reply, Jefferson expressed his entire satisfaction with this idea, adding, "I find it strongly the sentiment of West, Copley, Trumbull, and Brown, in London." The statue is therefore an authentic historical representation of Washington in the costume which he habitually wore as commander-in-chief. No other statue was ever made from his person. It was modelled about two years after the close of his military career, when he was in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

Its resemblance to Washington fully satisfied his contemporaries, several of whom declared it represented the original as perfectly as a living man could be represented in marble.

Thus, I regarded this statue with very great interest, and while contemplating the expressive features of the great patriot, fully subscribed to the following brief but noble tribute, which is inscribed on the pedestal, and which tradition says was penned by Madison on his knee, in the midst of the Legislature of Virginia:—"The general assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia have caused this statue to be erected as a monument of affection and gratitude to George Washington, who, uniting to the endowments of the hero the virtues of the patriot, and exerting both in establishing the liberties of his country, has rendered his name dear to his fellow-citizens, and given the world an immortal example of true glory."

I visited the great State Penitentiary, which, like all similar establishments in the States, is conducted on the principle of making the labour of the prisoners profitable. The governor boasted that the prison-labour in 1851, produced 10,000 dollars more than it yielded during the preceding year, forgetting, apparently, that this involved a larger number of prisoners, and consequently a greater amount of crime. The gross earnings of 220 prisoners for one year, were 72,213 dollars. Among the prisoners were 75 coloured males, and four coloured females. Respecting these persons, the official Report says:—"It is needless to state how poorly they are qualified for good mechanics." Among the crimes and sentences of prisoners in 1853, are two for slave-stealing, sentenced to imprisonment for two and a half and six years; three for carrying off slaves, sentenced to ten and thirteen years, and life imprisonment; six for aiding slaves to abscond, sentenced to confinement for two, four and a half, five, seven, and two years; and one for giving a register to a slave, sentenced to imprisonment for five years, which exceeds by two years the average length of imprisonment for manslaughter. The prisoners are not separated. During the day they labour together in large rooms, and at night are locked up by couples in their sleeping cells. In fact the system appears to have for its object, making the prison self-supporting, rather than punishing and reforming criminals. Economy is strictly studied. My attention was drawn by the governor to a man dressed in good plain clothes, seated in a verandah with his legs on the balcony rails. He was under sentence of imprisonment for life for killing his brother, but being a doctor by profession, he was put in charge of the hospital, by which arrangement the establishment saved the expense of a paid medical officer. This, I apprehend, is a feature in prison discipline which would not find favour in England.

XV.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA—WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—RAPID PROGRESS OF POPULATION—FEDERAL SYSTEM—REVENUE.—RELATIVE POSITION OF THE STATES—WEAKNESS OF UNION—ARMAMENTS.

HAVING arrived at Richmond, the temporary capital of the Secessionist or Confederate States, it may be well that we should pause a moment to consider some of those social and political problems which are involved in the progress of the once United States, their present unfortunate state of disruption, and their future destiny. The

[1] The reader must bear in mind, that when this narrative was written, the great civil war was raging between the Northern and Southern States of America,—the Southern slave holding States having taken up arms to constitute themselves into an independent "Confederate" Republic, and the Northern States fighting to force them back into the "Federal" Union. The armies engaged in this fratricidal war amounted to upwards of one million of men. After fighting for several years, and sacrificing thousands of lives and spending millions of money, the Northern States were victorious, and the people of North and South have once more settled down to industrial pursuits. However much this fratricidal war may be deplored, yet no one can deny that great good resulted from it in the abolition of slavery—that great curse and foul blot on all countries where it exists.

manner in which the country was colonised, the peculiarities of the original European inhabitants, and of the emigrant population since superadded, the rupture with the mother country, the war that ensued, the form of government adopted when first independence was declared, the features of the country, the progress of population, the revenue, the vast and rapidly increasing commerce, the manners and customs, the prevailing characteristics of social life, the variety of surface, soil, and climate, the moral character of American progress, education and literature, religion, and the influence of slavery as an institution in the Southern States, have all to be considered before we can arrive at any definite ideas as to the causes of the rapid advancement and prosperity of the United States, before we can form even an approximative opinion as to the dangers of the existing crisis, and still more so before we can thoroughly understand and appreciate in all its bearings the duty of England and America in relation to each other.

Previous to her disruption, the government of the United States exercised dominion over a country which came next to that of Great Britain and Russia, in point of extent and of the number of inhabitants that it was capable of supporting. We place Great Britain before Russia because its colonies are most populous, but accidental populations which may any day detach themselves from the mother country can scarcely be placed in the same category as the system of colonisation and aggrandisement pursued in Russia, and whose only danger is the natural incoherence of wide-spread dominion.

With respect to the United States, from the Atlantic in the east to the Pacific in the west, from the lake countries in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south; her shores thus washed by the great ocean; her lakes, and seas, and rivers, the most majestic that water the earth; her commerce whitening every sea; her railroads and canals, like great arteries, intersecting nearly her whole surface, carrying life and activity to the very borders, and in some places into the nooks and corners of the Great Desert Plains, and then again beyond these into the great valleys of the Rocky Mountains, down to the shores of the Pacific; and whose more densely populated surface is overspread with a network of magnetic wires; this colossal empire, embracing every character of soil and every degree of climate, had extended within the last half century, and filled the untrodden forest, the uninhabited plain, and the bleak hills with commerce, increasing towns, and a numerous population. The sun was four hours in its passage from the time when it first shone on the eastern shores of Maine till it struck the waters of the Pacific, and it was about four months in passing through the degrees of latitude of the once United States, in its northern and southern declination embracing six varieties of climate.

North America was first really settled in Virginia in the reign of James I.; and at James Town, which occupies a peninsula projecting from the northern shore of James River, may still be seen the ruins of the first church of North America; and this, with the surrounding burial-ground, is now almost the only memorial to be found of the original colony. This town was established two years before the settlement of Canada by the French, seven years before the founding of New York by the Dutch, and thirteen before the landing of the Puritans at Plymouth Rock. Subsequently, and at different intervals, the territory was peopled along parts of the coast of the Atlantic, as far as Plymouth, by the English, Dutch, French, Swedes, and Finns. New York was colonised by the Dutch in 1614. The Swedes, Finns, and Germans settled in Delaware and New Jersey in 1683. Plymouth—the general name applied to New England—was established in December, 1620, by the Puritans who arrived in the *Mayflower*.

These several settlements, as arranged by the British Government, consisted of thirteen states, which long existed as provinces of Great Britain, each state containing from ten to twenty thousand inhabitants. But Parliament, pushed by the expenses incurred in defending the colony against the French, attempted to tax the colonists without the intervention of their legislative assemblies; and this, added to some irritating circumstances previously existing, such as the refusal of government to sanction an extension of the colonies into the interior, the forcible deportation of the French population of Nova Scotia, together with other assumptions of power considered equally arbitrary and unjust, all contributed to produce an alienation of the colonies from the English rule. A civil war ensued, which, commenced at Lexington, near Boston, Massachusetts, in 1775, soon raged all over the limits of the States, from Concord, Bunker's Hill, the Lakes, and Saratoga, Lexington, in the Delaware, Schuylkill, the Chesapeak, and other scenes, to Charleston and New York in Virginia, where, the colonists having been powerfully assisted by France, and to some extent by Spain and Holland, the grand termination was effected by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. The colonists thus successful, Great Britain acknowledged their independence by the peace of 1783, after a calamitous and unnatural struggle of seven years' duration.

By this struggle the Confederate States released themselves from the exactions of a distant dominancy; they gained not only their independence but their liberty. And though the whole country was impoverished, the Union dissolving, its seaports desolate, its ships decayed, and the flower of its youth withered in the prison-ship or on the battle-field, it awoke to an almost instantaneous and marvellous display of enterprise and energy, and suddenly sprang into the rank of the mightiest of the nations, shining, till the fatal moment of disseverance and civil war, as a star of the first magnitude in the constellation of earthly kingdoms, and almost sharing with her former mistress the dominion of the sea.

Though England, in her contest with the United States, had neither the support of popular sympathy nor the dignity of military success, she retired from the field of her disasters with some consolation. She had laid the broad foundation of a nation gifted with her own courage, intelligence, and enterprise, an imperishable population, however divided or subdivided, or however ruled, possessing her arts, her morals, her literature, and her religion; and although it was severed from her dominion, men of experience soon began to see that future commercial intercourse with the States would be more advantageous to the mother country than it could have been if they had remained in colonial subjection.

The census of the United States, published in 1851, estimated the entire population at 25,000,000; of which about one-third were slaves, Indians, and free

persons of colour. The free states were found to contain between 13,000,000 and 14,000,000, the slave states between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 free, and about 3,000,000 slaves. The population may be now estimated, according to its great average ratio of increase, which has been of 3,929,827 in 1790, to 23,191,876 in 1856, at 28,000,000; but the relations of the populations as between the free states and the slave states may be supposed to have remained the same. The growth of the population is without a parallel in the history of man. The emigration from Europe was calculated at 1,000 per day. In 1850 Lord John Russell showed that 223,078 had sailed from the mother country for the States in that single year. Full 2,500,000 of the population of England, it is estimated, have gone within the last forty years to swell the population of the States.

The Irish emigrants settle in the commercial towns and along the great thoroughfares; the Germans settle mostly in the country; the English in the neighbourhood of towns, on cultivated lands; the Scotch largely in New England and New York; the French in cities; and the Welsh in the neighbourhood of woods and mines.

In whatever direction you proceeded, from the centre of every city or town to its various outlets, rows and piles of new buildings were in progress of erection, and green fields and fruitful gardens were being rapidly converted into streets and squares, with magnificent edifices. The flood of population, doubling itself every twenty years, has swept over the Alleghanies, crossed the blue Ohio and the Father of Waters, has followed the shores of the Great Lakes, has rolled up the Missouri to the far west; its advancing tide has already enlivened the coasts of Florida and Texas, settled in New Mexico and the Utah wilderness, and pushed across the Rocky Mountains to the shores of California and Oregon, the very lines by which the Atlantic was to be united to the Pacific had been laid down, when this great Anglo Saxon empire was, by the fiat of Providence, in all human probability broken up for ever

The particular form of government of the United States was, as is well known, a federative republic, or representative democracy, designated "the Congress of the United States," and, like the constitution of England, it provided for three branches of government, only that these branches were all elective, and that by a widely diffuse suffrage. Such a government assured to the people the grand principles of freedom, liberty of conscience in matters of religion, liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the right of choosing and being chosen to office. Democracy was in the United States a palpable existence in full operation—an active principle, demonstrating man's capability to govern himself, and to determine between right and wrong, in all political as well as civil and religious affairs.

But every federal system contains defects which baffle the efforts of the legislator. De Tocqueville, in his well-known work on *Democracy in America*, long ago pointed out the relative weakness of the government of the Union as a defect inherent in the federal system, that the sovereignty of the separate states was apparently weaker, but in reality stronger, than that of the Union, and that, above all, war was the main peril of confederations.

If this was the case with regard to foreign war, still more so would it be the case in civil war. The Federal system was not only deficient in every kind of centralised administration, but the central government itself was and is imperfectly organised, and this would just as much be an influential cause of incapability when opposed to another batch of confederated States nearly similarly circumstanced, but united for purposes of self-defence or opposition, as it would when opposed to other countries which might be governed by a single authority.

The revenue of the general Federal government has been hitherto derived almost exclusively from the sale of lands, and from duties on imports and tonnage, or foreign merchandise; and it could create no other. The necessity for direct taxation and internal levies on the people, now rendered so imperiously necessary, may be borne for a time under the impulse of excitement, but can scarcely be expected to last without entailing new relations between the governing power and the people. There are no tithes, no church-rates, no poor-rates, yet under such a system the receipts into the treasury had increased from 26,000,000 to over 49,000,000 dollars, and the Californian trade—the commercial phenomenon of this commercial age—has also added 100,000,000 dollars to the national commerce, and more than any event in the last forty years, has invigorated the navigating interest of the country, exerting a powerful influence over the commercial marine of the world by swelling the internal trade of the United States, and enabling her to own more than two-fifths of the tonnage of the world The government has hitherto extracted nothing more from the pockets of the people than has been absolutely necessary to meet the expenses. It, above all, extracted nothing from the miseries of the people. Expenditure was reduced to the utmost, without detriment to the public service No taxes were levied on local manufacturing industry. The practice seemed to accord more with the theory of Sismondi than with that of Adam Smith. The restriction of cash payments having proved fatal to the progress of the doctrines of the latter, they have viewed political economy as a science of proportions; they appear to have recognised the principle that income must increase with capital, that population must not go beyond the income upon which it has to subsist, that consumption should increase with population and that reproduction should be proportioned to the capital which produces and to the population which consumes it.

Although, however, equality among its citizens was so universally recognised and enjoyed under the laws of the United States, it must not be understood that it is equality of property and power; it must not be supposed that there were no gradations in society. The equality was not so much equality of social position as of political, civil, and religious right. From the settlement of the republic, notwithstanding the abjuration of all aristocracy, there has been an upper, a middle, and a lower class. There are distinctions of property, diversity of condition, subordination of rank, and a variety of occupations. Equality before the law is no more synonymous in the United States of personal independence than in any other country. So there has also existed for now some time back in the United States, two parties—the Federal or Aristocratic, and the Democratic. "One party," said Jefferson, "fears most the ignorance of the people; the other, the selfishness of rulers independent of them."

Strange that in a government so constituted its advantages should be invidious and partial. While

the roar of her cannon on every anniversary of her independence was heard from a thousand hills, and the air was filled with her shouts and hu[illegible] for liberty, three millions of her subjects were denied the precious boon, and doomed—themselves and their posterity—to drag out their lives in perpetual bondage. Though Congress had solemnly declared, in the face of the world and before the God of Heaven, that freedom was the rightful inheritance of every son and daughter of Adam, yet have they continued in the true spirit of Pagan tyranny to withhold it from those upon whom the wickedness of their ancestors riveted the fetters of slavery.

The "domestic institution," as it is called, has been at the bottom of everything questionable in the policy of the government—everything wicked, everything foolish, every thing impolitic, everything mischievous, done by the Congress of the United States for a long course of years. Every political change, every unaccountable new law, must be studied by the baleful light of this institution, and all will be intelligible. It is an institution—itself a disastrous remnant of barbarism—that has made the whole nation barbaric in many of its aspects.

In public, as in private matters, there is no possible durable, permanent, and ultimate success where all principle, morality, and uprighteousness are set at nought. De Tocqueville, among others, foreshadowed

EMIGRANTS ON THEIR MARCH.

the results of slavery as upheld by democracy long ago.

All the States have been borne onwards at the same time in the path of fortune, but they have not all increased and prospered in the same proportion. To the north of the Union, the detached branches of the Alleghany chain, which extend as far as the Atlantic Ocean, form spacious roads and ports, which are constantly accessible to vessels of the greatest burden. But from the Potomac to the Mississippi the coast is sandy and flat. In this part of the continent, and which constitutes the territory of the confederated Southern States, the mouths of almost all the rivers are obstructed, and the few harbours which exist amongst these lagunes afford much shallower water to vessels, and much fewer commercial advantages, than those of the North. The North is, therefore, superior to the South both in commerce and manufacture; the natural consequence of which is, the more rapid increase of population and of wealth within its borders. But, again, the States situate upon the shores of the Atlantic are already half-peopled. These districts cannot, therefore, receive so many emigrants as the Western States, where a boundless field is still open to their exertions. The valley of the Mississippi is far more fertile than the coast of the Atlantic Ocean. This reason, added to all the others, contributes to drive Europeans westward. It is found that the sum total of the population of all the United States has about tripled in the course of forty years; but in the

recent States adjacent to the Mississippi, the population has increased thirty-one fold within the same space of time.

The relative position of the central Federal power is thus continually displaced. Forty years ago the majority of the citizens of the Union was established upon the coast of the Atlantic, in the environs of the spot upon which Washington now stands; but the great body of the people has been now some time past advancing inland and to the North, so that in De Tocqueville's time that writer was enabled to predict that the majority would, in twenty years' time, be unquestionably on the western side of the Alleghanies. This is precisely what has occurred, and, more than that, the extreme north west provinces, which by their character and position are more hostile to slavery than the north-east provinces, or even the central north, have been able to determine the presidential election, and thus sway for a time, at all events, the fortunes of a country for which we have not any precise name, but which was lately the United States of North America.

"Whatever faith I may have in the perfectibility of man," says M. de Tocqueville, "until human nature is altered, and men wholly transformed, I shall refuse to believe in the duration of a government which is called upon to hold together forty different peoples, disseminated over a territory equal to one-half of

LAKE PEPIN.

Europe in extent; to avoid rivalry, ambition, and struggles between them; and to direct their independent activity to the accomplishment of the same designs."

And then on the point now in question: "It is difficult to imagine a durable union of a people which is rich and strong with one which is poor and weak, even if it were proved that the strength and wealth of the one are not the causes of the weakness and the poverty of the other. But union is still more difficult to maintain at a time at which one party is losing strength, and the other is gaining it. This rapid and disproportionate increase of certain States threatens the independence of the others. New York might, perhaps succeed, with its two millions of inhabitants and its forty representatives, in dictating to the other States in congress. But even if the more powerful States make no attempt to bear down the lesser ones, the danger still exists, for there is almost as much in the possibility of the act as in the act itself. The weak generally mistrust the justice and the reason of the strong. The States which increase less rapidly than the others, look upon those which are more favoured by fortune with envy and suspicion. Hence arise the deep-seated uneasiness and ill-defined agitation which are observable in the South, and which form so striking a contrast to the confidence and prosperity which are common to other parts of the Union. The inhabitants of the Southern States are, of all the Americans, those who are most interested in the maintenance of the Union; they would, assuredly, suffer

most from being left to themselves; and yet they are the only citizens who threaten to break the tie of Federation. But it is easy to perceive that the South, which has given four presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe—to the Union, which perceives that it is losing its Federal influence, and that the number of its representatives in congress is diminishing from year to year, whilst those of the Northern and Western States are increasing; the South, which is peopled with ardent and irascible beings, is becoming more and more irritated and alarmed. The citizens reflect upon their present position, and remember their past influence, with the melancholy uneasiness of men who suspect oppression. If they discover a law of the Union which is not unequivocally favourable to their interests, they protest against it as an abuse of force; and if their ardent remonstrances are not listened to, they threaten to quit an association which loads them with burdens whilst it deprives them of their due profits.

If the changes which are here alluded to were gradual, so that each generation at least may have time to disappear with the order of things under which it had lived, the danger would be less; but the progress of society in America is precipitate, and almost revolutionary. The same citizen may have lived to see his State take the lead in the Union, and afterwards become powerless in the Federal assemblies; and an Anglo-American republic has been known to grow as rapidly as a man, passing from birth and infancy to maturity in the course of thirty years.

It must not be imagined, however, that the States which lose their preponderance, also lose their population or their riches, no stop is put to their prosperity, and they even go on to increase more rapidly than any kingdom in Europe. But they believe themselves to be impoverished because their wealth does not augment as rapidly as that of their neighbours; and they think that their power is lost, because they suddenly come into collision with a power greater than their own: thus they are more hurt in their feelings and their passions, than in their interests But this is amply sufficient to endanger the maintenance of the Union. If kings and peoples had only their true interests in view ever since the beginning of the world, the name of war would scarcely be known among mankind.

Whilst the standing army (such being considered incompatible with a republican government) is estimated at about seventeen to eighteen thousand men of all arms, including about eight hundred commissioned officers, twelve thousand of whom are engaged, some as far off as is New Mexico, in protecting the so-called frontiers against the depredations of the Indians, the militia was calculated when the States were united at upwards of two millions. It may be said, indeed, that every man in the republic is a trained soldier disciplined to arms. Every year calls out a new army of local soldiery from among the peasantry; they thus train the entire rustic population. "America," as the once United States were pompously designated, could, it was said, if necessary, bring three millions of men into the field. The call of the president upon congress for four hundred thousand men is then a mere nothing, were it not for two drawbacks: firstly, what is good of the North is just the same with regard to the South, where the profession of arms is not merely the profession of the few, but the practice, the pride, and the pastime of the many; and secondly, it is admitted, notwithstanding this love of arms, that the States have not the qualities of a military nation—rather those of an agricultural and commercial, of an industrial and colonising people. As De Tocqueville justly pointed out, the patriotism of the statesman is a mere matter of interest, and as the interests of each State are local, and those of every individual peculiar to himself, it is almost impossible to expect civil war to be prolonged under such circumstances. A nation may unite to a man in self-defence, and yet not fight for a week for an abstract cause, for which he has to undergo fatigue, privation, and loss, to pay, fight, and shed his blood, without any personal, or sometimes even State interest in the question at issue. Hence it is that, from the onset, malingering on a scale perhaps never witnessed in the history of armies, a wholesale and unblushing desertion, aggravated into a national stampede, has been the characteristic of the civil war and the subject of popular jesting.

War was a game which, if the dominant party in congress, or the irascible party of the South had been wise, they would neither have ever played at. It is rare, that nations, like England, come out of a civil war unscathed; and even then the experiment is a bad one, and not worthy of being repeated. Prompt and eager to settle every petty quarrel by invading and annexing her neighbour's territory, Rome played out her game and lost her empire. Had the Romans yielded to the Italians rather than drive them to revolt, and to have to arm the Numidians and Gauls against them, no inevitable fate would have quenched Rome, and freedom and civilisation, beneath the feet of Germany. Had Pericles made any moderate concessions to save Spartan honour, instead of at once rushing recklessly to arms, he would have saved Greece from Macedonian despotism and spoliation.

"It appears to me unquestionable," said De Tocqueville, nigh a quarter of a century ago, "that if any portion of the Union seriously desired to separate itself from the other States, they would not be able, nor, indeed, would they attempt, to prevent it; and that the present Union will only last as long as the States which compose it choose to continue members of the Confederation." The error in this is not if they were able, but that they would not attempt it. The North has proceeded to treat the South separating, as the South in rebellion; and it will remain to be seen even if the successes of war, or the holding the main places and strongholds of the South, would subject States voluntarily dissolved: certainly not without the creation of a military despotism upon the ruins of Federal democracy. A compromise is the only alternative that can yet save the once United States.

Then, again, while the United States are not free from foes within her territories, there is hardly one line of her frontier that is not beset with enemies. Her insane love of aggrandisement has rendered her southern frontier a hornet's-nest. She has, in reality, scarcely a foot in New Mexico and New California, and while her slave population burns to avenge years of tyranny, the red race would be but too ready to avail themselves of civil dissensions to exterminate the whites, where far separated from their fellow-men. This would be a most fearful and terrible catastrophe, which may Heaven avert! The blustering, domineering spirit of the Yankee has made him equally disliked in the North. Arrogance in the Bay of Fundy was not calculated to conciliate the Nova Scotians and the New

Brunswickers; open and repeated threats of invasion and annexation, have only added to a host of grievances with the Canadians, while not content with driving the Columbians from the River Oregon to Vancouver's Island and Frazer's River, the attempt to take forcible possession of an island nearly in mid-channel between the two, so as thus to obtain a command over both, has not left an impression of esteem or cordiality in the far north-west. But these have now become questions of little import, for if the United States do not pursue a wiser and more peaceful policy they will soon crumble to pieces, and while threatening Canada and fighting for San Juan, they will lose both Oregon and California.

Add to all this, what would be the effect of disunion among the more compact, civilised, and highly-populated States? Here, again, we will refer to De Tocqueville. "If," says that intelligent and philosophical writer, "the States were to split, they would not only diminish the strength which they are now able to display towards foreign nations, but they would soon create foreign powers upon their own territory. A system of inland custom-houses would then be established, the valleys would be divided by imaginary boundary lines, the courses of the rivers would be confined by territorial distinctions, and a multitude of hindrances would prevent the Americans from exploring the whole of the vast continent which Providence has allotted to them for a dominion. At present they have no invasion to fear, and, consequently, no standing armies to maintain, no taxes to levy. If the Union were dissolved, all these burdensome measures might, ere long, be required. The Americans are, then, very powerfully interested in the maintenance of the Union."

It is not only that civil war entails burdensome taxes, and at the onset 400,000,000 dollars were asked for, with four hundred thousand men, but the president was obliged, from the weakness inherent in government, to also ask for what was designated as a large accession of confidence in himself and his cabinet. It is a grievous fact, the more so as hitherto the United States have set a great example of enlightenment, liberality, and prosperity under free institutions to the wise and the good in the world; but most certain it is that any prolonged civil war would be found to be totally incompatible with the existence of those institutions. Either a rapid conquest or a compromise must be effected, or power will be concentrated in the hands of the one who shall have strength or intelligence enough to wield the majority, even against their own inclinations, to subject the minority, and upon such subjection, and upon the means used to bring it about, will be raised, as in all past history, a dictatorship of one kind or another.

XVI.

Progress of Civilisation—Condition of the People—Causes of Rapid Advancement and Prosperity—Sovereignty of States—Causes of Secession—Slavery—Resources of America—Relations with Great Britain.

The two extremes, severance or despotism, are the more to be regretted, as the United States have admittedly taken the precedence, not in actual amount, but in comparative amount, with respect to time and population, of all the nations in the world in regard to commerce. They equal England and excel most other countries in their magnificent lines of river and ocean steamers, in their canals, railroads, and electric telegraphs, in their naval architecture and shipping, in their agricultural products, in their manufactories and manufactures, in their reaping-machines and daguerreotypes—in fact, in all strictly industrial and agricultural arts.

But the country has not yet been distinguished by any large amount of industrial splendour, nor are luxuries, though common, either abundant or widespread. Nor may the once United States have ever been considered so rich and dignified, so luxurious and refined, as the old courts and their appanages in Europe; but this was a mere matter of time, and in the interval it was pleasant to reflect that what was far more charming existed—the whole mass of the population shared and participated alike in all the blessings that it had pleased Providence to bestow upon the country. In no region, indeed, since the fall of the Roman Empire have the masses of the people been placed in so advantageous a position as in the United States, not only as to the enjoyment of civil rights, but also as to a command of the material necessaries and comforts of life. Contentment and happiness were participated in by the million.

The general absence of beggars, such as infest all the old countries, was proverbial. The Duc de Liancourt affirmed that he saw but one beggar in the United States; and the testimony of the Earl of Carlisle, of Captains Hall, Hamilton, and Marryat, of Charles Dickens and of Miss Martineau, are pretty nearly to the same effect. "Through the whole prodigious expanse of this country," said Miss Martineau, in her volume on "Society in America," "I saw no poor men, except a few intemperate ones. I saw some very poor women. I saw no beggars but two professional ones, who were making their fortunes in the streets of Washington. I saw no table spread in the lower order of houses that had not meat and bread spread upon it. Every factory child carries his umbrella, and drivers wear spectacles." The Earl of Carlisle says: "In America they really have no poor amongst them; a beggar is what you never see."

All through the Free States of America there is an absence of that visible wretchedness and degradation to be everywhere seen mingled with the wealth and splendour of European cities. The whole mass of the working classes are better dressed, and appear more cleanly in their persons and attire. As far as the necessaries of life and even material comforts are concerned, even the backwoodsman is in circumstances of comfort amid the affluent solitudes of nature. And these remarks apply with still greater force to personal acquirements. Having mostly to live by their own exertion, and debarred from expensive pleasures, the lower classes are induced to improve themselves with unremitting assiduity; and for this they possess the most ample opportunities.

In a word, the United States have hitherto been a country in which every human being has been profitably employed in business and not in the destruction of human life. His energies have been stimulated by requited labour, every branch of industry has flourished, and every industrious man has had it in his power to be prosperous and happy. Everywhere, till recently, were heard, in her cities and remotest villages, the joyful sounds of enterprising industry, the ringing music of the workman's tools and the anvil, and the ceaseless hurry of commercial occupation.

Nor has the progress of this great country been exclusively of a material character. Benevolent and philanthropic societies have increased; literature and education, and the means of religious teaching, have advanced step by step with the progress made in commerce and in national wealth Most of those institutions, indeed, by which the civilisation of the Old Country is distinguished, exist also in the New; they have their Sabbath observance societies, their societies for the abolition of war and promotion of universal peace and brotherhood, their Bible and tract societies, their temperance and anti-tobacco societies, their home and foreign missions, their asylums, schools, and hospitals, but the result has been pretty nearly the same as elsewhere, and nothing is left at present but hope for the future.

The causes of the rapid advancement and prosperity of the United States, up to the present time, may be traced to the qualities of government, freedom of commerce, of speech, and of action, religious as well as civil and political liberty, exemption from old habits and prejudices, superior enterprise and energy of her people, freedom of institutions, facilities of locomotion, stimulus applied to agricultural labour, number of small proprietors, superior domestic economy, general self-reliance and independent spirit of the people, great economy of the government, prevalence of education, the character of the first settlers, the general diffusion of Protestant Christianity over the land, and the prevalent conviction of the final evangelisation of America, or, in other words, the strong religious spirit on the national character.

Almost all these advantages, all these great and praiseworthy grounds of progress and advancement, have, for the time being, been sacrificed before the withering, blighting curse of slavery. When President Lincoln devotes the major portion of his address at an extra session of congress to prove that there is no such thing as Sovereignty of States, that the Union existed before the States, or the body before its members, and that it is not in the power of one State to separate from another, he breaks with the past, and dissipates with the wand of a budding despotism all the traditions and legends of American independence, however much he may be justified by the necessity of circumstances. The time has come when every patriot must feel that the Anglo-American must rise or fall by the Union. But President Lincoln himself attests to the shallowness of the reasons upon which this necessarily despotic mode of procedure is founded, by averring that there is not, he believes, a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favour of disunion.

"There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee, for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are at once for the Union and against coercion would be coerced to vote against the Union."

Thus in one paragraph he denies the right to secession, and in another he would concede the right to a majority of voters, by denying that that majority has been fairly tested.

That the movement forced upon the government of the United States by the disruption of the South is of a despotic tendency, is still more strongly evidenced by the president's own words: "Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?" There is no sophistry here: President Lincoln openly avows that what has long been foreshadowed of the American government, that it is not strong enough to coerce the people, and that it must be stronger in order to enforce the Union and to maintain its own existence!

Nothing but the imperious force of circumstances, which historically rules all things, could justify the Free States going to war with the Slave States, in order to force them into union with them. But such coercion must be put in force, or the whole Union breaks to pieces, and with it all its existing and much-vaunted institutions, and hence it is that war became a justifiable and imperious necessity. But coercion having once taken the place of liberty of action, it is not at all likely that, notwithstanding the president's assurances to the contrary, the executive once strengthened, once armed, once victorious, and once habituated to trample upon law, institutions, and precedents, will ever return precisely to what it was. The chief causes of the rapid advancement and prosperity of the United States, the qualities of her government, freedom of action, civil and political liberty, exemption from old habits and prejudices, economy of governments, and freedom of institutions, are all placed in jeopardy by a curse that was sure eventually to entail a retributive punishment—the upholding of slavery on one hand and its toleration on the other.

There are many who have long regarded the so-called United States as an aggregate of inharmonious parts, brought together by chance, without any organised centre—a confederacy founded on principles necessarily producing the wild convulsions of popular fanaticism—a mode of government deemed impracticable in the present imperfect state of human society by many even of its friends.

To this it has been answered, that the republic of the United States, as it exists, is a Union of several States for mutual advantage and strength, each possessing the most ample and absolute power within itself to regulate every particular relating to mere local necessities; and no new State loses its distinctiveness, it may be said its "nationality," by joining the Union, but that, however weak the new comer into the Federal family, the other States, for their own sake, protect its independence. Thus, while all enjoy the benefit, no partiality exists; while each pays but a mite, as it were, towards the general good, the good is enjoyed in common. The interest of each is, therefore, so interwoven with the prosperity of the commonwealth, that none would willingly attempt the injury of the smaller part. "The individuality of the States is the very life of the Union." "If ever this principle of admission to a perfect equality of privileges, and to a complete participation of government, is replaced by the subjection of conquered or voluntarily annexed territories to the whole Federal Union, or to one particular State, or even by the least subservience to the parent republic, then, indeed, serious danger would arise."

There cannot be the least doubt as to the truth of the last prophecy. If one portion of the Union was to

conquer another, a permanent subjection, if possible, would be intolerable, and it would at the same time be utterly incompatible with the existing form of government. The very principles laid down as those upon which that government was formed, and as constituting the vitality of the Union, have been already superseded by the statement that the States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the constitution, no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union!

The original States (quoth President Lincoln) passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ones came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated as a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the United Colonies were declared to be free and independent States. But even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly shows.

The express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen States, in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive, having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union. Whence this magical omnipotence of State rights, asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States; but the word, even, is not in the national constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is a sovereignty, in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it, a political community without a political superior? Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, was a sovereignty; and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States, made in pursuance of States which have their status in the Union, made in pursuance of the constitution, to be for her the supreme law. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this they can only do so against law and by revolution. The Union, and not the States separately, procured their independence and their liberty, by conquest or purchase; the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States formed their constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union. Unquestionably, the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the national constitution. But among these, surely, are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but at most such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers. And certainly a power to destroy the government itself had never been known as a governmental or as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confined to the whole general government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the national constitution, in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned.

The principles here expounded are diametrically opposed to all that has ever been understood of the constitution of the United States. The form of government had its origin in the principle of the sovereignty of the people, which predominates over the whole of society in that portion of America. Hence arose the so called sovereignty of the States, even if the word is not in the Constitution. There are twenty-four small "sovereign nations," says De Tocqueville, "whose agglomeration constitutes the body of the Union." "Whenever," says the same writer, "the political laws of the United States are to be discussed, it is with the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people that we must begin." "In America, the principle of the sovereignty of the people is not either barren or concealed, as it is with some nations; it is recognised by the customs and proclaimed by the laws; it spreads freely, and arrives without impediment at its most remote consequences. If there be a country in the world where the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people can be fairly appreciated, where it can be studied in its application to the affairs of the society, and where its dangers and its advantages may be foreseen, that country is assuredly America." "I have already observed that, from their origin, the sovereignty of the people was the fundamental principle of the greater number of British colonies in America." It therefore existed before they cast off the British colonial independence. "The American revolution broke out, and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which had been nurtured in the townships, took possession of the State; every class was enlisted in its cause; battles were fought, and victories obtained for it, until it became the law of laws." It existed, therefore, before the Union; and it is absurd, therefore, to assert that the Union gave to each of the States whatever of independence and liberty it now has.

"To examine the Union," says De Tocqueville, "before we have studied the States, would be to adopt a method filled with obstacles. The form of the Federal government of the United States was the last which was adopted, and it is, in fact, nothing more than a modification or a summary of those republican principles which were current in the whole community before it existed, and independently of its existence. Moreover, the Federal government is the exception, the government of the States is the rule." "The great political principles which govern American society at this day, undoubtedly took their origin and their growth in the State." Alluding again to the consolidation of the States at the time of the War of Independence, De Tocqueville says: "No sooner was peace concluded than the faults of legislation became manifest, and the State seemed to be suddenly dissolved. Each

colony became an independent republic, and assumed an absolute sovereignty" That at the first constitution of the Federal government the government of the States remained the rule, and that of the Confederation became the exception. (*See* the Amendment to the Federal Constitution; Federalist, No. 32; Story, p. 711; Kent's Commentaries, vol. i p 364.) "The powers delegated by the constitution," says the Federalist (No. 45), "are few and defined. Those which remain in the State government are numerous and indefinite."

It is amusing, but it is not surprising, to hear President Lincoln, in defiance of all past facts connected with the history of the Declaration of Independence, the formation of the Federal Union, and the adoption of the constitution framed by Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and others, of which the independence and sovereignty of the government of each State constitutes the essential basis, declaring that the States have no legal status except the Union, that they have no liberty or independence save in the Union, and that there is no such thing as sovereignty of the people or of States. This leads us to anticipate that we may some day hear where sovereignty does lie!

It has been the fashion with some to appeal to the history of the ancient republics as confirmatory of their prophecies of the impracticable character of the government of the United States. This, again, has been met by pointing out that there is an important distinction between the material of American strength and that of the republics of old. Those republics, unlike America, had neither sufficient territory nor large enough population to give them a permanent existence. They were more particularly destitute of an agricultural population, the class most essential to permanent power. Lastly, it has been said that the tendency of society in the ancient world, even in republics, was to personify itself in great despotisms; whilst the tendency of society in America has ever been towards equality of rank and power among its members. But what is here declared to be an element of permanent strength, has by others been looked upon as a source of weakness; and the immense agricultural interest so rapidly springing up in the valley of the Mississippi has long been deemed incompatible with the manufacturing interests of the seaboard States, while the tendency of all republics to despotism has not failed to manifest itself at the very first moment that the independent action of separate States came to threaten the permanency of the Union.

Still, with all the influence on society of the now disavowed principle of the sovereignty of the people, and of the long-cherished sovereignty of the States, there is no doubt but that the preservation of the Union in its integrity is one of the strongest points of American nationality. "This," said Captain M'Kinnon, "renders the maintenance of the present form of government, for some time to come, more certain than that of any government on the face of the earth!" And "no one," remarked Miss Bremer, "who has lived for any length of time in the United States, with leisure to study their life, can fail to perceive that they are within themselves possessed of a common creative principle of life which is vital in the highest degree, and that this is their civil and religious consciousness."

Pity for such anticipations that there should have been all the time a hideous sore, a sloughing ulcer at the extremities of the body politic, which was inevitably hurrying the whole to an inevitable disintegrating catastrophe.

"Yonder, upon a throne made of the affections of the slave-master," wrote the Rev. T. M'Connell, "in the face of an indignant nation, and of an offended God, sits slavery, horrible as a hag of hell; her face is brass, her heart is stone, her hand is iron; with that iron hand she wrings from the multiplied sufferings and labours of the hapless, hopeless children of Africa the wealth by which she is clothed in purple and fine linen, and fareth sumptuously every day; watching with unslumbering jealousy every ray that would enlighten the darkness of her kingdom, and frowning indignantly on every finger that would disturb the stability of her throne."

The States, when united, possessed, it is estimated, 3,500,000 slaves, and 433,648 persons of colour, nominally free, the latter also occupying a socially degraded position. The presence of such an immense population, alien in blood and aspect, in the midst of 350,000 of their immediate oppressors, in the Southern States has ever been a dangerous feature in their condition. It was now a hundredfold more so.

Slavery exists in about fifteen States, while two more have been sought to be added—the wild steppe-lands of Nebraska and Kansas, a district of country where the western Missouri pours its turbid waters along its perilous course, forming the eastern boundary of the savage western land of the Indian tribes, and extending eastward to the gigantic Mississippi, where heathendom still contends for dominion with Christianity.

"Slavery," said Lord Stanley, "cannot be permanent in the United States; the reason is, it is unjustifiable, contrary to the universally accredited and honoured rules of morality, and it must, therefore, come to an end, not only in America, but in Cuba, Brazil—everywhere."

Every year the institution of slavery has been becoming more difficult to preserve. The slaves themselves, in spite of every effort to keep them back, are becoming more enlightened, and, therefore, more difficult to keep in subjection; even the difference in race and colour—the great bulwark of slavery—is gradually breaking down. The two races are, in fact, being amalgamated; there are now 500,000 mulattoes in the Union, and they are increasing in a corresponding ratio from year to year. Serious as this question is, there is another still more so. Are the slaves to go on increasing in a geometrical ratio?—500,000 on the first establishment of the government; 700,000 in 1790; 3,200,000 in 1855; 6,000,000 in 1875; 12,000,000 in 1900; and so on, doubling themselves every quarter of a century through an infinitude of years.

What is to be done with the slaves if they are set at liberty, despised and down-trodden by almost the entire nation? Are they to grow up as a powerful alien people in a confederation of States, or a forced Union, dangerous in their numbers, and doubly dangerous in their consciousness of wrong, and in the passion which might excite them to acts of vengeance?

Yet, on the other hand, what will become of them in the event of an indefinite postponement of freedom to the slave? Before the rupture of the Slave States with the Free States, the whole southern frontier, from Maryland to Louisiana, as a natural consequence of the violence and oppression inseparable from that unnatural and iniquitous system, indicated a social system

in the last stage of decrepitude, a soil irrecoverably impoverished, and a proprietary fast verging towards bankruptcy. Already in Virginia, naturally rich and beautiful, there was a growing impoverishment, not withstanding that large sums were realised by the individuals who reared human stock for the more southern plantations. In the partially deteriorated state of that fine old domain, and its apparent incapability of keeping pace with the more prosperous communities of the North, it may be said to approximate to the physical and moral condition which disfigured Italy in the second century.

Both public and private interests and honour have been hitherto powerless to destroy the fascination or to inflict the death-blow on the demon that has preyed on the very vitals of the republic. The curse has involved a separation of the Union into two halves, and has entailed civil war between brethren; yet if the united power of the commonwealth was impotent to protect it against the danger of annihilation, how much greater these dangers, whether of permanency of slavery or of its abolition, will be to a confederation of Southern States, suppose their independence to be maintained? What will Free States or Slave States do to avert the danger? The highest intellects in Europe are looking with breathless wonder at the sad and anomalous position of the once United States, and for the solution of this great problem.

America is not like her native aloe, that blooms not till the end of life, and blossoms but to die. Great as has been her progress, she is still, as it were, in an infantine and transitorial state of being. Even society as in childhood—education in morals and politics may be said to have only just commenced; two centuries only have elapsed since all her dominions were a pathless wilderness.

She has still, to use the words of one of her ablest writers, many a dark, silent, untrodden forest of unknown extent, where the hardy settler has never yet awoke the slumbering echoes with the ringing blow of the axe; many a rolling prairie whose virgin soil the ploughshare has never yet disturbed; many woods and forests through which agricultural produce has never yet been hurried on the railroad car; and many a lake where the water-fowl has never yet been startled by the sails of commerce. She has still vast deserts where alternate deluge and drought are forming the basis of a future region of fertile ground; forest-hidden rivers are still waiting the hand of man to reduce them to practical uses, and which the geological processes are daily materially altering and improving. Her innate elements of strength and progress, as also the genius of her people to turn them to profitable account, are comparatively undeveloped, while her long line of insular and continental coast, broken and penetrated by gulfs and bays, which form harbours of every degree of capacity and security, from the open roadstead to the land-locked port in which the navies of the world might ride in safety, is still comparatively unoccupied.

The climate of the once United States is, throughout, splendid; it is adapted to every constitution, and seems fitted for every description of vegetation and of animal life. The geographical position and extent of what we must persist in designating as the Sovereign States, their mighty appliances of steam-boat navigation and railroad travelling, their already vast and still rapidly-increasing population, placed under circumstances of such rapid intercommunication as to be equal, perhaps, to half as many more in some other kingdoms, while growing civilisation is combining many conflicting forces, are still bringing out beneficial issues; the public mind advancing to a better understanding of the elements of national prosperity and the laws of national life, and the increasing discovery, discussion, and propagation of true principles of all kinds, preparing the way, let us hope, for a still more happy condition of the masses—all point out America as destined to play an important part in the history of the world.

And European power, in passing into her hands, goes to one people, for the hundreds of millions that must one day inhabit her vast regions will be one, having one language, one literature, one religion, one common soul. This is a unity that secession, separation, civil war, nor any amount of political divisions—the predominance of the free States or that of the slave States, the permanent antagonism of the two, the antagonism of the agricultural centre of the Mississippi with the commercial and industrial centre of New England, the seclusion of religious fanaticism on the borders of the Great Salt Lake, the rising up of new generations of Highlanders in the fertile plains and valleys of the Rocky Mountains, or the progressive march of prosperity and power on the Pacific—cannot affect and cannot destroy. That a people thus situated no matter under what form of government they live, or what number of political divisions they may be led to constitute, must exert a dominant influence on the world, is unavoidable. Their facilities for the acquisition of wealth, for intercourse with all parts of the globe, and the restless enterprise of her population, are all so many means by which America will be brought to influence the character and the destinies of other sections of the world.

Thus, although the disunited States may no longer be so formidable an enemy to England as the once United States were, still, if higher principles did not guide us, mere interests should dictate the necessity of promoting, by every practicable expedient, the development of the resources of all separate Confederate or Federal States, amid unbroken peace, amity, and intercourse. The value of our imports from America have been about thirty millions; while our exports somewhat exceed twenty-two millions. This trade far surpasses that existing separately with British India and Australia; and it is even more extensive than that of England with the whole continent of Europe. The imports of large cotton alone in 1854 amounted to £17,274,677. The articles of import next in value are wheat-meal, £2,763,793; after that, maize, £1,971,280; and corn, £1,487,725.

While, therefore, we encourage as a matter of duty and caution the cultivation of cotton in Queensland and India, and open new cotton countries to the capitalist, the colonist, and the planter in Africa and other regions, we must not forget that America has been hitherto our customer for manufactured cottons to the value of £3,500,000 and upwards; for woollens, upwards of £3,000,000; slops, nearly £1,500,000; and for iron, £7,000,000 and upwards, not to mention the traffic existing between the mainland and the West India Islands. The consumption of sugar in America has been amazing, and she has been in main part dependent for such on the West Indies. The consumption averages nine hundred and fifty millions, or forty pounds for every man, woman, and child in the

Union. It will be thus seen that, while America grows cotton for England, England manufactures her goods for America. While America buys from six or seven millions worth of iron from England, England expends an almost equal sum with America in the purchase of the necessaries of life—in flour, grain, salted provisions, tobacco, and furs, proving the fallacy of the old idea that what is one man's gain is another man's loss. It may, indeed, be said that America feeds England as the Roman daughter fed her parent. Fifteen hundred ships traverse the ocean between England and America, measuring upwards of a million of tons, exclusive of steamers; while two mail steamers leave both countries every week, if not one every alternate day, from New York and Boston, and Liverpool and Southampton. What immense interests in peace, on both sides of the Atlantic, are represented by these figures and considerations! We have whole populations in mutual dependence, bound up together for weal or woe.

There must also ever be many fond ties and sympathies between the two nations, founded on ancient memories and a brotherhood of ages, which hours of passion are not lightly to dissolve; and the personal pride of each, in whatever the other shall achieve that is great and glorious, is a motive of attachment which neither of the two nations should be so covetous and ambitious as to disregard.

That a feeling of amity and hearty good will, notwithstanding several local displays of cupidity overruling principle, towards the States generally exists throughout England, admits not of a question, and

FORT SNELLING.

that this feeling is reciprocated by the wisest and best men in the United States is equally evident. The unprincipled and reckless among the public journals in England do not represent the mass of the population nor the thinking portion of the community, still less do similar prints express the public sentiment of America.

This feeling does not arise from any low, sordid apprehension of consequences in a mere pecuniary point of view, but from a humane dread of the horrors and insanity which such a fratricidal war would evoke, while it itself could lead to no possible or tangible good. As Providence leaves not the innocent unprotected nor the guilty unpunished, and as all injustice terminates, sooner or later, in revolution, we must leave the question of freedom and slavery, of union or disunion, to be settled amongst the States themselves by the sword or by mutual arrangement. The disruption concerns us so far as it for the time being interrupts trade and intercommunication, and arouses strong passions, but we have nothing to do with the results, which it remains with the Americans themselves to determine. We can afford to wish them well out of a trouble that was inevitable, so long as the plague-spot remained in her side. It has been long foreseen, and better that the crisis should come, and the curse and the shame be removed, it is to be hoped for ever. It will only tend to strengthen the ties already existing, for exclusive nationalities differ little from sects distinguished for their bigotry; while true patriotism like true religion, the more faithful is its devotion to its great object of love and worship, the more largely and freely does it breathe the spirit of charity and good will to all mankind.

BARTH'S TRAVELS IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

FROM TRIPOLI BY FEZZAN AND ACROSS TO THE IMOSHAGH OR COUNTRY OF THE TAWAREK TO AGADES, THE CAPITAL OF AIR OR ASBEN.

I.

NIGRITIA OR NEGROLAND, A COUNTRY OF POPULOUS AND POWERFUL STATES—MOUNTAINOUS BORDER-LAND OF THE SAHARA—THE STONY AND BURNING HAMMADA—TERRACED TOWN OF EDERI—ARRIVE AT MURZUK.

THE idea of a negro is so completely associated with that of a slave, that it will probably take some time before the existence of powerful Black States, fertile in resources, with large cities and a people in a transition state of civilisation in the heart of Africa, will be a generally accepted fact; and, thanks to the great rivers which open a highway into these productive realms, they will probably be brought into commercial and friendly relations with this country before the empire of Sokoto, or the great states of Air, Soughay, Gando, Kanem, Bagirmi, or Adamawa, are, as they

TERRACED TOWN OF EDERI.

ought to be, terms familiar to every educated person. Another reason for the absence of general information in regard to Central Africa is the state of the maps which are placed in the hands of most young persons, the sale of which has been outstripped by the progress of geographical discovery, and the proprietors of which are, nevertheless, most unwilling to send forth a new issue till Africa, with its vast imaginary sandy Sahara and its great central blank, is exhausted.

The little intimacy of the civilised world, more especially of England and France, with the frontier states of the Sahara, once civilised by the Romans, and with the populous and powerful states of Negroland, and their total ignorance of the many powerful and productive regions that may exist between Livingstone's northernmost and Barth's southernmost explorations, is something astounding. The latter traveller justly remarks, that so profound is this ignorance of the interior of Africa, that every succeeding traveller has effected his discoveries solely by the openings made by the labours

of his predecessor. "Thus," he says, "our expedition would never have been able to achieve what it did, if Oudney, Denham, and Clapperton had not gone before us; nor would these travellers have succeeded so far, had Lyon and Ritchie not opened the road to Fezzan; nor would Lyon have been able to reach Tejerri, if Admiral Smyth had not shown the way to Ghirza." The publication of Dr. Barth's work will constitute a great epoch in the history of African discovery.[1] Much of the matter has appeared in a desultory form, but it is now before the public as a comprehensive and instructive whole, drawn up with every care and attention to historical antecedents, to the different races of men, and to the geographical and political relations of empires, states, and provinces, confederated or not; of Islamism and Paganism constantly arrayed against each other in open or secret warfare; and of man-trapping and slavery in its most extended form. The settlements of the Arab and the Berber, the poor remnants of the vast empires of the middle ages, are shown to be proceeding southwards from the Mediterranean, succeeded by a country dotted with the monumental relics of Roman dominion and civilisation, now only in part tenanted by the wild roving hordes of the Tawarek, and these again by the Negro and half-Negro tribes who dwell in fertile lands, irrigated by large navigable rivers and lakes adorned with the finest timber, and producing various species of grain—rice, sesamum, ground-nuts, sugar-cane, and cotton and indigo, the latter among the most valuable commodities of trade. The whole of Central Africa, from Bagirmi in the east as far as Timbuktu to the west, is now found to abound in these products, the natives not only weaving their own cotton, but dyeing their home made shirts with their own indigo. Above all, Dr. Barth's work is illustrated; and faithful representations of things, speaking as they do at once to the mind through the eye, often do more to familiarise persons with new ideas than much reading. The forest scenery of this most interesting region is brought home to us by such scenes as the Bir el Etaim, or the encampment of January, 1852; and the lake and river scenery, by the beautiful views of the open water and of the shores of Lake Tsad, the shallow water at Denimo, the Wulis, the Logon Burni, and the confluence of the Benuwe and Faro. The rich productiveness of the same regions is made evident to our senses by such scenes as are depicted of the environs of Musgu the corn-fields of Mbutudi, with their slender deleb-palms; the rich and thinly-wooded pastures of the Yo and the Komadugu, and the crops of Guinea corn alternating with fields of yams, and adorned with fine spreading trees, amongst which the tarmu and the kuka, or monkey-bread-tree; and even by the rocky eminences, all overgrown with fresh vegetation, as at Demsa. And lastly, the modes of living of the inhabitants are made familiar by several coloured drawings and woodcuts, while the populousness of the country is as clearly depicted in the scene attendant upon the return of the Sultan of Baghirmi to Masena; and some idea can be formed of the extent of its cities by the general view of Kano, the great emporium of Central Africa—the London of Negroland.

[1] Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa: being a Journal of an Expedition undertaken under the auspices of H.B.M.'s Government, in the years 1849-1855. By Henry Barth, Ph. D., D.C.L., &c.

Mr. Richardson was still waiting in Paris for despatches when his younger and more zealous colleagues, Drs. Barth and Overweg, reached Tunis by way of Philippeville and Bona, on the 15th of December, 1849. From thence they proceeded to Tripoli by land, and, when joined there by the head of the expedition, finding that the preparations for the final departure for the interior would occupy at least a month, they wisely resolved to pass the time in an excursion through the mountainous region that encompasses Tripoli in a radius of from sixty to eighty miles. Coasting the district of Zenzur—one of the finest in Tripoli for richness of soil and good water—they next traversed that of Zawiya, "the corner," which, although it consists for the main part of sand-hills, contains an aggregate population of 20,000 souls. Hence they turned inland over the fine prairies of the Belasa, first reaching the tertiary limestones and gypsum at the foot of the hills, at the Wady al Ethel, or valley of the Oriental Tamarisk. They now began to meet with those remains of Roman civilisation which are to be found throughout the northern borders of the Sahara, and which in this region comprise the hilly districts of the Jebel Yefren, the Ghunan, and the Tarhona. The first-named district was approached by the Wadi (valley or oasis) Sheik, defended at its entrance by the castles of the Beni Iran and of the Welad Morabatin. These were in a country of limestones, with isolated caves and wells, and even what are pompously designated as cascades, and which may, at certain seasons, present an imposing fluviatile aspect in this otherwise burning and arid region.

Date palms and fig trees are succeeded on the slopes of the Kasr Jebel, or "Castle Mount," which attains an elevation of 2150 feet, by the first olive trees. The culminating point of the Jebel Yeffren, whose average elevation is 2,200 feet, is at Enshed e Sufet, where is a monument of Roman times, at an elevation of 2,800 feet. The population is estimated at about 60,000. This region is separated by a double valley from the Ghurian—a fertile region of rich red loam, with luxuriant plantations of olive trees, saffron, corn, &c., at an average elevation of 2,000 feet; Castle Ghurian being only 1,696, and the highest point Mount Tekut, an extinct volcano, and considered to be the culminating point of the whole range, rather over 2,800 feet.

The Tarhona has only an average elevation of 1,000 feet, is rich in corn, full of Roman ruins, and inhabited by a wandering people living in tents; and lastly, reaching down to the sea, we have the Masellata, a lower hilly district, which attains, at the old Spanish castle, now called Kusabad Kallah, an elevation of 1,250 feet, a region of olive trees, with fixed inhabitants. Returning along the easterly coast to Tarabulus, or Tripoli, as they had started by the western, our travellers finally left that city for the interior on the 24th of March, 1850, and taking the direct way back to the Ghurian, by Urgaat and Akurah, a region of fertile undulating plains, cultivated with barley, and covered with patches of corn herbage, they crossed the Ghurian hills by the Chapel of Sidi Sanies, and by a Roman sepulchre at the foot of Mount Tekut, down to where the barren country commenced, at the foot of Mount Toesbeh, with a region of limestone strata.

This barren region, or Ghadama, is separated from the region designated the Hammada—an extensive stony table-land, uninhabited, and without wells—a true region of terror, by many wadis, or oases, the largest of which is that of Sofejin, and which is su-

to be the most fertile region of the Regency of Tripoli. It is inhabited by the Guntarar, the Zintan, and Welad bu Saef tribes, and at its head is the small town of Mizda, fortified with walls and towers, and surrounded by gardens with palm-trees, onions, and barley.

The northern edge of the dreaded Hammada was reached on the 15th of April. And its southern edge on the 22nd of the same month. It was not, says Barth, till we had passed the little hill called Lebaerek, and made another slight ascent, that we reached the real level of the terrible Hammada; the ascent, or shelving ground, from Taboniye to this point being called el Mudhar mta el Hammada, and the spot itself, where the real Hammada begins, Bu-safar, a name arising from the obligation which every pilgrim coming from the north, who has not before traversed this dreaded district, lies under, to add a stone to the heaps accumulated by former travellers.

But, notwithstanding all the importance attached to the dreary character of this region, I found it far less naked and bare than I had imagined it to be. To the right of our path lay a small green hollow, of cheerful appearance, a branch of which is said, probably with some degree of exaggeration, to extend as far as Ghadames; but the whole extent of the Hammada is occasionally enlivened with small green patches of herbage, to the great relief of the camel. And this, too, is the reason why the traveller does not advance at a rate nearly so expeditious as he would expect. In the latter part of our preceding journey we generally had made almost as much as two and a half miles an hour; but we scarcely got over two on this level open ground. Of course, the wider the space, the wider the dispersion of the straggling camels; and much time is lost by unsteady direction. At the verdant hollow called Garra mta e' Nejm the eastern path, which is called Trik el mugitha (*via auxiliaris*), and passes by the village of Ghariya, joined our path.

At Wadi Mamura, I first observed the little green bird generally called asfir, but sometimes messa, which lives entirely upon the caravans as they pass along, by picking off the vermin from the feet of the camels. In the afternoon we observed, to our great delight, in the green patch called el Wueshkeh, a cluster of stunted palm-trees. Hereabouts the camel-drivers killed a considerable number of the venomous lizard called bu-keshash; and the Tarki in particular was resolute in not allowing any which he saw to escape alive. After a moderate march of little more than ten hours and a half, we encamped in a small hollow called, from a peculiar kind of green bush growing in it, el Jederiya. A strong cold wind, accompanied by rain, began to blow soon after we encamped. The tent, not being sufficiently secured, was blown down in the night; and we had some trouble in pitching it again.

Continuing our march, we passed, about ten o'clock in the morning, a poor solitary talha-tree bearing the appellation of el Duheda. Further on we found truffles, which in the evening afforded us a delicious truffle-soup. Truffles are very common in many parts of the desert; and the greatest of Muhammadan travellers (Ebn Batuta) did not forget them in relating his journey from Sejelmasa to Walata, in the middle of the fourteenth century. The sky was very dark and hazy; and the moon had an extraordinary "dara," or halo. We slept this night without a tent, and felt the cold very sensibly.

The march of the following day was a little enlivened by our meeting with two small caravans: the first, of five camels, the second, belonging to the Ghadamsi people, and laden with ivory, of fifteen. With the latter was also a woman, sitting quite comfortably in her little cage. Shortly after half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, we had reached the highest elevation of the Hammada indicated by a heap of stones called, very significantly, Rejm el erha, 1,568 feet above the level of the sea. We encamped soon after, when a very heavy gale began to blow from N.N.W., driving the swallows, which had followed our caravan, into the tent and the holes formed by the luggage; but the poor things found no protection, for our tent, which was light and high-topped, was blown down again during the night, while a heavy rain accompanied the storm, and we, as well as our little guests, were left awhile without shelter, in a very uncomfortable situation.

We started rather late the following morning, entering now upon the very dreariest part of the Hammada, called el Homra. So far there had been only one track over this stony plateau; but in the afternoon a path, called Mser ben Wafi, branched off towards the left. This path, which leads to the eastern parts of Wadi Shati, formed formerly the common road to Fezzan, the road by way of el Hasi being considered as too insecure, on account of the robberies of the Urfilla. Hence the latter is still called the new road, "Trik el jedid." Richardson, who had had enough of the inconveniences of travelling by night, easily got in advance of us this morning, after our short march of yesterday, and had advanced a good way by day-time. We were therefore anxious to come up with him; and on our way we encountered a heavy shower of rain before we pitched our tent.

The whole caravan being once more united, the increased variety of our own party relieved a good deal of the feeling of monotony arising from the desolate character of the country through which we travelled. After marching about seven miles, we arrived at the greenest and largest hollow of the Hammada, called Wadi el Alga, which we ought to have reached yesterday, in order to be able to get this day as near the well as possible.

As it was, when we encamped in the afternoon, we had still a long day's march before us, and therefore the next day, from general impulse, in order to make sure of our arrival at the well, we started at an early hour, keeping the caravan together by repeated shouting. After a march of about twelve miles, we reached the first passage leading down from the Hammada and called Tnie Twmin, but it was too steep and precipitous for our rather heavily laden caravan, and we had to continue till we reached the Tnie el Ardha, a little after eleven o'clock, when we began to descend from the plateau along a rough winding pass. The sandstone of which it is formed presented to us a surface so completely blackened, not only in the unbroken walls of the ravine, but also in the immense blocks which had been detached from the cliffs, and were lying about in great confusion, that at first sight anybody would have taken it for basalt; but when the stones were broken, their real nature became apparent. Over this broad layer of sandstone, which in some places covered a bed of clay mixed with gypsum, there was a layer of marl, and over this, forming the upper crust, limestone and flints.

After a winding course for an hour the narrow ravine, shut in by steep, gloomy-looking cliffs, began to widen, and our direction varied less; but still the whole district retained a gloomy aspect, and the bottom of the valley was strewn with masses of black sandstone, while the country ahead of us lay concealed in a hazy atmosphere, which did not admit of an extensive view. Eager to reach the well, the caravan being scattered over a great extent of ground, we three travellers, with one of the shaushes, pushed on in advance, the south wind driving the sand, which lay in narrow strips along the pebbly ground, into our faces. We cherished the hope of finding a cool little grove, or at least some shade, where we might recline at ease after our fatiguing march; but, to our great disappointment, the sand became deeper, and nothing was to be seen but small stunted palm-bushes. But even these ceased near the well, which was dug in the midst of the sandy waste, and had once been protected by an oval shaped building, of which nothing but crumbling ruins remained.

It was a cheerless encampment after so fatiguing a march; but there was at least no more fear of scarcity of water, for the well had an abundant supply. No name could be more appropriate to this place than el Hasi (the well). There is no need of any discriminating surname; it is "the Well"—the well where the traveller who has successfully crossed the Hammada may be sure to quench his own thirst and that of his animals. But it is not a cheerful resting place, though it is the great watering-place on this desert road, as he has to cross the fearful "burning plain" of Hammada before he reaches the spot. There are several wells hereabouts, which might easily supply with water the largest caravan in an hour's time; for the water is always bubbling up, and keeps the same level.

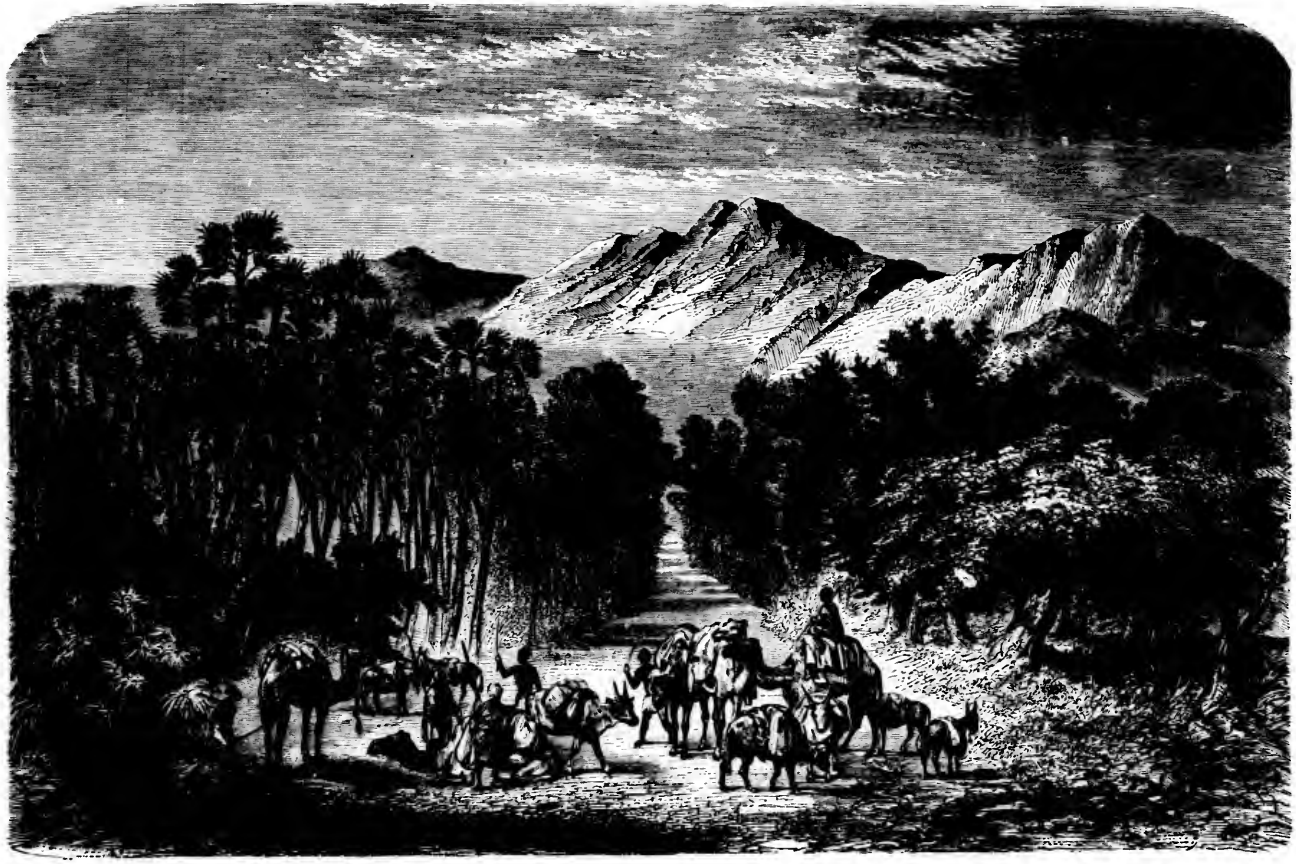
When they at length left the uncomfortable encampment at El Hasi, the camel drivers pursued a dismal and dreary road, which became desolate in the extreme as they began to enter the region of the sand-hills. The character of the country varied, however, as they proceeded, alternating between rocky eminences and hollows more or less clothed with brushwood. On the 28th of April, Barth relates, mid-day was past, when we obtained a distinct view of the date-grove in Wadi Shati, and the high sand hills which border the valley on the south. Towards the north it was rather open, and we hastened on to escape from the hot desert through which we were marching; but a good while elapsed before we reached the border of the valley, which on this side abounded in herbage. After a mile and a-half we reached the first wild palm-trees, thriving in separate and casually-formed groups. Then followed a belt of bare black ground, covered with a whitish crust of salt. The town on the top of a broad terraced rock, seemed as far off as ever. But I urged on my Bu-Sefi along the winding path over the hard ground; Richardson and Overweg followed close behind, while the camel-drivers had fallen back to exchange their dirty costume for one more decent. At length we reached the north-western foot of the picturesque hill, and chose our camping-ground beyond the shallow bed of a torrent between the date-trees and the corn-fields, near the largest fountain—a very agreeable resting place, after the dreary desert which we had traversed.

We had felt tired so long as the place was yet ahead of us; but we had no sooner reached it than all fatigue was gone, and Overweg and I, under the guidance of a mallem, went forth to view the interesting features of the locality. It is certainly a very rare spectacle in this quarter of the world, to see a town on the top of a steep terraced hill in the midst of a valley, and occupying an advantageous position which might be supposed to have given the place great importance from very ancient times. Ederi seems to have been a considerable place till fourteen years ago, when the independent spirit of its inhabitants was broken by the despotism of Abd el Jelil ben Sef e Nasr, the famous chief of the Welad Sliman. The old town on the top of the hill having been destroyed, and there being no longer a necessity for a fortified residence, under the civilised though exhausting government of the Turks, the new village was built at the northern foot of the hill, on which side lies the chapel of the Merabet Bu-Derbala, and another of less fame, a little east of the former, called Sidi Abd e Salam.

The new village has two gates. Crossing it, we ascended the steep narrow streets of the old town, which seem to have been densely inhabited, and from the highest part, which is 190 feet above the bottom of the valley, obtained a very interesting view over a great part of the Wadi, with its varied features—here, black sandstone, which in several places forms hills of considerable extent; there, green fields of wheat and barley; then, again, a large grove of date-trees scattered in long narrow strips behind the high sand-hills bordering the valley on the south. The black ground, covered with a whitish crust, lay bare and naked in many parts, while in others it was entirely overgrown with herbage. Towards the south the slope of the rock on which the town stands is rather steep and precipitous. On this side lie the caverns which have been already noticed by Oudney, and which are interesting only on account of the oval-shaped form in which they have been excavated, as they are neither remarkable for dimensions nor for regularity. A large group of caverns has been made in a detached rocky eminence, upon which at present the cemetery is situated; but it is only seventy-two feet in length, and its ground-plan is far from being regular.

From this place I went through the adjoining grove, which, with a little more care, might easily become a very beautiful plantation; for there are a great many wells of very little depth, and the water is led through the channels with slight trouble. Our encampment in the beautiful moonlight, with not a breath of wind to disturb the tranquillity of the scene, was pleasant in the extreme, and we all felt much delighted and greatly restored.

Early on Sunday morning, after having finished my sketch of the village on the hill, (See p. 69), with our encampment in the foreground, I took a walk all round the scattered groups of the plantation, which must have suffered a great deal from Abd el Jelil, even though the number of 6,000 trees, which he is said to have cut down, be an exaggeration. To[illegible] is the east side the salt crust is still thicker than on the west, and is very unpleasant for walking. I found here that, in addition to wheat and barley, much amara was cultivated in the garden-fields, besides a few figs, but I saw no grapes. Several families were living here outside in light huts or sheds made of palm branches, and seemed to enjoy some degree of happiness. At the south-east end of the plantation rose a hill also formed of marl, and very similar to that on which the town is situated.



VALLEY OF AUDERAS.

Leaving their picturesque encampment, they commenced their passage over the sand hills which separated the Wadi Shiyate from the deeper valley called the Wadi el Gharbi. There were here clusters of palm trees. The sand-hills, however, at times assumed a steepness which was very trying for the camels, particularly at the brink of the slopes. At length, on the 1st of May, they got out of the sandy district and arrived in the Wadi, *par excellence*, where they found water, villages inhabited, and clumps of splendid ethel trees (*Tamarix orientalis*), and date trees.

The caravan left the Great Wadi, where is an interesting monument of Roman times, on the afternoon of the 3rd of May, through a defile which appeared to have been once defended by walls, and, having crossed some irregular depressed plains, encamped in the evening in a wadi with a moderate supply of herbage. Starting on the following morning at an early hour, they soon emerged into a more open level, beautifully adorned with fine talha trees, but which was followed by a dreary wilderness, to their encampment at the plantation of Aghar. Hence to Murzuk, which they reached the next day (May 6th), the country in general was very sterile, presenting only a few small date-groves; and at length, when they reached the plantation of Murzuk itself, they were far from finding in it that picturesque and refreshing character which they had admired in the palm-groves of the Wadi. These had formed a dense beautiful shade and fine groups; while the plantation of Murzuk was scattered about in thin growth, so that it was scarcely possible to determine exactly where it began or where it ended.

Thus they reached the wall of the town, built of a sort of clay glittering with saline incrustations; and going round the whole western and northern sides, which have no gate wide enough for a caravan, they halted on the eastern side of the town, not far from the camp of pilgrims, who were returning from Egypt to Morocco and Tawat, till M Gagliuffi came out of the town, and took them in, treating our travellers with all possible hospitality, and doing everything in his power to render their sojourn in the "city of the desert" as agreeable as possible.

II.

CITY OF MURZUK—DENDAL OR BOULEVARD—BAZAAR—WADI ASSERJUEH—AKAKUS RANGE—PALACE OF THE GENII—BARTH LOST IN THE MOUNTAINS—ARRIVAL AT GHAT—NEGOCIATIONS WITH THE ASKAR TAWAREK.

THE appearance of Murzuk is rather picturesque; but its extreme aridity is felt at once, and this feeling grows stronger on a prolonged residence. Even in the plantation which surrounds it there are only a few favoured spots where, under the protection of a deeper shade of the date trees, a few fruit trees can be cultivated, such as pomegranates, figs, and peaches. Culinary vegetables, including onions, are extremely scarce; milk, except a little from the goats, is of course quite out of the question.

The town lies in a flat hollow, "Hofrah," which is the appropriate native name of the district, but nevertheless at the considerable elevation of 1495 feet, surrounded by ridges of sand; and in this hollow lies scattered the plantation, without the least symmetry of arrangement or mark of order. In some places it forms a long narrow strip extending to a great distance, in others a detached grove, while on the south-east side of the town the desert approaches close to the walls in a deep inlet. Towards the east a little grove apart forms as it were an advanced post. The densest and finest part of the grove is towards the north, where also are the greatest number of gardens and fields in which wheat, barley, gedheb (or rather kedheb), and a few vegetables, are cultivated with much labour. In the same quarter also the greatest number of cottages are to be found, including huts (large and small) made of palm-branches—the former consisting of several apartments and a small court-yard, the latter having generally only one room of very narrow dimensions.

In the midst of this plantation lies Murzuk. It is situated so as not to face the cardinal points, but with a deviation from them of thirty degrees, the north side running N. 30° E., S. 30° W., and so on: it is less than two miles in circumference. The walls, built of clay, with round and pointed bastions, but partly in bad repair, have two gates, the largest on the east, and the other on the west side. There is only a very small gate on the north side, and there is none towards the south. This quarter of the town has been greatly contracted by Abd el Jelil, as the remains of the old wall of the time of Mukni clearly show; but the town is still much too large for its scanty population, which is said now to amount to 2800, and the greatest part of it, especially in the quarters most distant from the bazaar, is thinly inhabited and half in ruins. The characteristic feature of the town, which shows that it has more points of relation with Negroland than with the lands of the Arabs, is the spacious road or "dendal" stretching out from the eastern gate as far as the castle, and making the principal part of the town more airy, but also infinitely more exposed to the heat.

The bazaar, of course, is the most frequented part of the town. It lies nearly half-way between the east and west gates, but a little nearer to the former, and affords, with its halls of palm-stems, a very comfortable place for the sellers and buyers. The watch-house at the east end of the bazaar, and almost opposite Mr. Gagliuffi's house (from the terrace of which the view —*See page* 78—was taken), is ornamented with a portico of six columns, which adds to the neat appearance of this quarter of the town The kasbah is the same as in Captain Lyon's time, with its immense walls and small apartments; but the outer court has been much improved by the building of a barrack or kishlah, which now forms its northern portion. It is a large quadrangular building, with a spacious esplanade in the interior, around which are arranged the principal apartments. The building is said to be capable of containing 2000 men, though at present there are but 400 in the garrison, who are well lodged and fed.

With regard to commerce, the condition of Murzuk is very different from that of Ghadames. The latter is the residence of wealthy merchants, who embark all their capital in commercial enterprises, and bring home their own merchandise. But Murzuk is rather the thoroughfare than the seat of a considerable commerce, the whole annual value of imports and exports amounting, in a round sum, to 100,000 Spanish dollars; and the place, therefore, is usually in great want of money, the foreign merchants, when they have sold their merchandise, carrying away its price in specie—the Mejabera to Jalo, the Tebu to Bilma and Bornu, the people of Tawat and Ghadames to their respective

homes. Few of the principal merchants of Murzuk are natives of the place. The western or Sudan route is more favourable to commerce than the route to Bornu. On the latter the Tawarek are always ready to furnish any number of camels to carry merchandise, and to guarantee their safety, while the road to Bornu, which is the nearest for Murzuk, is in such a precarious state, that the merchant who selects it must convey his merchandise on his own camels and at his own risk. As for the routes through Fezzan, the Hotman, the Zwaya, and the Megesha, are the general carriers of the merchandise; while, on the route to Sudan, the conveyance at present is wholly in the hands of the Tinylkum.

As soon as Gagliuffi learned distinctly the plan of our expedition, he made an agreement with these people to take our things as far as Selufiet; and they were anxious to be off After much procrastination, they fixed upon the 6th of June for taking away the merchandise with which we had been provided here. We were to follow on the 12th; but the luggage not being ready at an early hour, our final departure was fixed for the 13th.

The expedition left Murzuk on the 13th of June by the western gate. Arrived at Tasawa, however, and owing to the non-appearance of certain Tawarek chiefs who were to accompany them across the border-lands which lie between Fezzar and Negroland, which is inhabited or rather frequented by those veiled and mysterious pirates of the desert, Mr Barth had to return to Murzuk, and it was the 25th before the final start was accomplished.

From Tasawa to Wadi Elawen, where the presence of pools of rain-water, rich herbage, and numerous birds, induced them to rest from the 2nd to the 4th of July, their way lay along the Wadi Abergush, a shallow valley, with herbage and patches of talha-trees scattered throughout its extent, a vast naked plain to the north and a range of sand hills to the south. Crossing hence a stony table-land with scarcely any herbage, they ascended another wadi, or rather a series of wadis, to the Pass of Ralle, a narrow passage between perpendicular rocks, constituting the water parting between Murzuk and Ghat, and which broke off abruptly in perpendicular cliffs of fantastic shape several hundred feet high, that constituted the western edge of the table-land of Fezzan or Murzuk.

Hence their way lay across the Plains of Taita, an arid region covered with pebbles and blocks of sand-tone and limestone, intersected by a few wadis, with scanty herbage, to the Akakus range, composed of slate-marl, of castle-like and battlemented shape. Their road had hitherto, since leaving Murzuk, been in a westerly direction, but once the Akakus range passed, they assumed a more southerly course, first, by the Wadi Tanesuf, with a firm level surface of sand, covered with a scanty herbage, and lying between the Akakus range on the one side and high sand-hills on the other, and that by the Wadi Ighelfannis, with trees, pasture, and corn to Ghat. Between the two wadis there rose out of the desert a huge mass of rock, formed of marl and limestone strata, resting on black sandstone to the westward of the Akakus range, and on their right as they journeyed so[illegible]eds. This mass of rock had a peculiar serrated c[illegible] with turretted pinnacles, attaining an elevation of from 2,000 to 2,400 feet, and which gave to it so singular an appearance that the Arab called it, Kasr Jenin, or the Palace of the Genii. It was also known as Idinin. Barth very nearly came to grief at the onset of his journey in an attempt made to explore this curious formation. Monday, July 15, he says, was a *dies ater* for me. Overweg and I had determined to start early in the morning for the remarkable mountain; but we had not been able to obtain from the Tawarek a guide to conduct us from thence to the next well, whither the caravan was to proceed by the direct road. Hatita and Utaeti having again resisted all our solicitations for a guide, I at length, determined as I was to visit the mountain at any cost, started off in the confidence of being able to make out the well in the direction indicated to me. By ill-luck, our provision of zummita (a cool and refreshing paste, on which we w[illegible] accustomed to breakfast) was exhausted the day b[illegible]ore, so that I was obliged to take with me dry biscuit and dates, the worst possible food in the desert when water is scarce.

But as yet I needed no stimulus, and vigorously pushed my way through the sand-hills, which afforded no very pleasant passage. I then entered a wide, bare, desolate-looking plain, covered with black pebbles, from which arose a few black mounds. Here I crossed the beginning of a *fiumara* richly overgrown with herbage, which wound along through the sand-hills towards the large valley-plain. It was the abode of a beautiful pair of maraiya (*Antelope Soemmeringii*), which, probably anxious for their young ones, did not make off when roused by my approach, but stopped at a short distance, gazing at me and wagging their tails. Pursuing my way over the pebbly ground, which gradually rose till it was broken up by a considerable ravine descending from the western part of the mount, I disturbed another party of three antelopes, which were quietly lying down under the cover of some large blocks. At last I began to feel fatigued from walking over the sharp-pointed pebbles, as the distance proved to be greater than I had originally imagined; and I did not seem to have got much nearer to the foot of the Enchanted Mountain. In fact it proved that the crest of the mount formed a sort of horseshoe, so that its middle part, for which I had been steering all the time, in order to gain a depression which seemed to afford an easy ascent, was by far the remotest. I therefore changed my course and turned more eastward, but only met with more annoyance, for, ascending the slope which I hoped would soon convey me to the summit, I suddenly came to the steep precipice of a deep ravine, which separated me from the crest.

Being already fatigued, the disappointment, of course, depressed my spirits, and I had to summon all my resolution and energy in order to descend into the ravine and climb the other side. It was now past ten o'clock, the sun began to put forth its full power, and there was not the slightest shade around me. In a state of the utmost exhaustion I at length reached the narrow pinnacled crest, which was only a few feet broad, and exhibited neither inscriptions nor sculptures. I had a fine prospect towards the S.W. and N.E.; but I looked around in vain for any traces of our caravan. Though exposed to the full rays of the sun, I lay down on my high barbican to seek repose, but my dry biscuit or a date was quite unpalatable, and being anxious about my little provision of water, I could only sip an insufficient draught from my small water-skin.

As the day advanced I got anxious lest our little band, thinking that I was already in advance, might

continue their march in the afternoon, and, in spite of my weakness, determined to try to reach the encampment. I therefore descended the ravine, in order to follow its course, which, according to Hatita's indications, would lead me in the direction of the well. It was very hot; and being thirsty, I swallowed at once the little water that remained. This was about noon; and I soon found that the draught of mere water, taken upon an empty stomach, had not at all restored my strength.

At length I reached the bottom of the valley. Hatita had always talked as if they were to encamp at no great distance from the mountain; yet, as far as I could strain my view, no living being was to be seen. At length I became puzzled as to my direction, and, hurrying on as fast as my failing strength would allow, I ascended a mound crowned with an ethel bush, and fired my pistols; but I waited in vain for an answer: a strong east wind was blowing dead against me. Reflecting a moment on my situation, I then crossed the small sand-hills, and, ascending another mound, fired again. Convinced that there could be nobody in this direction, at least at a moderate distance, I bethought myself that our party might be still behind, and very unluckily, I kept more directly eastward.

The valley was here very richly overgrown with sebot; and to my great delight I saw at a distance some small huts attached to branches of the ethel-tree, covered on the top with sebot, and open in front. With joy in my heart I hastened on towards them, but found them empty; and not a living being was to be seen, nor was there a drop of water to be got.

My strength being now exhausted, I sat down on the naked plain, with a full view before me of the whole breadth of the wadi, and with some confidence expected the caravan. I even thought, for a moment, that I beheld a string of camels passing in the distance. But it was an illusion; and when the sun was about to set, not being able to muster strength enough to walk a few paces without sitting down, I had only to choose for my night's quarters between the deserted huts and an ethel-tree which I saw at a little distance. I chose the latter, as being on a more elevated spot, and therefore scrambled to the tree, which was of a respectable old age, with thick tall branches, but almost leafless. It was my intention to light a fire, which promised almost certain deliverance; but I could not muster sufficient strength to gather a little wood. I was broken down and in a feverish state.

Having lain down for an hour or two, after it became quite dark I arose from the ground, and, looking around me, descried to my great joy a large fire S.W down the valley, and, hoping that it might be that of my companions, I fired a pistol, as the only means of communicating with them, and listened as the sound rolled along, feeling sure that it would reach their ears; but no answer was returned. All remained silent. Still I saw the flame rising towards the sky, and telling where deliverance was to be found, without my being able to avail myself of the signal. Having waited long in vain, I fired a second time—yet no answer. I lay down in resignation, committing my life to the care of the Merciful One; but it was in vain that I tried to sleep, and, restless, and in a high fever, I tossed about on the ground, looking with anxiety and fear for the dawn of the next day.

At length the long night wore away, and dawn was drawing nigh. All was repose and silence; and I was sure I could not choose a better time for trying to inform my friends, by signal, of my whereabouts. I therefore collected all my strength, loaded my pistol with a heavy charge, and fired—once—twice. I thought the sound ought to awaken the dead from their tombs, so powerfully did it reverberate from the opposite range and roll along the wadi; yet no answer. I was at a loss to account for the great distance apparently separating me from my companions, who seemed not to have heard my firing.

The sun that I had half longed for, half looked forward to with terror, at last rose. My condition, as the heat went on increasing, became more dreadful; and I crawled around, changing every moment my position, in order to enjoy the little shade afforded by the leafless branches of the tree. About noon there was of course scarcely a spot of shade left—only enough for my head—and I suffered greatly from the pangs of thirst, although I sucked a little of my blood till I became senseless, and fell into a sort of delirium, from which I only recovered when the sun went down behind the mountains. I then regained some consciousness, and crawled out of the shade of the tree, throwing a melancholy glance over the plain, when suddenly I heard the cry of a camel. It was the most delightful music I ever heard in my life; and raising myself a little from the ground, I saw a mounted Tarki passing at some distance from me, and looking eagerly around. He had found my footsteps in the sandy ground, and losing them again on the pebbles, was anxiously seeking traces of the direction I had taken. I opened my parched mouth, and crying, as loud as my faint strength allowed, "Aman, aman" (water, water), I was rejoiced to get for answer "Iwah, iwah!" and in a few moments he was at my side, washing and sprinkling my head, while I broke out involuntarily into an uninterrupted strain of "El hamdu lillahi! el hamdu lillahi!"

Having thus first refreshed me, and then allowed me a draught which, however, I was not able to enjoy, my throat being so dry, and my fever still continuing, my deliverer, whose name was Musa, placed me upon his camel, mounted himself in front of me, and brought me to the tents. They were a good way off. The joy of meeting again, after I had been already despaired of, was great; and I had to express my sincere thanks to my companions, who had given themselves so much trouble to find me. But I could speak but little at first, and could scarcely eat anything for the next three days, after which I gradually recovered my strength. It is, indeed, very remarkable how quickly the strength of a European is broken in these climes, if for a single day he be prevented from taking his usual food.

Luckily, the expedition arrived at Ghat, the second great station on their journey to Negroland on the 18th, and Barth was enabled to rest there awhile and recover from the mishap which had so nearly proved fatal to him. The valley, Barth says, after some time became free from ethel-trees, and opened a view of the little town, situated at the north western foot of a rocky eminence jutting out into the valley, and girt by sand-hills on the west. Its plantation extends in a long strip towards S.S.W., while another group, formed by the plantation and by the noble-looking mansion of Haj Ahmed, appears towards the west. Here we were joined by Muhammad Sherif, a nephew of Haj Ahmed, in a showy dress, and well-mounted on a horse;

and we separated from Hatita in order to take our way round the north side of the hill, so as to avoid exciting the curiosity and importunity of the townspeople. But a good many boys came out of the town, and exhibited quite an interesting scene as they recognized Yakub (Mr. Richardson), who had visited this place on his former journey. Many people came out to see us, some offering us their welcome, others remaining indifferent spectators.

Thus we reached the new plantation of Haj Ahmed, the governor, as he is called, of Ghat, and found at the entrance of the outbuilding, which had been destined for our use, the principal men of the town, who received us with great kindness and politeness. The most interesting among them was Haj Ahmed himself, a man of grave and dignified manners, who, although a stranger to the place, and a native of Tawat, has succeeded, through his address and his mercantile prosperity, in obtaining for himself here an almost princely position, and has founded in reality a new town, with large and splendid improvements, by the side of the old city. His situation as governor of Ghat, in reference, and in some degree in opposition, to the Tawarek chiefs, is a very peculiar one, and requires, on his part, a good deal of address, patience, and forbearance. I am convinced that when we first arrived he did not view us with displeasure, but, on the contrary, was greatly pleased to receive under his roof a mission of

MURZUK, CAPITAL OF FEZZAN.

Her Britannic Majesty's Government, with whose immense influence and power, and the noble purpose of whose policy, he was not entirely unacquainted; but his extraordinary and precarious situation did not allow him to act freely, and besides, I cannot say that he received from us so warm an acknowledgment as his conduct in the first instance seemed to deserve.

The view from the rocky hill, which reaches its greatest elevation just over the town, and together with a cistern, offers a few Berber and Arabic inscriptions to the curious traveller, proved far less extensive and picturesque than that from a sand-hill a little distance westward from the house of Haj Ahmed. I ascended this little hill in the afternoon of the 22nd, and, screened by an ethel-bush, made the accompanying sketch of the whole oasis, which I hope will give a tolerably good idea of this interesting locality—the separate strips of palm-trees, the wide desolate valley, bordered by the steep slope of the Akakus-range, with its regular strata of marly slate and its pinnacled crest of sandstone; the little town on the left, at the foot of the rocky hill, contrasting with the few and frail huts of palm-branches scattered about here and there; the noble and spacious mansion of the industrious Haj Ahmed in the foreground, on the northern side of which lies the flat dwelling assigned to us. When descending from this hill towards the south, I was greatly pleased with the new improvements added by Haj Ahmed to

his plantation. The example of this man shows how much may be achieved by a little industry in these favoured spots, where cultivation may be infinitely increased. In the southernmost and most recent part of the plantation a large basin, about 100 ft. long and 60 ft. broad, had been formed, receiving a full supply of water from the northern side of the sand-hills, and irrigating kitchen-gardens of considerable extent. Thus the wealthy governor makes some advance every year; but, unfortunately, he seems not to find many imitators.

Our negotiation with the Tawarek chiefs might have been conducted with more success, if a letter written by Her Majesty's Government to the chief Jabur had not been produced at the very moment when all the chiefs present were ready to subscribe the treaty. But their attention was entirely distracted from the object in view. This letter made direct mention of the abolition of the slave-trade; hence it became a very difficult and delicate matter, especially as Mr. Richardson's supplies of merchandise and presents at that moment were entirely in the hands of the merchant Haj Ibrahim, who, even if liberal enough to abstain from intrigue against admitting the competition of English merchants, would be sure to do all in his power to prevent the abolition of the slave trade.

It was a serious undertaking to enter into direct negotiation with these Tawarek chiefs, the absolute masters of several of the most important routes to Central Africa. It required great skill, entire confidence, and no inconsiderable amount of means, of which we were extremely deficient. To this vexation let there be added the petulant and indiscreet behaviour of our servants, who were exasperated by the sufferings of the Rhamadan during the hottest season of the year, and were too well aware of the insufficiency of our means to carry out the objects of our mission; and the reader will easily understand that we were extremely glad when, after repeated delays, we were at length able to leave this place in the pursuance of our journey.

III.

Town and Plantation of Barakat—High Mountain Pass—Deep Ravine of Eghri—Wild Oxen and Sheep—Approach of the Enemy—The Slaves Dance.

On the 26th of June the expedition were once more on the back of their camels, casting from their elevated seats a last glance over the pleasant picture of the oasis of Ghat. They soon came to the pleasant considerable plantation of Iberke, separated into two groups, one on the west, and the other on the east side, the town of Barakat lying at the foot of a sandy eminence, and glittering through the thinner parts of the plantation. This town, as usual, formed a quadrangle enclosed by a wall of clay about five-and-twenty feet high, and provided with quadrangular towers.

Several women, of good figure and decently dressed, were seated tranquilly, as it seemed, enjoying the cool air of the afternoon, for they had no occupation, nor were they selling anything. Although I was dressed in a common blue Sudan shirt, and tolerably sunburnt, my fairer complexion seemed to alarm them, and some of them withdrew into the interior of the houses crying "la ilah." Still, I was not molested nor insulted by the people passing by; and I was pleased that several of them courteously answered my salute. They were apparently not of pure Berber blood. It appeared that a good many of the inhabitants had gone to their date-groves to look after the harvest, as the fruit was just about to ripen; hence the place, though in good repair, and very clean, had a rather solitary appearance. There is no commerce in this place as in Ghat, the whole wealth of the inhabitants consisting in their plantations. Yet they are said to be better off than the population of Ghat, who are exposed to great and continual extortions from the Tawarek on account of their origin, while the people of Barakat enjoy certain privileges. The houses were all two or three stories high, and well built, the clay being nicely polished. A few palm-trees decorate the interior of the town. It is of still more diminutive size than Ghat, containing about two hundred houses, but it is built with great regularity.

Having stuck fast awhile in a lane which had no thoroughfare, we at length got safely out of the little town of Barakat by the south gate. It has, I believe, four gates, like Ghat. On this side of the town, inside of the walls, stands the mosque, a building of considerable size for so small a place, neatly whitewashed, and provided with a lofty minaret.

Leaving the town, we took a more southern and circuitous road than that by which we had come, so that I saw a good deal of the plantation. The soil is for the most part impregnated with salt, and the wells have generally brackish water. There was much industry to be seen, and most of the gardens were well kept; but the wells might easily be more numerous, and only a small quantity of corn is cultivated. The great extent to which dukhn, or Guinea corn, or *Pennisetum typhoïdeum*, is cultivated here, as well as near Ghat, in proportion to wheat or barley, seems to indicate the closer and more intimate connection of this region with Negroland. Some culinary vegetables were also cultivated; and some, but not many, of the gardens were carefully fenced with the leaves of the palm-tree. The grove was animated by numbers of wild pigeons and turtle-doves, bending the branches of the palm-trees with their wanton play; and a good many asses were to be seen. Cattle I did not observe. But far more interesting were the scenes of human life that met my eyes. Happiness seemed to reign, with every necessary comfort, in this delightful little grove. There was a great number of cottages, or tekabber, built of palm-branches and palm-leaves, most of them of considerable size, and containing several apartments: all of them had flat roofs. They are inhabited by the Imghad or Meratha. A great many of the men seemed at present to be busy elsewhere; but these lightly-built straggling suburbs were full of children, and almost every woman carried an infant at her back. They were all black, but well formed, and infinitely superior to the mixed race of Fezzan. The men wore in general blue shirts, and a black shawl round the face; the women were only dressed in the turkedi or Sudan cloth, wound round their body, and leaving the upper part, including the breasts, uncovered. They understood generally nothing but Temashight; and only a few of them spoke the Hausa language. The men were nearly all smoking

Passing hence a luxuriant valley rich in herbage and full of ethel trees, all crowning the tops of small mounds, they encamped near a pond of dirty rain-water, frequented by great flocks of doves and water-

fowl. Beyond this valley cam an ascent by a narrow path winding round the slope of a steep promontory. The ruins of a castle at the bottom of the valley formed an object of attraction. The ascent led to a sort of table land with large basin of water like little alpine lakes or tarns, in which the negro slaves swam about with immense delight. The next day (July 29th), the path, winding along through loose blocks on a precipitous ascent, proved still more difficult. Several loads were thrown off the camels, and the boat several times came into collision with the rocks, which, but for its excellent material, might have damaged it considerably. The whole of the cliffs consisted of red sandstone, which was now and then interrupted by clay slate, of a greenish colour. The ascent took us almost two hours; and from the level of the plateau we obtained a view of the ridge stretching towards Arikiu, the passage of which was said to be still more difficult. Having successively ascended and descended a little, we then entered a tolerably-regular valley, and followed its windings till about noon, when we once more emerged upon the rugged rocky level, where Amankay, the well-travelled buzu or mulatto of Tasawa, brought us a draught of deliciously cool water, which he had found in a hollow in the rocks. Here our route meandered in a very remarkable way, so that I could not lay aside my compass for a moment; and the path was sometimes reduced to a narrow crevice between curiously-terraced buttresses of rocks.

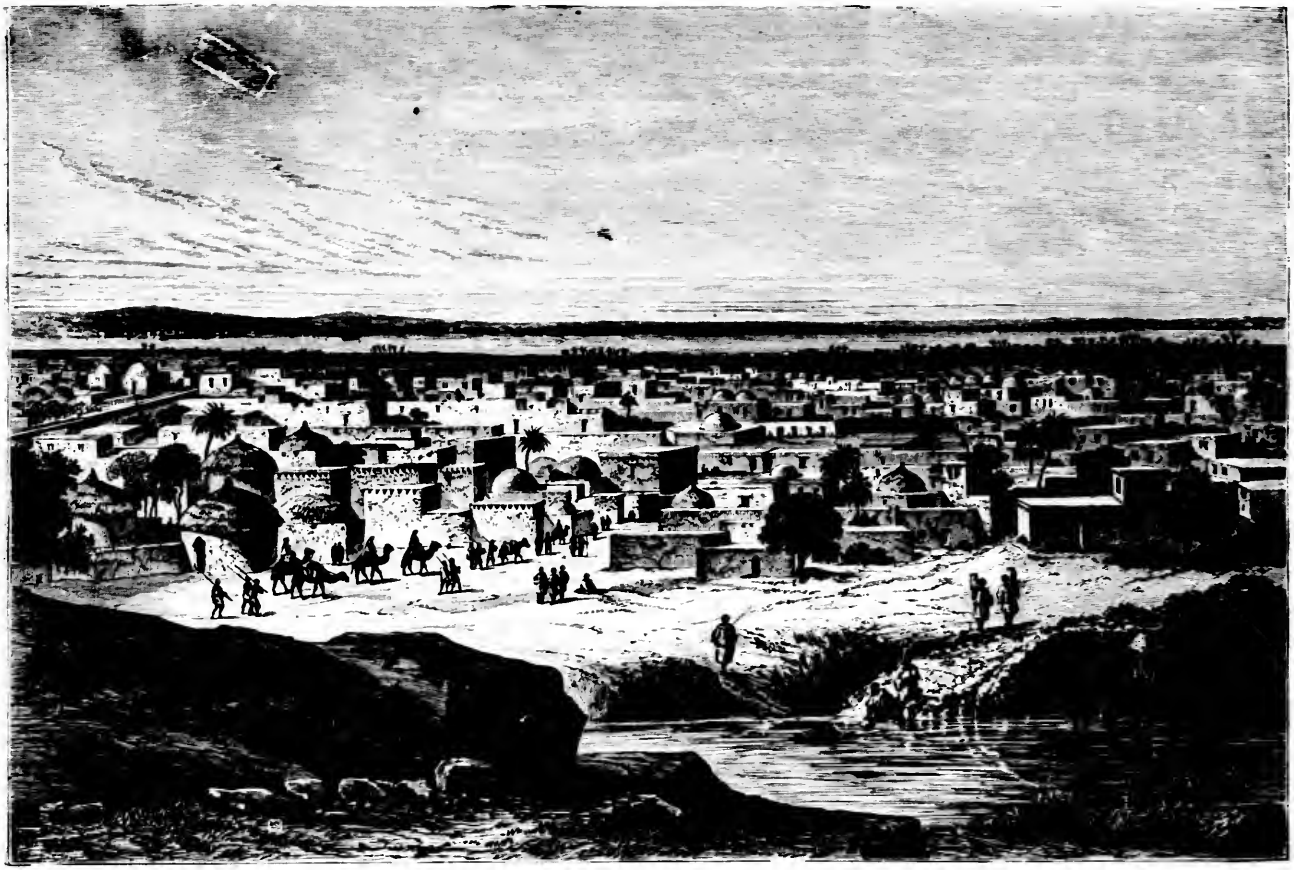
The ground having at length become more open, we encamped about a quarter past three o'clock in a small ravine with a little sprinkling of herbage. Here we had reached an elevation of not less than 4,000 feet above the sea—the greatest elevation of the desert to be passed, or rather of that part of Africa over which our travels extended. The rugged and bristling nature of this elevated tract prevented our obtaining any extensive views. This region, if it were not the wildest and most rugged of the whole desert, limiting vegetation to only a few narrow crevices and valleys, would be a very healthy and agreeable abode for man; but it can only support a few nomadic stragglers. This, I am convinced, is the famous mountain Tantamah, the abode of the Azkar mentioned by the early Arabic geographers, although, instead of placing it to the south-west of Fezzan, they generally give it a southerly direction. I am not aware that a general name is now given to this region.

But this highest part of the table-land rather forms a narrow "col" or crest, from which, on the following morning, after a winding march of a little more than three miles, we began to descend by a most picturesque passage into a deeper region. At first we saw nothing but high cones towering over a hollow in the ground; but as we advanced along a lateral wadi of the valley which we had entered, the scenery assumed a grander aspect, exhibiting features of such variety as we had not expected to find in this desert country. While our camels began slowly to descend, one by one, the difficult passage, I sat down and made a sketch of it, which conveys a better idea of this abrupt cessation of the high sandstone level, with the sloping strata of marl where it is succeeded by another formation—that of granite, than any verbal description would do.

The descent took us two hours, when we reached the bottom of a narrow ravine about sixty feet broad, which at first was strewn with large blocks carried down by occasional floods, but a little further on had a floor of fine sand and gravel. Here the valley is joined by a branch wadi, or another ravine, coming from the north. Near the junction it is tolerably wide; but a few hundred yards further on, it narrows between steep precipitous cliffs looking almost like walls erected by the hand of man, and more than a thousand feet high, and forms there a pond of rain-water. While I was sketching this remarkable place, I lost the opportunity of climbing up the wild ravine. The locality was so interesting that I reluctantly took leave of it, fully intending to return the following day with the camels when they were to be watered; but, unfortunately, the alarming news which reached us at our camping-ground prevented my doing so. I will only observe that this valley, which is generally called Egeri, is identical with the celebrated valley Amais or Mais, the name of which became known in Europe many years ago.

Hardly had they thus crossed the highlands of the Azkar and entered upon a new vegetation of asclepias and colocynths, than difficulties of another nature arose. They were informed that an expedition had been prepared against them by the mighty chieftain Sidi Jafel inck (son of) Saskertaf, to whom a great number of the Imghad settled thereabouts were subject as bondsmen or serfs. Their way beyond the Azkar Highlands lay across what is designated as the desert plains of Mariaw, then by Afalesselez and its sand-hills, the approach to the tropical climates being indicated by clouds and a few drops of rain. Bare and desolate as the country appeared, it is covered, as well as the whole centre of the desert, with large herds of wild oxen (*Antilope bubalex*), which rove about at large, and, according as they are more or less hunted, linger in favoured districts or change their haunts. Granite rocks and a more open country led the way to the Valley of Nghakeli, remarkable as well on account of its picturesque appearance as because it indicated the approach to a more favoured region. Besides being richly overgrown with luxuriant herbage shrubs and trees of different species, it exhibited the first specimens of the Injilij (*Balanites Ægyptiaca*), the rope-like roots of which, loosened by the torrent which at times swept along the valley, grew to an immense length over the ground. The wadan, or as the Tawarek call it, andad, the wild sheep of the desert (*Ovis tragelaphos*) are, it is to be observed, met with all over the same districts as the wild ox, only selecting the more mountainous parts.

On Friday, August 16th, descending a rocky crest covered with gravel, the Hausa slaves pointed out in the far distance, with a feeling of pride and joy, Mount Absen or Asben. They had now reached the frontier territories of the Azkar Tarawek, and the Kelowi Tarawek, and frontiers are always debateable ground, and in unsettled countries the most frequent scene of marauding expeditions. On the 18th, while quietly pursuing their road, with the Kel-owi in the van, the Tinylkum marching in the rear, suddenly Muhammad the Sfaksi came running behind us, swinging his musket over his head, and crying lustily, "He awelad, awelad bu, aduna ja" ("Lads, lads, our enemy has come"), and spreading the utmost alarm through the whole of the caravan. Everybody seized his arms, whether musket, spear, sword, or bow; and whosoever was riding jumped down from his camel. Some time elapsed before it was possible, amid the noise and



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appear, to learn the cause of the alarm. At length it transpired. A man named Muhammad, belonging to the caravan, having remained a little behind at the well, observed three Tawarek mounted on meharas approaching at a rapid rate; and while he himself followed the caravan, he left his slave behind to see whether others were in the rear. The slave, after a while, overtook him with the news that several more camels had become visible in the distance; and then Muhammad and his slave hurried on to bring us the intelligence. Even Mr. Richardson, who, being rather hard of hearing, judged of our situation only from the alarm, descended from his slender little she-camel and cocked his pistols. A warlike spirit seemed to have taken possession of the whole caravan; and I am persuaded, that had we been attacked at this moment, all would have fought valiantly. But such is not the custom of freebooting parties: they will cling artfully to a caravan, and first introduce themselves in a tranquil and peaceable way, till they have succeeded in disturbing the little unity which exists in such a troop, composed as it is of the most different elements; they then gradually throw off the mask, and in general attain their object.

When at length a little tranquillity had been restored, and plenty of powder and shot had been distributed among those armed with firelocks, the opinion began to prevail, that, even if the whole of the report should be true, it was not probable that we should be attacked by daylight. We therefore continued our march with a greater feeling of security, while a body of archers was despatched to learn the news of a small caravan which was coming from Sudan, and marching at some distance from us, behind a low ridge of rocks. They were a few Tebu, with ten camels and between thirty and forty slaves, unconsciously going to meet a terrible fate; for we afterwards learned that the Imghad of the Hogar, or rather the Hadanara, disappointed at our having passed through their country without their getting anything from us, had attacked this little troop, murdering the Tebu, and carrying off their camels and slaves.

On the 20th they had crossed a remarkable ridge of rocks, bearing different names corresponding to the more prominent parts into which it is separated by hollows or saddles, and they were entering a shallow valley full of herbage, when suddenly, Barth relates, four men were seen ahead of us on an eminence, and instantly a troop of lightly-armed people, amongst them three archers, were dispatched, as it seemed, in order to reconnoitre, marching in regular order straight for the eminence.

Being in the first line of our caravan, and not feeling so sure on the camel as on foot, I dismounted, and marched forward, leading my maheri by the nose-cord, and with my eyes fixed upon the scene before us. But how much was I surprised when I saw two of the four unknown individuals executing a wild sort of armed dance together with the Kel-owi, while the others were sitting quietly on the ground. Much perplexed, I continued to move slowly on, when two of the men who had danced suddenly rushed upon me, and grasping the rope of my camel, asked for tribute. Quite unprepared for such a scene under such circumstances, I grasped my pistol, when, just at the right time, I learnt the reason and character of this curious proceeding.

The little eminence on the top of which we had observed the people, and at the foot of which the armed dance was performed, is an important locality in the modern history of the country which we had reached. For here it was that when the Kel-owi (at that time an unmixed and pure Berber tribe, as it seems) took possession of the country of Old Gober with its capital, Tin-shaman, a compromise or covenant was entered into between the red conquerors and the black natives, that the latter should not be destroyed, and that the principal chief of the Kel-owi should only be allowed to marry a black woman. And as a memorial of this transaction, the custom has been preserved, that when caravans pass the spot where the covenant was entered into, near the little rock Maket-n-ikelan, the "slaves" shall be merry and be authorised to levy upon their masters a small tribute. The black man who stopped me was the "serki-n bai" (the principal or chief of the slaves).

These poor merry creatures, while the caravan was proceeding on its march, executed another dance; and the whole would have been an incident of the utmost interest, if our minds and those of all the well-disposed members of the caravan had not been greatly oppressed and vexed with sad forebodings of mishap. The fear was so great that the amiable and sociable Sliman (one of the Tinylkum, who at a later period manifested his sympathy with us in our misfortunes) begged me most urgently to keep more in the middle of the caravan, as he was afraid that one of those ruffians might suddenly rush upon me, and pierce me with his spear.

IV.

Country of Air or Asben—Definitive Attack on and Pillage of the Travellers—Arrive at Tin-tellust—Side Journey from Tin-tellust to Agades—Mount Asela—Picturesque Valley of Audsuas—City of Agades.

Rocky ground, overtopped by higher mountain masses or by detached peaks and hollows overgrown with rich vegetation, and preserving for a longer or shorter time the regular form of valleys, succeed by turns and constitute the predominant feature of the country of Air or Asben, upon which our travellers had now entered. After another alarm from marauders at the camping-ground of Taghagit they continued their way pestered by the same bands of desert pirates who attended upon the caravan, and it was with the greatest difficulty they extricated themselves from their hands.

We were only about eight miles from Selufiet, where we might expect to be tolerably safe; and we had not the least doubt that we were to sleep there, when suddenly, before noon, our Azkar madogu Awed el Kher turned off the road to the right and chose the camping-ground at the border of a broad valley richly overgrown with herbage. As if moved by supernatural agency, and in ominous silence, the whole caravan followed: not a word was spoken.

It was then evident that we were to pass through another ordeal, which, according to all appearance, would be of a more serious kind than that we had already undergone. How this plot was laid is rather mysterious; and it can be explained only by supposing that a diabolical conspiracy was entered into by the various individuals of our caravan. Some certainly were in the secret; but Annur, not less certainly, was sincere in our interest, and wished us to get

through safely. But the turbulent state of the country did not allow this weak, unenergetic man to attain his object. Black-mail had been levied upon us by the frontier-tribes; here was another strong party to be satisfied, that of the Merabetin or Anislimen, who, enjoying great influence in the country, were in a certain degree opposed to the paramount authority of the old chief Annur in Tin-tellust; and this man, who alone had power to check the turbulent spirit of these wild and lawless tribes, was laid up with sickness; in Agades there was no sultan, and several parties still stood in opposition to each other, while by the great expedition against the Welad Sliman, all the warlike passions of the people had been awakened, and their cupidity and greediness for booty and rapine excited to the utmost pitch. All these circumstances must be borne in mind, in order to form a right view of the manner in which we were sacrificed.

The whole affair had a very solemn appearance from the beginning; and it was apparent that this time there were really other motives in view besides that of robbing us. Some of our companions evidently thought that here, at such a distance from our homes and our brethren in faith, we might yield to a more serious attack upon our religion, and so far were sincerely interested in the success of the proceedings; but whether they had any accurate idea of the fate that awaited us, whether we should retain our property and be allowed to proceed, I cannot say. But it is probable that the fanatics thought little of our future destiny; and it is absurd to imagine that, if we had changed our religion as we would a suit of clothes, we should have thereby escaped absolute ruin.

Our people, who well knew what was going on, desired us to pitch only a single tent for all three of us, and not to leave it, even though a great many people should collect about us. The excitement and anxiety of our friend Annur had reached the highest pitch; and Boro was writing letter after letter. Though a great number of Merabetin had collected at an early hour, and a host of other people arrived before sunset, the storm did not break out; but as soon as all the people of our caravan, arranged in a long line close to our tent, under the guidance of the most respected of the Merabetin as Imam, had finished their Mughreb prayers, the calm was at an end, and the scene which followed was awful.

Our own people were so firmly convinced that, as we stoutly refused to change our religion though only for a day or two, we should immediately suffer death, that our servant Muhammad, as well as Mukni, requested us most urgently to testify, in writing, that they were innocent of our blood. Mr. Richardson himself was far from being sure that the sheikhs did not mean exactly what they said. Our servants, and the chiefs of the caravan, had left us with the plain declaration that nothing less than certain death awaited us; and we were sitting silently in the tent, with the inspiring consciousness of going to our fate in a manner worthy alike of our religion and of the nation in whose name we were travelling among these barbarous tribes, when Mr. Richardson interrupted the silence which prevailed, with these words:—"Let us talk a little. We must die; what is the use of sitting so mute." For some minutes death seemed really to hover over our heads; but the awful moment passed by. We had been discussing Mr. Richardson's last propositions for an attempt to escape with our lives, when, as a forerunner of the official messenger, the benevolent and kind-hearted Sliman rushed into our tent, and with the most sincere sympathy stammered out the few words, "You are not to die."

They did not die, but they were pillaged, and that scientifically too, for the amount of the spoil taken from them was regulated by the sum which they had paid to their Kelowi escort. Sulufiet, which they reached next day after this untoward incident, was a mere village, consisting of sixty or seventy grass huts, but Tin-tellust, which they reached on the 4th of September, was a large place, and the residence of one of the chiefs of Air or Asben.

It was from this place that Barth made a side excursion to the city of Agades, the capital of the whole country, and a considerable town, said to have been once as large as Tunis, situated in the midst of lawless tribes, on the border of the desert and of the fertile tracts of an almost unknown continent, established there from ancient times, and protected as a place of rendezvous and commerce between nations of the most different character, and having the most varied wants. It is by mere accident, says Barth, that this town had not attracted as much interest in Europe as her sister-town Timbuktu.

The country through which this journey from Tintellust to Agades lay is described as a picturesque wilderness, with rocky ground intersected at every moment by winding valleys and dry water courses, richly overgrown with grasses and mimosas, while majestic mountains and detached peaks towered over the landscape: one of these mountain masses is more remarkable than others for its grand and beautiful hape. This was mount Abila, or Bila, which is at once one of the most picturesque objects in the country of Air, and seems to bear an interesting testimony to a connection with that great family of mankind which we call the Semitic; for the name of this mountain, or rather of the moist and "green vale" at its foot (throughout the desert, even in its most favoured parts, it is the valley which generally gives its name to the mountain), is probably the same as that of the well-known spot in Syria, from which the province of Abila has been named.

At length we descended from the rugged ground of Taghist into the commencement of the celebrated Valley of Anderas, the fame of which penetrated to Europe many years ago. Here we encamped, wet as we were, on the slope of the rocky ground, in order to guard against the humidity of the valley. Opposite to us, towards the south, on the top of a hill, lay the little village Aerwen wan Tidrak. Another village, called Ifarghen, is situated higher up the valley on the road from Anderas to Damerghu. On our return I saw in this valley a barbarous mode of tillage, three slaves being yoked to a sort of plough, and driven like oxen by their master. This is probably the most southern place in Central Africa where the plough is used; for all over Sudan the hoe is the only instrument used for preparing the ground.

While the weather was clear and fine, the valley, bordered on both sides by steep precipices, and adorned with a rich grove of dum trees, and bush and herbage in great variety, displayed its mingled beauties, chiefly about the well. (*See* p. 73.) This valley, as well as those succeeding it, is able to produce not only millet, but even wheat, wine, and dates, with almost every

species of vegetable; and there are said to be fifty garden-fields (gonaki) near the village of Ifarghen.

On the 10th of October Barth entered the town of Agades, passing through a half-deserted quarter to the house of Annur, one of the Tawarak chiefs attached to the expedition, and where he took up his abode (*See* p. 87). The day after his arrival, and after a visit from the Tawat, who are the chief merchants of Agades, Barth relates, the chief eunuch of the sultan came, and I was ordered by my Kel owi companions, who had put on all their finery, to make myself ready to pay a visit to the sultan. Throwing, therefore, my white helali bernus over my black tobe, and putting on my richly-ornamented Ghadamsi shoes, which formed my greatest finery, I took up the letters and the treaty, and solicited the aid of my servant Muhammad to assist me in getting it signed; but he refused to perform any such service, regarding it as a very gracious act on his part that he went with me at all.

The streets and the market-places were still empty when we went through them, which left upon me the impression of a deserted place of by-gone times; for even in the most important and central quarters of the town, most of the dwelling-houses were in ruins. Some meat was lying ready for sale; and a bullock was tied to a stake, while numbers of large vultures, distinguished by their long naked neck, of reddish colour, and their dirty-greyish plumage, were sitting on the pinnacles of the crumbling walls, ready to pounce upon any kind of offal. These natural scavengers I afterwards found to be the constant inhabitants of all the market-places, not only in this town, but in all the places in the interior. Directing our steps by the high watch-tower, which, although built only of clay and wood, yet, on account of its contrast to the low dwelling-houses around, forms a conspicuous object, we reached the gate which leads into the palace or fada, a small separate quarter with a large irregular courtyard, and from twenty to twenty-five larger and smaller dwellings. Even these were partly in ruins; and one or two wretched conical cottages built of reeds and grass, in the midst of them, showed anything but a regard to cleanliness. The house, however, in which the sultan himself dwelt proved to have been recently repaired, and had a neat and orderly appearance; the wall was nicely polished, and the gate newly covered in with boards made of the stem of the dum-tree, and furnished with a door of the same material.

The interview with Abd-el-Kaderi, a tolerable stout man, with large benevolent features, was pleasant and satisfactory, and the visit was followed by the present of a ram. In the afternoon I took another walk through the town, first to the erarar-n-saken, which, though it had been quiet in the morning, exhibited now a busy scene, about fifty camels being offered for sale, most of them very young, and the older ones rather indifferent. But while the character of the article offered for sale could not be estimated very high, that of the men employed in the business of the market attracted my full attention.

They were tall men with broad coarse features, very different from any I had seen before, and with long hair hanging down upon their shoulders and over their face, in a way which is an abomination to the Tawarek; but upon inquiry I learnt that they belonged to the tribe of of the Ighdalen, or Eghedel, a very curious mixed tribe of Berber and Songhay blood, and speaking the Songhay language. The mode of buying and selling, also, was very peculiar; for the price was neither fixed in dollars, nor in shells, but either in merchandise of various description, such as calico, shawls, tobes—or in Negro millet, which is the real standard of the market of Agades at the present time, while during the period of its prime, it was apparently the gold of Gagho. This way of buying or selling is called "karba." There was a very animated scene between two persons; and to settle the dispute it was necessary to apply to the "serk-n-kaswa," who for every camel sold in the market receives three "rejel."

From this place we went to the vegetable-market, or "kaswa-n-deleti," which was but poorly supplied, only cucumbers and molukhia (*Corchorus olitorius*) being procurable in considerable plenty. Passing thence to the butcher's market, we found it very well supplied, and giving proof that the town was not yet quite deserted, although some strangers were just gathering for the installation of the sultan, as well as for the celebration of the great holiday, the Aid el kebir, or Salla-leja. I will only observe that this market (from its name, "kaswa-n-rakoma," or "yobu yoewoeni") seems evidently to have been formerly the market where full-grown camels were sold. We then went to the third market, called Katanga, where, in a sort of hall, supported by the stems of the dum-tree, about six or seven women were exhibiting on a sort of frame a variety of small things, such as beads and necklaces, sandals, small oblong tin boxes such as the Kel-owi wear for carrying charms, small leather boxes, of all possible sizes, from the diameter of an inch to as much as six inches. They are very neatly made in different colours, and are used for tobacco, perfumes, and other purposes, and are called "botta." I saw here also a very nice plate of copper, which I wanted to buy the next day, but found that it was sold. A donkey-saddle, "akomar," and a camel-saddle, or "kiri" were exposed for sale. The name "Katanga" serves, I think, to explain the name by which the former, (now deserted) capital of Yoruba is generally known. I mean Katanga, which name is given to it only by the Hausa and other neighbouring tribes.

I then went, with Muhammad "the Foolish," and another Kel-owi, to a shoemaker who lived in the south-western quarter of the town, and I was greatly surprised to find here Berbers as artisans; for even if the shoemaker was an Amghi and not a free Amoshagh (though from his frank and noble bearing I had reason to suspect the latter), at least he understood scarcely a word of Hausa, and all the conversation was carried on in Uraghiye. He and his assistants were busy in making neat sandals; and a pair of very handsome ones, which indeed could not be surpassed either in neatness or in strength, by the best that are made in Kano, were just ready, and formed the object of a long and unsuccessful bargaining. The following day, however, Muhammad succeeded in obtaining them for a mithkal. My shoes formed a great object of curiosity for these Engedesi shoemakers; and they confessed their inability to produce anything like them.

On returning to our quarters we met several horsemen, with whom I was obliged to enter into a longer conversation than I liked in the streets. I now observed that several of them were armed with the bow and arrow instead of the spear. Almost all the horses

are dressed with the "karamawa" (strings of small bells attached to their heads), which make a great noise, and sometimes create a belief that a great host is advancing, when there are only a few of these horsemen. The horses in general were in indifferent condition, though of tolerable size; of course they are ill fed in a place where grain is comparatively dear. The rider places only his great toe in the stirrup, the rest of the foot remaining outside.

The occurrences of the day were of so varied a nature, opening to me a glance into an entirely new region of life, that I had ample material for my evening's meditation, when I lay stretched out on my mat before the door of my dark and close room. Nor was my bodily comfort neglected, the sultan being so kind and attentive as to send me a very palatable dish of "finkaso," a sort of thick pancake made of wheat, and well buttered, which, after the unpalatable food I had had in Tin-tellust, appeared to me the greatest luxury in the world.

Having thus obtained a glance into the interior of the town, I was anxious to get a view of the whole of it, and ascending, the following morning, the terrace of our house, obtained my object entirely, the whole town being spread out before my eyes, with the exception of the eastern quarter. The town is built on a level, which is only interrupted by small hills formed of rubbish heaped up in the midst of it by the negligence of the people. Excepting these, the line formed by the flat-terraced houses is interrupted only by the Mesallaje (which formed my basis for laying down the plan of the town), besides about fifty or fifty-five dwellings raised to two stories, and by three dum-trees and five or six talha-trees. Our house also had been originally provided with an upper story, or rather with a single garret—for generally the upper story consists of nothing else; but it had yielded to time, and only served to furnish amusement to my foolish friend Muhammad, who never failed, when he found me on the terrace, to endeavour to throw me down the breach. Our old close-handed friend Annur did not seem to care much for the appearance of his palace in the town, and kept his wife here on rather short allowance. By and by, as I went every day to enjoy this panorama, I was able to make a faithful view of the western quarter of the town as seen from hence, which will give the reader a more exact idea of the place than any verbal description could do.

FROM TASAWA BY KANO TO KUKA OR KUKAWA, CAPITAL OF BORNU.

V.

The Tagama—Corn-lands of Damerghu—Tagelel—The Devil's Dance—Tasawa, First Town of Negroland—The Market-Place—Pagan Town of Gazawa—Katsena, Capital of Flansa—The Governor's Rapacity.

Barth rejoined his friends at Tin-tellust, after two months' absence. They were detained there against their will for six months more. At length, on the 12th of December, the expedition resumed its march across a mountainous region, intersected by fertile valleys, with groups of the Egyptian Balanites and growths of indigo; hence they crossed a pebbly zone, crossed by ridges of gneiss, till they reached the plains which constitute the transition from the rocky soil of the Desert to the fertile territory of the Sudan or Negroland—plains which are the true habitat of the giraffe and the *Antilope leucoryx*. These plains, barren at first, become gradually clad with bushes, and further in with the bu-rekkeba (*Avena Forskahli*), amid which luxuriant herbage rove troops of ostriches, the ants rear their habitations, and the earth-hog (*Orycteropus Æthiopicus*), the fox and the fenel (*Megalotis famelicus*) dig their holes.

The northern limits of the giraffe is the southern land of the lion of Air, which does not seem to be a very ferocious animal, and, like those of all the border-regions of the Desert, has no mane, whilst the lion of Central Africa and even of Bornu and Logon, has a beautiful mane.

The dum, palm, and all other trees dependent on water for their existence, disappear on the uninhabited waterless desert plateau, which averages an elevation of about 2,000 feet, and which separates Air or Asben from the country of the Tagama. Whole districts are, however, to be seen covered with karéngia (*Pennisetum distichum*) and bu-rekkeba, as also with brushwood.

The region of the Tagama presents much pasture land, and is consequently rich in cattle and horses, and it is followed by the still more profitable region of Damerghu—an undulating, fertile country, the granary of and tributary to the Sultan of Air or Asben.

This was certainly an important stage in our journey. For although we had before seen a few small patches of garden-fields, where corn was produced (as in Selufiet, Auderas, and other favoured places), yet they were on so small a scale as to be incapable of sustaining even a small fraction of the population; but here we had at length reached those fertile regions of Central Africa, which are not only able to sustain their own population, but even to export to foreign countries. My heart gladdened at this sight, and I felt thankful to Providence that our endeavours had been so far crowned with success; for here a more promising field for our labours was opened, which might become of the utmost importance in the future history of mankind.

Leaving a village of considerable size on our right, at a quarter to three o'clock, we reached a small hamlet, from which numbers of people were hurrying forward, saluting us in a friendly and cheerful manner, and informing us that this was Tagelel, the old chief's property. We now saw that the village consisted of two distinct groups, separated from each other by a cluster of four or five tsamias or tamarind-trees—the first poor specimens of this magnificent tree, which is the greatest ornament of Negroland.

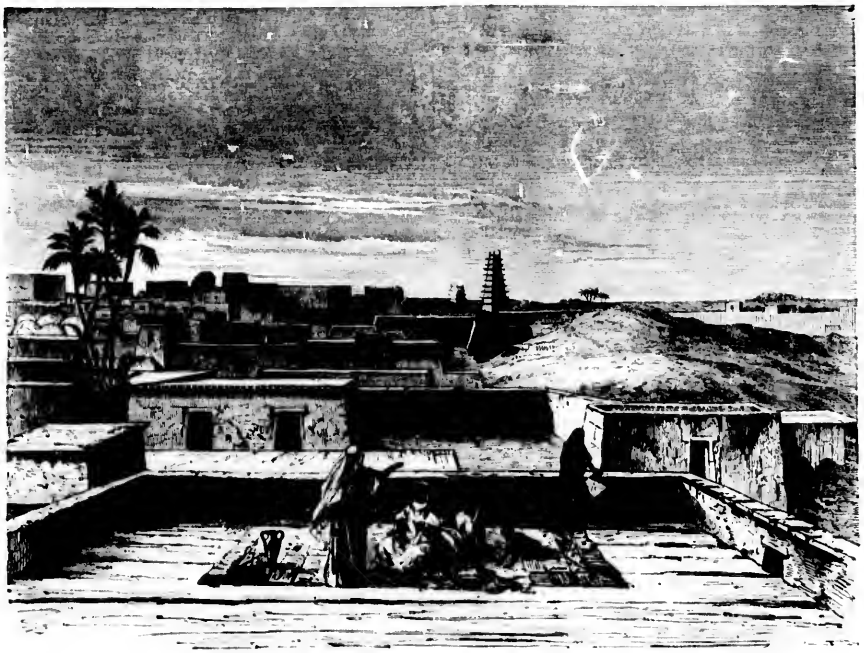
Our camping-ground was at first somewhat uncomfortable and troublesome, it being absolutely necessary to take all possible precautions against the dreadful little foe that infests the ground wherever there is arable land in Sudan—the white ant; but we gradually succeeded in making ourselves at home and comfortable for the next day's halt.

This was the great market-day in Tagelel, on which account our departure was put off till the following day; but the market did not become thronged until a late

hour. I went there in the afternoon. The market-place, which was about 800 yards distant from our encampment, towards the west, upon a small hilly eminence, was provided with several sheds or runfas. The articles laid out for sale consisted of cotton (which was imported), tobacco, ostrich eggs, cheese, mats, ropes, nets, earthenware pots, guras (or drinking-vessels made of the *Cucurbita ovifera* and *C. lagenaria*), and korica (or vessels made of a fine sort of reed, for containing fluids, especially milk); besides these, there were a tolerable supply of vegetables and two oxen for sale. The buyers numbered about a hundred.

In the afternoon two magozawa, or pagans, in a wild and fanciful attire (the dry leaves of Indian corn or sorghum hanging down from their barbarous head-dress, and from the leather apron which was girt round their loins, and richly ornamented with shells and bits of coloured cloth), danced in front of our tents the "devil's dance"—a performance of great interest in regard to the ancient pagan customs of these countries, and to which I may have occasion to revert when I speak about Dodo, or the evil spirit, and the representation of the souls of the dead.

Tagelel was a very important point for the proceedings of the mission on several accounts. For here we had reached the lands where travellers are able to proceed singly on their way; and here Overweg and I were to part from Mr. Richardson, on account of the



CITY OF AGADES.

low state of our finances, in order to try what each of us might be able to do single-handed and without ostentation, till new supplies should arrive from home.

Not only did our travellers separate at Tagelel, but the camel was here exchanged for the horse—a very delightful change for the wayfarer. With such means of progress Barth soon reached Tasawa, where Overweg had anticipated him, and with which town he describes himself as greatly pleased, as being the first large place of Negroland proper which he had seen; and it made, he adds, the most cheerful impression upon him, as manifesting everywhere the unmistakable marks of the comfortable, pleasant sort of life led by the natives,—the courtyard fenced with a "derne" of tall reeds, excluding to a certain degree the eyes of the passer-by, without securing to the interior absolute secrecy; then near the entrance the cool shady place of the "runfa," for ordinary business and for the reception of strangers, and the "gida," partly consisting entirely of reed ("daki-n-kara") of the best wicker-work, partly built of clay in its lower parts ("bongo"), while the roof consists of reeds only ("shibki")—but of whatever material it may consist, it is warm, and well adapted for domestic privacy,—the whole dwelling shaded with spreading trees, and enlivened with groups of children, goats, fowls, pigeons, and, where a little wealth had been accumulated, a horse or a pack-ox.

With this character of the dwellings, that of the

inhabitants themselves is in entire harmony, its most constant element being a cheerful temperament, bent upon enjoying life, rather given to women, dance, and song, but without any disgusting excess. Everybody here finds his greatest happiness in a comely lass; and as soon as he makes a little profit, he adds a young wife to his elder companion in life: yet a man has rarely more than two wives at a time. Drinking fermented liquor cannot be strictly reckoned a sin in a place where a great many of the inhabitants are pagans; but a drunken person, nevertheless, is scarcely ever seen: those who are not Muhammadans only indulge in their "giya," made of sorghum, just enough to make them merry and enjoy life with more light-heartedness. There was at that time a renegade Jew in the place, called Musa, who made spirits of dates and tamarinds for his own use. Their dress is very simple, consisting, for the man, of a wide shirt and trowsers, mostly of a dark colour, while the head is generally covered with a light cap of cotton cloth, which is negligently worn, in all sorts of fashions. Others wear a rather closely fitting cap of green cloth. Only the wealthier amongst them can afford the "zenne" or shawl, thrown over the shoulder like the plaid of the Highlanders. On their feet the richer class wear very neat sandals, such as we shall describe among the m[illegible] of Kano.

As for the women, their dress consists almost entirely of a large cotton cloth, also of dark colour—"the turkedi," fastened under or above the breast—the only ornament of the latter in general consisting of some strings of glass beads worn round the neck. The women are tolerably handsome, and have pleasant features; but they are worn out by excessive domestic labour, and their growth never attains full and vigorous proportions. They do not bestow so much care upon their hair as the Fellani, or some of the Bagirmi people.

The currency of this country is in cowries or kurdi (*Cypræa moneta*) which are not as is customary in some regions near the coast, fastened together in strings of one hundred each, but are separate and must be counted one by one. The governors of towns make up "takrufa" in sacks made of rushes containing 20,000 kurdi each, but no private individual will receive them without counting them out. The perplexity of our travellers may be imagined then, when, even for their small purchases made at this place, they had to count out 500,000 shells.

In the afternoon we strolled a long time about the market, which not being so crowded as the day before yesterday, was on that account far more favourable for observation. Here I first saw and tasted the bread made of the fruit of the magaria-tree, and called "tuwo-n-magaria," and was not a little astonished to see whole calabashes filled with roasted locusts ("fara"), which occasionally form a considerable part of the food of the natives, particularly if their grain has been destroyed by this plague, as they can then enjoy not only the agreeable flavour of the dish, but also take a pleasant revenge on the ravagers of their fields. Every open space in the midst of the market-place was occupied by a fire-place ("maideffa") on a raised platform, on which diminutive morsels of meat, attached to a small stick, were roasting, or rather stewing, in such a way that the fat, trickling down from the richer pieces attached to the top of the stick, basted the lower ones. These dainty bits were sold for a single shell or "uri" each. I was much pleased at recognising the red cloth which had been stolen from my bales in the valley of Afis, and which was exposed here for sale. But the most interesting thing in the town was the "marina" (the dyeing-place) near the wall, consisting of a raised platform of clay with fourteen holes or pits, in which the mixture of indigo is prepared, and the cloths remain for a certain length of time, from one to seven days, according to the colour which they are to attain. It is principally this dyeing, I think, which gives to many parts of Negroland a certain tincture of civilisation—a civilisation which it would be highly interesting to trace, if it were possible, through all the stages of its development.

A good start was effected on the 8th of January, the country hilly, and varied by forests of tamarinds, dum-palms, and bore trees, till they reached Gazawa, the southernmost pagan place belonging to the Maradi Gober union. Gazawa has no open suburbs outside its strong stockade, which is surrounded by a deep ditch. It forms almost a regular quadrangle, having a gate on each side built of clay, which gives to the whole fortification a regular character, besides the greater strength which the place derives from this precaution. Each gateway is twelve feet deep, and furnished on its top with a rampart sufficiently capacious for about a dozen archers. The interior of the town is almost of the same character as Tasawa; but Gazawa is rather more closely built, though I doubt whether its circumference exceeds that of the former place. The market is held every day, but, as might be supposed, is far inferior to that of Tasawa, which is a sort of little entrepôt for the merchants coming from the north, and affords much more security than Gazawa, which, though an important place with regard to the struggle carried on between Paganism and Islamism in these quarters, is not so with respect to commerce. The principal things offered for sale were cattle, meat, vegetables of different kinds, and earthenware pots. Gazawa has also a marina or dyeing place, but of less extent than that of Tasawa, as most of its inhabitants are pagans, and wear no clothing but the leathern apron. Their character appeared to me to be far more grave than that of the inhabitants of Tasawa; and this is a natural consequence of the precarious position in which they are placed, as well as of their more warlike disposition. The whole population is certainly not less than ten thousand.

Between Gazawa and Kat-sena is disputed territory covered with forests, and formerly well-populated, but now a wilderness owing to the strife between Muhammadanism and Paganism. The forests were enlivened by guinea fowl and numbers of birds; the elephant and the deleb palm, which is one of the most characteristic trees of the more southern regions, the kuka or baobab, the kokia, and other trees were first met with. The cultivated fields and pasture grounds of Kat-sena were protected from sudden inroads by a broad ditch and a belt of thick thorny underwood, and of the town itself, Barth says: The immense mass of the wall, measuring in its lower part not less than thirty feet, and its wide circumference, made a deep impression upon me. The town (if town it may be called), presented a most cheerful rural scene, with its detached light cottages, and its stubble-fields shaded with a variety of fine trees; but I suspect that this ground was not entirely covered with dwellings even during the most glorious periods of Katsena. We travelled a mile and a half

before we reached the "zinsere," a small dwelling used by the governor as a place of audience—on account, as it seems, of a splendid wide-spreading fig-tree growing close to it, and forming a thick shady canopy sufficient for a large number of people.

I, however, was conducted to the other side of the building, where a quadrangular chamber projects from the half-decayed wall, and had there to wait a long time, till the governor came into town from his new country-seat. Having at last arrived, he called me, and thanking me for remaining with him, he promised that I should be well treated as his guest, and that without delay a house should be placed at my disposal. He was a man of middle age, and had much in his manners which made him resemble an actor; and such he really is, and was still more so when younger.

Taking leave of him, I followed Bel-Ghet to my quarters; but we had still a good march to make, first through detached dwellings of clay, then leaving the immense palace of the governor on our left, and entering what may be strictly called the town, with connected dwellings. Here I was lodged in a small house opposite the spacious dwelling of Bel-Ghet; and though on first entering I found it almost insupportable, I soon succeeded in making myself tolerably comfortable in a clean room neatly arranged. It seemed to have once formed the snug seat for a well-furnished harem; at least the dark passages leading to the interior could not be penetrated by a stranger's eye. We had scarcely taken possession of our quarters, when the governor sent me a ram and two ox-loads of corn—one of "dawa" and the other of "gero." But instead of feeling satisfied with this abundant provision, we were quite horrified at it, as I with my three people might have subsisted a whole year on the corn sent us; and we began to have uneasy forebodings of a long detention. Indeed we suspected, and were confirmed in our suspicion by the statements of several people, that it was the governor's real intention to forward me directly to Sokoto, a circumstance which alienated from me my servants—even the faithful Muhammad el Gatroni, who was much afraid of going there.

The suspicions entertained by our traveller were further confirmed by subsequent incidents. The demands of the Sultan were even more extortionate than his expectations, and the departure of the travellers was delayed till they could be satisfied; matters were, however, ultimately arranged satisfactorily, and they parted the best of friends.

The town, if only half of its immense area were ever tolerably well inhabited, must certainly have had a population of at least a hundred thousand souls; for its circuit is between thirteen and fourteen English miles. At present, when the inhabited quarter is reduced to the north-western part, and when even this is mostly deserted, there are scarcely seven or eight thousand people living in it. In former times it was the residence of a prince, who, though he seems never to have attained to any remarkable degree of power, and was indeed almost always in some degree dependent on, or a vassal of, the king of Bornu, nevertheless was one of the most wealthy and conspicuous rulers of Negroland. Every prince at his accession to the throne had to forward a sort of tribute or present to Birni Ghasreggomo, the capital of the Bornu empire, consisting of one hundred slaves, as a token of his obedience; but this being done, it does not appear that his sovereign rights were in any way interfered with. In fact, Katsena, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of our era, seems to have been the chief city of this part of Negroland, as well in commercial and political importance as in other respects; for here that state of civilisation which had been called forth by contact with the Arabs seems to have reached its highest degree, and as the Hausa language here attained the greatest richness of form and the most refined pronunciation, so also the manners of Katsena were distinguished by superior politeness from those of the other towns of Hausa.

But this state of things was wholly changed, when, in the very beginning of the present century, in the year 1222 of the Hejira, or 1807 of our era, the Fulbe, called Fellani by the Hausa, and Fellata by the Bornu people, raised to the highest pitch of fanaticism by the preaching of the Reformer or Jihadi Othman dan Fodiye, and formed into the religious and political association of the Jemmaa, succeeded in possessing themselves of this town. However, while Kano fell ingloriously, and almost without resistance, into the hands of Sliman (the Hausa king El Wali having escaped to Zaria), the struggle for Katsena was protracted and sanguinary. Indeed, Mallem Ghomaro had carried on unrelenting war against the town for seven years, before he at length reduced it by famine; and the distress in the town is said to have been so great that a dead "angulu" or vulture (impure food which nobody would touch in time of peace) sold for five hundred kurdi, and a kadangere or lizard for fifty. But the struggle did not cease here; for the "Habe" succeeded once more in expelling the conquerors from the town, without, however, being able to maintain their position, when Mallem Ghomaro returned with a fresh army. Five princes of Katsena, one after the other, fell in this struggle for religious and national independence; and the Pullo general was not quite secure of his conquest till after the total destruction of the town of Dankama, when Magajin Haddedu was slain only four months after his predecessor Mahamudu had succumbed in Sabongari. Even then the new Hausa prince Benoni, who still bore the title of "serki-n-Katsena," did not lay down his arms, but maintained the conquest till he likewise was conquered and slain in Tuntuma.

From this time the town declined rapidly, and all the principal foreign merchants migrated to Kano, where they were beyond the reach of this constant struggle; and even the Asbenawa transferred their salt-market to the latter place, which now became the emporium of this part of Negroland, while Katsena retained but secondary importance as the seat of a governor. This is indeed to be lamented, as the situation of the town is excellent, and both on account of its position to the various routes and of its greater salubrity, is far preferable to Kano. However, as matters stand, unless either the Fulbe succeed in crushing entirely the independent provinces to the north and north-west (which, in the present weak state of the empire of Sokoto is far from improbable), or till the Goberawa and Mariadawa, whose king still bears the title of serki-n-Katsena, reconquer the town, it will continue to decline and become more desolate every year. In fact, Muhammad Bello, the present governor, had conceived the design of giving up this immense town altogether, and of founding a new residence of smaller compass in its neighbourhood; but his liege-lord, Aliyu, the Emir el Mumenin, would not allow him to do so.

VI.

Beautiful Park-like Landscapes—Kusada—Tall Trees at Gates of Towns—Approach of Kano—Interior of Kano—Audience of the Sultan—Street Groups—Commerce and Manufactures—Future Opening of Negroland by the Niger.

Our traveller was as much rejoiced as if he had just got out of a prison when he passed through the south gate and inhaled the fresh air outside the walls of Katsena. The country at starting, with its few fortified villages, its little cultivation, and the thick forests that separated the villages one from another left the impression of a very unsettled and precarious existence. By degrees, however, the country became more cheerful, exhibiting a character of repose and ease which is entirely wanting in the northern parts of the province; separate comfortable dwellings of cattle breeding Fellani were spread about, and the corn-fields were carefully fenced and well kept. At times, the landscape was one of exceeding beauty. The ground was pleasantly undulating, covered with a profusion of herbage, and the trees, belonging to a great variety of species, were not thrown together with an impenetrable thicket of the forest, but formed beautiful groups, exhibiting all the advantage of light and shade. Birds of numberless variety were also playing and warbling about in the full enjoyment of their liberty. Cotton and karkesia fields interrupted the park-like scenery, nor were tilled fields of wheat and onions wanting. Cattle, horses, and goats were seen browsing everywhere about. All the cattle were of a white, and all the goats of a coffee-brown colour. So much for despised Negroland.

The first town met with on the road from Katsena to Kano is Kusada, a place of some importance, and very little less than Gazawa, but not so thickly inhabited; the wall of the town is in tolerably good repair, and the interior is rich in trees, making it look very cheerful and comfortable. Most of the huts consist of clay walls, with a thatched roof, which is the mode of architecture best adapted to the climate and the whole nature of the country. It may be remarked here that the majestic rimi, the bentang tree of Mungo Park (*Bombax Eriodendron Guineense*), the tallest of the vegetable kingdom is planted at the principal gate of all the large towns in Hausa, probably from superstitious motives.

The country around Kaferda, another town close by, had the same delightful park-like appearance, and the variety of vegetation was extraordinary. Nor was industry on the part of the natives wanting; some were cultivating tobacco, others were carrying home loads of indigo-plants. Rich aromatic shrubs afforded most nourishing food for the bees, whose hives, formed of thick hollow logs, were fastened to the branches of the colossal baobabs.

Early the next morning (Feb. 2nd), says Barth, we started with an enthusiastic impulse, in order to reach before night the celebrated emporium of Central Negroland. Kano, indeed, is a name which excites enthusiasm in every traveller in these regions, from whatever quarter he may come, but principally if he arrives from the north. We thus started in the twilight, passing in the bush some herds of cattle remaining out in the pasture-grounds, and meeting several troops of travellers, which made us fancy the capital to be nearer than it really was. We listened to the tales of our comely and cheerful companion, the "baba-n-bawa" of Tagelel, who detailed to us the wonders of this African London, Birmingham, and Manchester—the vastness of the town, the palace and retinue of the governor, the immense multitudes assembled every day in its market-place, the splendour and richness of the merchandise exposed there for sale, the various delicacies of the table, the beauty and gracefulness of its ladies. At times my fiery Tunisian mulatto shouted out from mere anticipation of the pleasures which awaited him.

They did not, however, reach the city till dark, and it took them forty minutes to reach the quarters assigned for them from the gate. "Kano," says Barth, "had been sounding in my ear now for more than a year. It had been one of the great objects of our journey, as the central point of commerce, as a great store-house of information, and as the point whence more distant regions might be most successfully attempted. At length, after nearly a year's exertions, I had reached it." (*See* p. 81.)

Our travellers had to visit and conciliate the Sultan, as also to convert their merchandise into cash, two operations which were delayed for a short time by illness. At length clothing himself as warmly as possible in the Tunisian dress, and wearing over it a white tobe and a white burnus, Barth mounted his poor black nag and followed by his three mediators and advocates, Bawu, Elaiji, and Sidi Ali, he ventured forth to the palace.

It was a very fine morning; and the whole scenery of the town in its great variety of clay-houses, huts, sheds, green open places affording pasture for oxen, horses, camels, donkeys, and goats, in motley confusion, deep hollows containing ponds overgrown with the water plant the *Pistia stratiotes*, or pits freshly dug up in order to form the material for some new buildings, various and most beautiful specimens of the vegetable kingdom, particularly the fine symmetric gonda or papaya, the slender date-palm, the spreading alleluba, and the majestic rimi or silk cotton-tree (*Bombax*)—the people in all varieties of costume, from the naked slave up to the most gaudily-dressed Arab—all formed a most animated and exciting scene. As far as the market-place I had already proceeded on foot; but Bawu, as soon as he saw me, had hurried me back to my lodgings, as having not yet been formally received by the governor. But no one on foot can get a correct idea of an African town, confined as he is on every side by the fences and walls, while on horseback he obtains an insight into all the courtyards, becomes an eye-witness of scenes of private life, and often with one glance surveys a whole town.

Passing through the market-place, which had only begun to collect in crowds, and crossing the narrow neck of land which divides the characteristic pool "Jakara," we entered the quarters of the ruling race, the Fulbe or Fellani, where conical huts of thatch-work, and the gonda tree, are prevalent, and where most beautiful and lively pictures of nature meet the eye on all sides. Thus we proceeded, first to the house of the gado (the Lord of the Treasury), who had already called several times at my house, and acted as the mediator between me and the governor.

His house was a most interesting specimen of the domestic arrangements of the Fulbe, who, however civilised they may have become, do not disown their original character as "berroroji," or nomadic cattle-breeders. His courtyard, though in the middle of the town, looked like a farm-yard, and could not be conscientiously commended for its cleanliness. Having

with difficulty found a small spot to sit down upon without much danger of soiling our clothes, we had to wait patiently till his excellency had examined and approved of the presents. Having manifested his satisfaction with them by appropriating to himself a very handsome large gilt cup, which with great risk I had carried safely through the desert, he accompanied us on horseback to the "fada," "lamorde," or palace, which forms a real labyrinth of courtyards, provided with spacious round huts of audience, built of clay, with a door on each side, and connected together by narrow intricate passages. Hundreds of lazy, arrogant courtiers, freemen and slaves, were lounging and idling here, killing time with trivial and saucy jokes.

We were first conducted to the audience-hall of the ghaladima, who, while living in a separate palace, visits the "fada" almost every day, in order to act in his important and influential office as vizier; for he is far more intelligent, and also somewhat more energetic than his lazy and indolent brother Othman, who allows this excessively wealthy and most beautiful province, "the garden of Central Africa," to be ransacked with impunity by the predatory incursions of the serki Ibram of Zinder, and other petty chiefs. Both are sons of Dabo and Shekara—the latter one of the celebrated ladies of Hausa, a native of Daura, who is still living, and has three other children, viz. a son (Makhmud) and two daughters, one of them named Fatima Zahar, and the other Saretu. The governor was then eight and thirty, and the ghaladima seven and thirty years of age. They were both stout and handsome men, the governor rather too stout and clumsy. Their apartments were so excessively dark that, coming from a sunny place, it was some time before I could distinguish anybody. The governor's hall was very handsome, and even stately for this country, and was the more imposing as the rafters supporting the very elevated ceiling were concealed, two lofty arches of clay, very neatly polished and ornamented, appearing to support the whole. At the bottom of the apartment were two spacious and highly decorated niches, in one of which the governor was reposing on a "gado," spread with a carpet. His dress was not that of a simple Pullo, but consisted of all the mixed finery of Hausa and Barbary; he allowed his face to be seen, the white shawl hanging down far below his mouth over his breast.

In both audiences (as well as that with the "ghaladima" as with the governor) old Elaiji was the speaker, beginning his speech with a *captatio benevolentiæ*, founded on the heavy and numerous losses sustained on the road by me and my companions. Altogether he performed his office very well, with the exception that he dwelt longer than was necessary on Overweg's journey to Maradi, which certainly could not be a very agreeable topic to a Ba-Fellanchi. Sidi Ali also displayed his eloquence in a very fair way. The ghaladima made some intelligent observations, while the governor only observed that, though I had suffered so severely from extortion, yet I seemed to have still ample presents for him. Nor was he far wrong; for the black "kaba" (a sort of bernus, with silk and gold lace, which I gave him) was a very handsome garment, and here worth sixty thousand kurdi; besides, he got a red cap, a white shawl with red border, a piece of white muslin, rose oil, one pound of cloves, and another of jawi or benzoin, razor, scissors, an English clasp-knife, and a large mirror of German silver. The ghaladima got the same presents, except that, instead of the kaba, I gave him a piece of French striped silk worth fifty thousand kurdi.

However, our audience did not go off so fast as I relate it; for, after being dismissed by the ghaladima, we were obliged to wait full two hours before we could see the governor; yet although we returned to our quarters during the very hottest hour of the day, I felt much better, and in the evening was able to finish a whole chicken, and to enjoy a cup of Cyprian wine, for which I felt very grateful to Mr and Mrs. Crowe, who had supplied me with this cheering luxury.

Having now at length made my peace with the governor, and seeing that exercise of body and recreation of mind were the best medicines I could resort to, I mounted on horseback the next day again, and, guided by a lad well acquainted with the topography of the town, rode for several hours round all the inhabited quarters, enjoying at my leisure, from the saddle, the manifold scenes of public and private life, of comfort and happiness, of luxury and misery, of activity and laziness, of industry and indolence, which were exhibited in the streets, the market-places, and in the interior of the court yards. It was the most animated picture of a little world in itself, so different in external form from all that is seen in European towns, yet so similar in its internal principles.

Here a row of shops filled with articles of native and foreign produce, with buyers and sellers in every variety of figure, complexion, and dress, yet all intent upon their little gain, endeavouring to cheat each other; there a large shed, like a hurdle, full of half-naked, half starved slaves torn from their native homes, from their wives or husbands, from their children or parents, arranged in rows like cattle, and staring desperately upon the buyers, anxiously watching into whose hands it should be their destiny to fall. In another part were to be seen all the necessaries of life; the wealthy buying the most palatable things for his table, the poor stopping and looking greedily upon a handful of grain: here a rich governor dressed in silk and gaudy clothes, mounted upon a spirited and richly caparisoned horse, and followed by a host of idle, insolent slaves; there a poor blind man groping his way through the multitude, and fearing at every step to be trodden down; here a yard neatly fenced with mats of reed, and provided with all the comforts which the country affords—a clean, snug-looking cottage, the clay walls nicely polished, a shutter of reeds placed against the low, well-rounded door, and forbidding intrusion on the privacy of life, a cool shed for the daily household work—a fine spreading alleluba-tree, affording a pleasant shade during the hottest hours of the day, or a beautiful gonda or papaya unfolding its large feather-like leaves above a slender, smooth, and undivided stem, or the tall date-tree, waving over the whole scene; the matron in a clean black cotton gown wound round her waist, her hair neatly dressed in "chokoli" or bejaji, busy preparing the meal for her absent husband, or spinning cotton, and at the same time urging the female slaves to pound the corn; the children naked and merry, playing about in the sand at the "urgi-n-dawaki" or the "da-n-chacha," or chasing a straggling stubborn goat: earthenware pots and wooden bowls, all cleanly washed, standing in order. Further on a dashing cyprian, homeless, comfortless, and childless, but affecting merriment or forcing a wanton laugh, gaudily ornamented with

numerous strings of beads round her neck, her hair fancifully dressed and bound with a diadem, her gown of various colours loosely fastened under her luxuriant breast, and trailing behind in the sand; near her a diseased wretch covered with ulcers, or with elephantiasis.

Now a busy "marina," an open terrace of clay, with a number of dyeing-pots, and people busily employed in various processes of their handicraft: here a man stirring the juice, and mixing with the indigo some colouring wood in order to give it the desired tint; there another, drawing a shirt from the dye-pot, or hanging it up on a rope fastened to the trees; there two men beating a well-dyed shirt, singing the while, and keeping good time; further on, a blacksmith busy with his rude tools in making a dagger which will surprise, by the sharpness of its blade, those who feel disposed to laugh at the workman's instruments, a formidable barbed spear, or the more estimable and useful instruments of husbandry; in another place, men and women making use of an ill-frequented thoroughfare, as a "kandi tseggenabe," to hang up, along the fences, their cotton thread for weaving; close by, a group of indolent loiterers lying in the sun and idling away their hours.

Here a caravan from Gonja arriving with the desired kola-nut, chewed by all who have "ten kurdi" to spare from their necessary wants, or a caravan laden with natron, starting for Nupe, or a troop of Asbenawa going off with their salt for the neighbouring towns, or some Arabs leading their camels, heavily laden with the luxuries of the north and east (the "kaya-n-ghabbes") to the quarter of the Ghadamsiye; there, a troop of gaudy, warlike-looking horsemen galloping towards the palace of the governor to bring him the news of a new inroad of Serki Ibram. Everywhere human life in its varied forms, the most cheerful and the most gloomy, seemed closely mixed together; every variety of national form and complexion—the olive-coloured Arab, the dark Kanuri, with his wide nostrils, the small-featured, light, and slender Ba-Fellanchi, the broad-faced Ba-Wangara (Mandingo), the stout, large-boned, and masculine-looking Nupe female, the well-proportioned and comely Ba-Haushe woman.

Delighted with my trip, and deeply-impressed by the many curious and interesting scenes which had presented themselves to my eyes, I returned by way of the "ungwa-n-makafi," or "belad el amiyan" (the village of the blind), to my quarters, the gloominess and cheerlessness of which made the more painful impression upon me from its contrast with the brightly animated picture which I had just before enjoyed.

The great advantage of Kano is, that commerce and manufactures go hand in hand, and that almost every family has its share in them. There is really something grand in this kind of industry, which spreads to the north as far as Murzuk, Ghat, and even Tripoli; to the west, not only to Timbuktu, but in some degree even as far as the shores of the Atlantic, the very inhabitants of Arguin dressing in the cloth woven and dyed at Kano; to the east, all over Bornu, although there it comes into contact with the native industry of the country; and to the south it maintains a rivalry with the native industry of the Igbira and Igbo, while towards the south-east it invades the whole of Adamawa, and is only limited by the nakedness of the pagan *sans-culottes*, who do not wear clothing.

As for the supply sent to Timbuktu, this is a fact entirely overlooked in Europe, where people speak continually of the fine cotton cloth produced in that town, while in truth all the apparel of a decent character in Timbuktu is brought either from Kano or from Sansandi; and how urgently this article is there demanded is amply shown by the immense circuit which the merchandise makes to avoid the great dangers of the direct road from Kano to Timbuktu travelled by me, the merchandise of Kano being first carried up to Ghat and even Ghadames, and thence taking its way to Timbuktu by Tawat.

I make the lowest estimate in rating this export to Timbuktu alone at three hundred camel-loads annually, worth 60,000,000 kurdi in Kano—an amount which entirely remains in the country, and redounds to the benefit of the whole population, both cotton and indigo being produced and prepared in the country. In taking a general view of the subject, I think myself justified in estimating the whole produce of this manufacture, as far as it is sold abroad, at the very least at about 300,000,000; and how great this national wealth is, will be understood by my readers when they know that, with from fifty to sixty thousand kurdi, or from four to five pounds sterling a year, a whole family may live in that country with ease, including every expense, even that of their clothing: and we must remember that the province is one of the most fertile spots on the earth, and is able to produce not only the supply of corn necessary for its population, but can also export, and that it possesses, besides, the finest pasture-grounds. In fact, if we consider that this industry is not carried on here as in Europe, in immense establishments, degrading man to the meanest condition of life, but that it gives employment and support to families without compelling them to sacrifice their domestic habits, we must presume that Kano ought to be one of the happiest countries in the world; and so it is as long as its governor, too often lazy and indolent, is able to defend its inhabitants from the cupidity of their neighbours, which of course is constantly stimulated by the very wealth of this country.

Besides the cloth produced and dyed in Kano and the neighbouring villages, there is a considerable commerce carried on there with the cloth manufactured in Nyffi or Nupe. The chief articles of native industry, besides cloth, are principally sandals, which are made with great neatness, and are exported to an immense distance, tanned hides, red sheepskins, and various articles of leather-work are also similarly largely exported. Besides these manufactures, the chief article of African produce in the Kano market is the guro or kola nut, which is as necessary as tea or coffee is with us. The slave trade is also unfortunately an important branch of commerce, as is also the transit of natron and salt from Bornu to Nupe. Ivory does not at present form an important branch of commerce.

Of European goods the greatest proportion is still imported by the northern road, while the natural road, by way of the great eastern branch of the so-called Niger, will and must, in the course of events, be soon opened.

But here, says Barth, I must speak about a point of very great importance for the English, both as regards their honour and their commercial activity. The final opening of the lower course of the Kwara has been one of the most glorious achievements of English discovery, bought with the lives of so many enterprising men.

But it seems that the English are more apt to perform a great deed than to follow up its consequences After they have opened this noble river to the knowledge of Europe, frightened by the sacrifice of a few lives, instead of using it themselves for the benefit of the nations of the interior, they have allowed it to fall into the hands of the American slave-dealers, who have opened a regular slave-trade with those very regions, while the English seem not to have even the slightest idea of such a traffic going on. Thus American produce, brought in large quantities to the market of Nupe, has begun to inundate Central Africa, to the great damage of the commerce and the most unqualified scandal of the Arabs, who think that the English, if they would, could easily prevent it. For this is not a legitimate commerce; it is nothing but slave traffic on a large scale, the Americans taking nothing in return for their merchandise and their dollars but slaves, besides a small quantity of natron.

VII.

A Fresh Start—Animated Scenery—Frontier Town of Bornu—Natron Mart—An Insurrection in Negroland—Turbulent State of the Country—Death of Mr. Richardson—Province of Zurrikalo—Valley of the Waube or Great River of Bornu—Visit to the Grave of Richardson—Arrive at Kuka or Kukawa.

The traveller, says Barth, who would leave a place where he has made a long residence, often finds that his departure involves him in a great deal of trouble, and is by no means an easy affair. Moreover, my situation when, after much delay, I was about to leave Kano was peculiarly embarrassing. There was no caravan; the road was infested by robbers; and I had only one servant upon whom I could rely, or who was really attached to me, while I had been so unwell the preceding day as to be unable to rise from my couch. However, I was full of confidence; and with the same delight with which a bird springs forth from its cage, I hastened to escape from these narrow, dirty mud-walls into the boundless creation.

The road lay at first through cultivated country alternating with brushwood, meeting occasionally motley caravans of horses, oxen, and asses, all laden with natron, and coming from Muniyo. Animated scenes succeeded each other. Now a well, where the whole population of a village were busy in supplying their wants for the day; then another, where a herd of cattle was just being watered; a beautiful tamarind-tree spreading a shady canopy over a busy group of talkative women selling victuals, ghussub-water, and sour-milk or cotton. The dum-palms imparted a peculiar character at times to the landscape. The boabab attained to a height of sixty to eighty feet. In this country, as in some parts of Asia, the market days of the towns and villages succeed each other by turns, so that all the inhabitants of a considerable district can take advantage every day of the traffic in the peculiar article in which each of these places excels. Hence many villages exhibited the busy and animated scene of a well-frequented market.

The first considerable place on the way was Gerki, with good wall and pinnacles and about 15,000 inhabitants; beyond this was Birmenawa, the frontier town of Bornu.

We here took leave of Hausa with its fine and beautiful country, and its cheerful and industrious population. It is remarkable what a difference there is between the character of the Ba-Hausha and the Kanuri—the former lively, spirited, and cheerful, the latter melancholic, dejected and brutal; and the same difference is visible in their physiognomies—the former having in general very pleasant and regular features, and more graceful forms, while the Kanuri, with his broad face, his wide nostrils, and his large bones, makes a far less agreeable impression, especially the women, who are very plain and certainly among the ugliest in all Negroland, notwithstanding their coquetry, in which they do not yield at all to the Hausa women.

Birmenawa is a very small town, but strongly fortified with an earthen wall and two deep ditches, one inside and the other outside, and only one gate on the west side. Around it there is a good deal of cultivation, while the interior is tolerably well inhabited.

The first town of any importance in Bornu was Gummel, chief place of a province of the same name. Though I had heard, says Barth, a good deal about Gummel, I was nevertheless surprised at the size and the activity of the market, although that held on Saturday is said to be still more important. Gummel is the chief market for the very extensive trade in natron, which, as I have mentioned above, is carried on between Kukawa and Muniyo on one side, and Nupe or Nyffi on the other; for this trade passes from one hand into another, and the Bornu people very rarely carry this merchandise further than Gummel. Large masses of natron, certainly amounting to at least one thousand loads of both qualities mentioned above, were offered here for sale—the full bullock's load of the better quality for five thousand, an ass'a load of the inferior sort for five hundred kurdi. There were also about three hundred stalls or sheds, but not arranged in regular rows, where a great variety of objects were offered for sale—all sorts of clothing, tools, earthenware pots, all kinds of victuals, cattle, sheep, donkeys, horses—in short, everything of home or foreign produce which is in request among the natives.

Barth received letters from Tripoli and Europe at this natron-mart, and, what was more, ten Spanish dollars from the British consul at Murzuk, and which were, under the circumstances, a god-send to his exhausted finances. The country beyond Gummel presented a dull and melancholy appearance, but was well inhabited, and many places of some size were passed, surrounded with earthern walls and ditches. At this very time the drum of civil war was being beat, which led to many changes in this part of Negroland.

Kept in alarm by the drumming, and making some not very tranquillising reflections on the weakness of our little band, which consisted of three men and a boy, in the turbulent state of the country through which we were passing, we continued silently on, while the character of the landscape had nothing peculiarly adapted to cheer the mind. Cultivation beginning to cease, nothing was to be seen but an immense level tract of country covered with the monotonous *Asclepias gigantea*, with only a single poor *Balanites* now and then. But the scene became more animated as we approached Chifowa, a considerable town surrounded by a low earthern wall, which I was greatly astonished to hear belonged still to the territory of Gummel, and was also assigned to Bokhari during his exile. The boundary between the provinces must run here in a very waving line.

All that I observed here testified that the Hausa population still greatly predominated; and as we had to turn close round the place on the north side, where the ground rose, we had a fine view over the whole interior of the town. It presented a very animated spectacle; and a large number of horsemen were assembled here, evidently in connection with the enterprise of Bokhari, while men and women were busy carrying water into the town from a considerable distance. Of cultivation, however, very few traces appeared; but a good many cattle and sheep, and even some camels, were seen grazing about.

A brief detention was brought about at the town of Yelkusa from the necessity of waiting upon the governor of Mashena, who happened to be there at that moment conniving at the insurgency of Bokhari. His residence is, however, at the town of the same name situated in a granitic district at an elevation of 1360 feet above the level of the sea, and with a population of 12,000 inhabitants. Between it and Yelkusa was also the considerable town of Taganama, inclosed with a wall and double ditch, with large and spacious huts, and a certain air of well-being spread over the whole place.

The state of the country in this province, as also in the next, that of Brudi, and those that follow, is described as being very miserable indeed; all the petty governors around, as soon as they have any debts to pay

DENDAL OR BOULEVARD AT KUKA.

undertaking a predatory expedition and often selling even their own subjects. As an example of the insecure state of property in Negroland, Barth says, we then passed the little town of Aramay, surrounded not only with an earthern wall and ditch, but also with a dense thorny fence some ten feet thick on the outside. Here was exhibited the pleasant picture of a numerous herd of fine cattle lying tranquilly on the spacious area inside the walls, ruminating their last days's repast, while a large extent of cultivated ground around the town gave ample proof of the industry of the people. But the well-being of the inhabitants of those regions has very little guarantee; and when, toward the end of the year 1854, I again travelled this same road, not a single cow was to be seen here, and the whole place looked mournful and deserted, tall reed-grass covering the fields which had been formerly cultivated.

Bundi, the chief place of the province next to Mashena, is the residence of the ghaladima or governor of the Ghaladi or of the western provinces of Bornu, but his power had at that moment sunk, and he was inferior to the chiefs of Muniyo, Zinder, and Mashena. There was no market of any importance at Bundi, but the inhabitants seemed to be tolerably at their ease, and there was music and racing in the evenings, accompanied by the joyous shrill voices of the women.

Beyond Bundi our traveller came upon what he says may be appropriately called the exclusive region

of the dum-palm (*Cucifera Thebaica*). At Turrikola, a large but decaying town, the neighbourhood being full of wild animals, he came upon the frontier of Bornu proper, and at the same place upon a komadugu or river which was one of the most westerly tributaries to the Waube (erroneously called Yeou) or river of Lake Tsad. The day after leaving Zurrikolo, Barth relates, I was leaning carelessly upon my little nag, musing on the original homes of all the plants which now adorn different countries, when I saw advancing towards us a strange-looking person of very fair complexion, richly dressed and armed, and accompanied by three men on horseback, likewise armed with muskets and pistols. Seeing that he was a person of consequence, I rode quickly up to him and saluted him, when he, measuring me with his eyes, halted and asked me whether I was the Christian who was expected to arrive from Kano; and on my answering him in the affirmative, he told me distinctly that my fellow-traveller Yakub (Mr. Richardson) had died before reaching Kukawa, and that all his property had been seized. Looking him full in the face, I told him that this, if true, was serious news; and then he related some particulars, which left but little doubt as to the truth of his statement. When his name was asked, he called himself Ismail; I learned, however, afterwards, from other people, that he was the sherif el Habib, a native of Morocco, and really of noble blood, a very learned, but extremely passionate man, who, in consequence of a dispute with Mallem Muhammad, had been just driven out of Kukawa by the sheik of Bornu. The intercourse on this road is described as being animated, and one motley troop followed another. Lively music never ceased till a late hour at the town of Deffowa, the next after Kabi in succession. The province of Zamikolo, which they were now traversing, might be summarily described as a region of high sandy downs with deep valleys and hollows full of dum-palms. The repeated ascent and descent along steep slopes of deep sandy soil was very fatiguing for the camels. Near Kalowa, further news was obtained from a horseman of Mr. Richardson, who had died twenty days ago in a place called Ngurutuwa, before reaching Kukawa. The next town, Wadi, a considerable place, was built, like many others in this turbulent and ill-governed country, in two different quarters, walled all round and separated from each other by a wide open space, where the cattle rest in safety. At Kabowa a noisy and populous market was being held, at which a weaver came up and begged our traveller's acceptance of a dish of well-prepared "fura." This is kindness and hospitality in remote places.

On the 27th of March, our traveller reached another tributary to the great river of Bornu, and, after his dreary and rather uninteresting journey from Kano, he was greatly delighted with the animated and luxuriant character of the scene before him. The river was full of small fish, and about twenty boys were plashing about in it in playful exercise, and catching the fish with a large net. Arriving hence at Bandego, Barth relates:—We were quietly pitching our tent on the east side of the village, and I was about to make myself comfortable, when I was not a little affected by learning that the girls, who had been bringing little presents to the festival, and who were just returning in procession to their homes, belonged to Ngurutuwa, the very place where the Christian (Mr. Richardson) had died. I then determined to accompany them, though it was late, in order to have at least a short glimpse of the "white man's grave," and to see whether it were taken care of. If I had known, before we unloaded the camels, how near we were to the place, I should have gone there at once to spend the night.

Ngurutuwa, once a large and celebrated place, but at present somewhat in decay, lies in a wide and extensive plain, with very few trees, about two miles N.E. from Bandego; but the town itself is well shaded, and has, besides korna and oito, some wide-spreading umbrageous fig-trees, under one of which Mr. Richardson had been buried. His grave, well protected with thorn-bushes, appeared to have remained untouched, and was likely to remain so. The natives were well aware that it was a Christian who had died here; and they regarded the tomb with reverence. The story of his untimely end had caused some sensation in the neighbourhood. He arrived in a weak state in the evening, and early the next morning he died. The people had taken great interest in the matter; and the report they gave me of the way in which he was buried agreed in the main circumstances with that which I afterwards received from his servants, and of which I forwarded an account from Kukawa. Unfortunately I had no means of bestowing gifts on the inhabitants of the place where my companion had died. I gave, however, a small present to a man who promised to take especial care of the grave; and I afterwards persuaded the vizier of Bornu to have a strong fence made round it.

Keeping on through a country partly cultivated, partly covered with thick underwood, which was full of locusts, they were delighted with a view of a fine sheet of water—the Waube, or main channel of the great river of Bornu, belted with luxuriant vegetation. Our traveller's way now lay for some distance along the valley of the river, which is ferried over in places in immense calabashes. At length the river was left behind in the district of Duchi, where were a great number of widely-scattered villages, and a more direct road to Kuka, or Kukawa, was followed by the district of Dimberuwa, also with many villages, and corn and millet cultivation, diversified by pasturage, thence by brushwood and open country, with ostriches and gazelles, to the district of Wodoma, close by Kuka. It was a momentous day in his travels when Barth reached this imperial city of Negroland, for to reach that place was, he says, the first distinct object of the mission, and he was to come into contact with those people, on whose ill or good will the whole success of his journey had to depend.

VIII.

Entrance into Kuka—Interview with the Sheikh—The English House—The Two Towns—Pictures of Life—The Great Market—Business and Concourse—Defective Currency—Provisions—Bornu Women—Dendal, Boulevard or Promenade.

Our traveller's feelings on entering Kuka were certainly not of the most inspiriting character. He was about to present himself before a chief, whom the mission, of which he had the honour to form a part, was especially sent out to salute, in a very poor plight, without resources of any kind, and, owing to the death of the leader, entirely by himself. He was, indeed, about to enter the city without a single companion.

Proceeding, he says, with some hesitation towards the white clay wall which encircles the town, and from which

a little distance could scarcely be distinguished from the adjoining ground, I entered the gate, being gazed at by a number of people collected here, and who were still more surprised when I inquired for the residence of the sheikh. Then passing the little daily market (the dyrriya), which was crowded with people, I rode along the dendal, or promenade, straight up to the palace, which borders the promenade towards the east. It is flanked by a very indifferent mosque, built likewise of clay, with a tower at its N.W. corner, while houses of grandees inclose the place on the north and south sides. The only ornament of this place is a fine chedia or caoutchouc-tree in front of the house of Ali Ladan, on the south side; but occasionally it becomes enlivened by interesting groups of Arabs and native courtiers in all the finery of their dress, and of their richly caparisoned horses.

The sheikh, though he usually resides in his palace in the eastern town, was at present here; and the slaves stared at me, without understanding, or caring to understand, what I wanted, until Diggama, the storekeeper, was called, who, knowing something of me as Abd el Kerim, ordered a slave to conduct me to the vizier. Though I had heard some account of the sheikh living out of the western town, I was rather taken by surprise at seeing the large extent of the double town; and I was equally astonished at the number of gorgeously-dressed horsemen whom I met on my way.

Considering my circumstances, I could not have chosen a more favourable moment for arriving. About two hundred horsemen were assembled before the house of the vizier, who was just about to mount his horse in order to pay his daily visit to the sheikh. When he came out, he saluted me in a very cheerful way, and was highly delighted when he heard and saw that I had come quite alone. He told me he had known me already, from the letter which I had sent to his agent in Zinder, stating that I would come after I had finished my business, but not before. While he rode himself in great state to the sheikh, he ordered one of his people to show me my quarters. These were closely adjoining the vizier's house, consisting of two immense courtyards, the more secluded of which inclosed, besides a half-finished clay dwelling, a very spacious and neatly-built hut. This, as I was told, had been expressly prepared for the mission before it was known that we were without means.

He had scarcely taken possession of his quarters, when, as if to add to his tribulations, various parties attached to the mission, followers of Mr. Richardson, presented themselves with their claims amounting to some 300 dollars, and which they expected to be liquidated at once, when Barth had not one in his possession, and moreover was informed by his friends that he should be expected to make both to the sheikh and to the vizier a handsome present.

After all these communications, fraught with oppressive anxiety, I received a most splendid supper as well from the sheikh as from the vizier, and, after the various exertions of the day, enjoyed a quiet night's rest in my clean cottage. Thus strengthened, I went the next morning to pay my respects to the vizier, taking with me a small present of my own, the principal attractions of which lay in a thick twisted lace of silk of very handsome workmanship, which I had had made in Tripoli, and a leathern letter case of red colour, which I had brought with me from Europe. Destitute as I was of any means, and not quite sure as yet whether Her Britannic Majesty's Government would authorise me to carry out the objects of the mission, I did not deem it expedient to assume too much importance, but simply told the vizier that, though the director of the mission had not been fortunate enough to convey to him and the sheikh with his own mouth the sentiments of the British Government, yet I hoped that, even in this respect, these endeavours would not be quite in vain, although at the present moment our means were so exhausted that, even for executing our scientific plans, we were entirely dependent on their kindness.

The same reserve I maintained in my interview with the sheikh on the morning of Friday, when I laid little stress upon the object of our mission (to obtain security of commerce for English merchants), thinking it better to leave this to time, but otherwise dwelling upon the friendship established between the sheikh's father and the English, and representing to them that, relying upon this manifestation of their friendly disposition, we had come without reserve to live awhile among them, and under their protection and with their assistance to obtain an insight into this part of the world, which appeared so strange in our eyes. Our conversation was quite free from constraint or reserve, as nobody was present besides the sheikh and the vizier.

I found the sheikh (Omar, the eldest son of Muhammed el Anim el Kanemy) a very simple, benevolent, and even cheerful man. He has regular and agreeable features, rather a little too round to be expressive; but he is remarkably black—a real glossy black, such as is rarely seen in Bornu, and which he has inherited undoubtedly from his mother, a Bagirmaye princess. He was very simply dressed in a light tobe, having a bernus negligently wrapped round his shoulder; round his head a dark-red shawl was twisted with great care; and his face was quite uncovered, which surprised me not a little, as his father used to cover it in the Tawarek fashion. He was reclining upon a divan covered with a carpet, at the back of a fine airy hall neatly polished.

The first business was the recovery of Mr. Richardson's property, of which all that remained after a pretty general plunder, had been deposited with the vizier. Next money was borrowed at an exorbitant rate wherewith to pay creditors. Then the quarters of the mission were removed from the eastern town to a small clay house, to which an adjoining yard was afterwards added in the western town, and which became *par excellence* "the English house." The less fortunate travellers, Overweg and Vogel, both dwelt at an after period in this house. The court-yard was shaded with trees, a well was sunk, and the place would have been tolerably comfortable had it not been for the swarms of fleas, bugs, and ants. The natives consider the smell of the bug to be aromatic.

Having procured a good travelling horse whereon to mount, Barth rode every day either into the eastern town to pay a visit to the sheikh, or to the vizier, or roving around the whole circuit of the capital, and peeping into the varied scenes which the life of the people exhibited. The precincts of the town with its suburbs are just as interesting, as its neighbourhood (especially during the months that precede the rainy season) is monotonous and tiresome in the extreme. Certainly the arrangement of the capital contributes a

WELL OF THE MARGHI.

great deal to the variety of the picture which it forms, laid out as it is in two distinct towns, each surrounded with its wall, the one, occupied chiefly by the rich and wealthy, containing very large establishments, while the other, with the exception of the principal thoroughfare which traverses the town from west to east, consists of rather crowded dwellings, with narrow winding lanes. These two distinct towns are separated by a space about half a mile broad, itself thickly inhabited on both sides of a wide open road which forms the connection between them, but laid out less regularly, and presenting to the eye a most interesting medley of large clay buildings and small thatched huts, of massive clay walls surrounding immense yards, and light fences of reeds in a more or less advanced state of decay, and with a variety of colour, according to their age, from the brightest yellow down to the deepest black. All around these two towns there are small villages or clusters of huts, and large detached farms surrounded with clay walls, low enough to allow a glimpse from horseback over the thatched huts which they inclose.

In this labyrinth of dwellings a man, interested in the many forms which human life presents, may rove about at any time of the day with the certainty of finding never-failing amusement, although the life of the Kanuri people passes rather monotonously along, with the exception of some occasional feasting. During the hot hours, indeed, the town and its precincts become torpid, except on market-days, when the market place itself, at least, and the road leading to it from the western gate, are most animated just at that time. For, singular as it is, in Kukawa, as well as almost all over this part of Negroland, the great markets do not begin to be well attended till the heat of the day grows intense; and it is curious to observe what a difference prevails in this as well as in other respects between these countries and Yoruba, where almost all the markets are held in the cool of the evening.

The daily little markets, or durriya, even in Kukawa, are held in the afternoon, and are most frequented between the aser (lasari) and the maghrob (almagribu) or sunset. The most important of these durriyas is that held inside the west gate of the billa futebe; and here even camels, horses, and oxen are sold in considerable numbers; but they are much inferior to the large fair, or great market, which is held every Monday on the open ground between the two villages which lie at a short distance from the western gate. Formerly it was held on the road to Ngornu, before the southern gate; but it has been removed from thence, on account of the large pond of water formed during the rainy season in the hollow close to this gate.

I visited the great fair, "kasuku leteninbe," every Monday immediately after my arrival, and found it very interesting, as it calls together the inhabitants of all the eastern parts of Bornu, the Shuwa and the Koyam, with their corn and butter, the former, though of Arab origin and still preserving in purity his ancient character, always carrying his merchandise on the back of oxen, the women mounted upon the top of it, while the African Koyam employs the camel, if not exclusively, at least with a decided preference; the Kanembu with their butter and dried fish, the inhabitants of Makari with their tobes (the kore berne): even Budduma, or rather Yedina, are very often seen in the market, selling whips made from the skin of the hippopotamus or sometimes even hippopotamus meat, or dried fish, and attract the attention of the spectator by their slender figures, their small handsome features unimpaired by any incisions, the men generally wearing a short black shirt and a small straw-hat, "sunningawa," their neck adorned with several strings of kungona, or shells, while the women are profusely ornamented with strings of glass beads, and wear their hair in a very remarkable way, though not in so awkward a fashion as Mr. Overweg afterwards observed in the island Belarigo

On reaching the market-place from the town the visitor first comes to that part where the various materials for constructing the light dwellings of the country are sold, such as mats, of three different kinds, the thickest, which I have mentioned above as lagara, then siggedi, or the common coarse mat made of the reed called kalkalti, and the bushi, made of dum-leaves, or "ngille," for lying upon; poles and stakes; the framework, "leggera," for the thatched roofs of huts, and the ridge-beam or "keskan sumo;" then oxen for slaughter, "fe debateram," or for carrying burdens, "knemu lapteram;" further on, long rows of leathern bags filled with corn, ranging far along on the south side of the market-place, with either "kewa," the large bags for the camel, a pair of which form a regular camel's load, or the large "jerabu," which is thrown across the back of the pack-oxen, or the smaller "fallim," a pair of which constitutes an ox-load, "katkun knemube." These long rows are animated not only by the groups of the sellers and buyers, with their weather-worn figures and torn dresses, but also by the beasts of burden, mostly oxen, which have brought the loads and which are to carry back their masters to their distant dwelling places; then follow the camels for sale, often as many as a hundred or more, and numbers of horses, but generally not first-rate ones, which are mostly sold in private. All this sale of horses, camels, &c., with the exception of the oxen, passes through the hands of the dilelma or broker, who, according to the mode of announcement, takes his per centage from the buyer or seller.

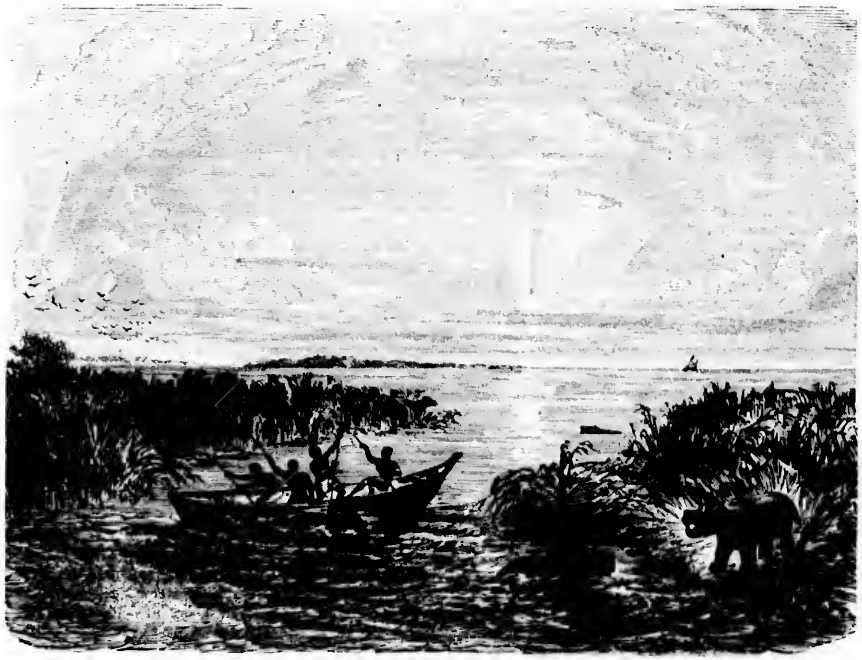
The middle of the market is occupied by the dealers in other merchandise of native and of foreign manufacture, the "amagdi" or tob from Uje, and the kore, or rebshi; the firash, or "fetkema," and the "sellama," the people dealing in cloths, shirts, turkedis, beads of all sizes and colours, leatherwork, coloured boxes of every different shape and size, very neatly and elegantly made of ox-hide There are also very neat little boxes made of the kernel, or "nage," of the fruit of the dum-tree. Then comes the place where the kombuli disposes of his slaves.

There are only a few very light sheds or stalls ("kandi"), erected here and there. In general, besides a few of the retail dealers, only the dilelma or broker has a stall, which, on this account, is called dillellam; and, no shady trees being found, both buyers and sellers are exposed to the whole force of the sun during the very hottest hours of the day, between eleven and three o'clock, when the market is most full and busy, and the crowd is often so dense that it is difficult to make one's way through it: for the place not being regularly laid out, nor the thoroughfares limited by rows of stalls, each dealer squats down with his merchandise where he likes. There are often from twelve to fifteen thousand people crowded together in the market; but the noise is not very great, the Kanuri people being more sedate and less vivacious

than the Hausawa, and not vending their wares with loud cries. However, the wanzam or barber, going about, affords amusement by his constant whistling, "kangadi." In general, even amusements have rather a sullen character in Bornu; and of course, in a place of business like the market, very little is done for amusement, although sometimes a serpent-tamer ("kadima") or a story-teller ("kosgolima") is met with. Also the luxuries offered to the people are very few in comparison with the varieties of cakes and sweetmeats in the market-places of Hausa; and the "kolche" (the common sweet groundnut), "gangala" (the bitter groundnut), boiled beans or "ngalo," and a few dried dates from the Tebu country, are almost the only things, besides water and a little nasty sour milk, offered as refreshment to the exhausted customer.

The fatigue which people have to undergo in purchasing their week's necessaries in the market is all the more harassing as there is no standard currency. Barth says he has often seen his servants return in a state of the utmost exhaustion. The necessaries of life are, however, cheaper than elsewhere in Negroland. Meat, millet, and corn are to be obtained. The most common fruits are groundnuts, the fruit of the Egyptian Balanites, the African plum, the korna, and the fruit of the dum-palm. The most common vegetables are beans of various descriptions, and onions.

With the exception of Mondays, when just during



LAKE TSAD.

the hottest hours of the day there is much crowd and bustle in the market-place, it is very dull from about noon till three o'clock in the afternoon; and even during the rest of the day, those scenes of industry, which in the varied panorama of Kano meet the eye, are here sought for in vain. Instead of those numerous dyeing-yards or marins full of life and bustle, though certainly also productive of much filth and foul odours, which spread over the town of Kano, there is only a single, and a very poor marina in Kukawa; no beating of tobes is heard, nor the sound of any other handicraft.

There is a great difference of character between these two towns; and, as I have said above, the Bornu people are by temperament far more phlegmatic than those of Kano. The women in general are much more ugly, with square short figures, large heads, and broad noses with immense nostrils, disfigured still more by the enormity of a red bead or coral worn in the nostril. Nevertheless, they are certainly quite as coquettish, and, as far as I had occasion to observe, at least as wanton also, as the more cheerful and sprightly Hausa women. I have never seen a Hausa woman strolling about the streets with her gown trailing after her on the ground, the fashion of the women of Kukawa, and wearing on her shoulders some Manchester print of a showy pattern, keeping the ends of it in her hands, while she throws her arms about in a coquettish manner. In a word, their dress, as well as their demeanour is far more decent and agreeable. The best part in the dress or ornaments of the Bornu women is the silver ornament (the "fallafalle kelabe") which

they wear on the back of the head, and which in taller figures, when the hair is plaited in the form of a helmet, is very becoming; but it is not every woman who can afford such an ornament, and many a one sacrifices her better interests for this decoration.

The most animated quarter of the two towns is the great thoroughfare, which, proceeding by the southern side of the palace in the western town, traverses it from west to east, and leads straight to the sheikh's residence in the eastern town. This is the "dendal" or promenade, a locality which has its imitation, on some scale, in every town of the country (*See* p. 94). This road, during the whole day, is crowded by numbers of people on horseback and on foot; freemen and slaves, foreigners as well as natives, everyone in his best attire, to pay his respects to the sheikh or his vizier, to deliver an errand, or to sue for justice or employment, or a present. I myself very often went along this well-trodden path—this high-road of ambition; but I generally went at an unusual hour, either at sunrise in the morning, or while the heat of the mid-day, not yet abated, detained the people in their cool haunts, or late at night, when the people were already retiring to rest or, sitting before their houses, beguiling their leisure hours with amusing tales or with petty scandal. At such hours I was sure to find the vizier or the sheikh alone; but sometimes they wished me also to visit and sit with them, when they were accessible to all the people; and on these occasions the vizier took pride and delight in conversing with me about matters of science, such as the motion of the earth, or the planetary system, or subjects of that kind.

EXCURSIONS TO LAKE TSAD, TO KANEM, AND TO ADAMAWA—SLAVE-HUNTING EXPEDITION AGAINST MUSGHU.

IX.

Excursion to Lake Tsad—Wild Animals—Boats of the Yedina or Islanders—Arab Population—Fertile and Populous District of Uje—Great Forest Region of Marghi—Village of Mbutudi—The Meeting of the Waters—Great Eastern Arm of the Niger—Yola, Capital of Adamawa—Barth obliged to return to Kuka—His Triumphal Reception.

The stay in Kuka was agreably interrupted by an excursion to Lake Tsad, or Tchad, as it is sometimes written. Sheikh Omar left Kuka in the night of April 23rd, in order to spend a day or two in Ngornu, where he had a good house; and having been invited by the vizier to go there, Barth followed in the morning of the next day. Supposing Lake Tsad to be at no great distance from the Ngornu, or the Town of the Blessing, he mounted on horseback next day to refresh himself with a sight of the vast expanse of water, but was doomed to disappointment, for no lake was to be seen, nothing but endless grassy plains and swamps. How different, he says, was this appearance of the country from that which it exhibited in the winter, from 1851 to 1855, when more than half the town of Ngornu was destroyed by the water.

On the 26th, having obtained two guides, he set out on another excursion, going north-east; for due east from the town, he says, as I now learned, the lagoon was at present at more than ten miles' distance. The fine grassy plain seemed to extend to a boundless distance, uninterrupted by a single tree, or even a shrub; not a living creature was to be seen, and the sun began already to throw a fiery veil over all around, making the vicinity of the cooling element desirable. After a little more than half an hour's ride, we reached swampy ground, and began to make our way through the water, often up to our knees on horseback. We thus came to the margin of a fine open sheet of water, encompassed with papyrus and tall reed, of from ten to fourteen feet in height, of two different kinds, one called "mele," and the other "bore," or "bole." The mele has a white tender core, which is eaten by the natives, but to me seemed insipid; the bore has a head like common bulrush, and its stalk is triangular. The thicket was interwoven by a climbing plant with yellow flowers, called "borbuje" by the natives, while on the surface of the water was a floating plant called, very facetiously, by the natives, "fanna-billa-bago" (the homeless fanna). This creek was called "Ngiruwa."

Then turning a little more to the north, and passing still through deep water full of grass, and most fatiguing for the horses, while it seemed most delightful to me, after my dry and dreary journey through this continent, we reached another creek, called "Dimbeber." Here I was so fortunate as to see two small boats, or "makara," of the Buddnma, as they are called by the Kanuri, or Yedina, as they call themselves, the famous pirates of the Tsad. They were small flat boats, made of the light and narrow wood of the "fogo," about twelve feet long, and managed by two men each; as soon as the men saw us, they pushed their boats off from the shore. They were evidently in search of human prey; and as we had seen people from the neighbouring villages, who had come here to cut reeds to thatch their huts anew for the rainy season, we went first to inform them of the presence of these constant enemies of the inhabitants of these fertile banks of the lagoon, that they might be on their guard; for they could not see them, owing to the quantity of tall reeds with which the banks and the neighbouring land was overgrown.

We then continued our watery march. The sun was by this time very powerful, but a very gentle cooling breeze came over the lagoon, and made the heat supportable. We had water enough to quench our thirst—indeed, more than we really wanted; for we might have often drunk with our mouth, by stooping down a little, on horseback, so deeply were we immersed. But the water was exceedingly warm, and full of vegetable matter. It is perfectly fresh, as fresh as water can be. It seems to have been merely from prejudice that people in Europe have come to the conclusion that this Central African basin must either have an outlet, or must be salt. For I can positively assert that it has no outlet, and that its water is perfectly fresh. Indeed, I do not see from whence saltness of the water should arise in a district in which there is no salt at all, and in which the herbage is so destitute of this element, that the milk of cows and sheep fed on it is rather

insipid, and somewhat unwholesome. Certainly, in the holes around the lagoon, where the soil is strongly impregnated with natron, and which are only for a short time of year in connection with the lake, the water, when in small quantity, must savour of the peculiar quality of the soil; but when those holes are full, the water in them likewise is fresh.

While we rode along these marshy, luxuriant plains, large herds of "kelara" started up, bounding over the rushes, and sometimes swimming, at others running, soon disappeared in the distance. This is a peculiar kind of antelope, which I have nowhere seen but in the immediate vicinity of the lake. In colour and size it resembles the roe, and has a white belly. The kelara is by no means slender, but rather bulky, and extremely fat; this, however, may not be a specific character, but merely the consequence of the rich food which it enjoys here. It may be identical with, or be a variety of the *Antilope Arabica*, and the Arabs, and those of the natives who understand a little Arabic, call both by the same name, "el ariyel."

Proceeding onwards, we reached about noon another creek, which is used occasionally by the Budduma as a harbour, and is called "Ngulbea" We, however, found it empty, and only inhabited by nguruttus, or river-horses, which, indeed, live here in great numbers, snorting about in every direction, and by two species of crocodiles (*See* p. 100.) In this quarter there are no elephants, for the very simple reason that they have no place of retreat during the night; for this immense animal (at least in Africa) appears to be very sensible of the convenience of a soft couch in the sand, and of the inconvenience of mosquitoes, too; wherefore it prefers to lie down on a spot a little elevated above the swampy ground, whither it resorts for its daily food. On the banks of the northern part of the Tsad, on the contrary, where a range of low sand-hills and wood encompasses the lagoon, we shall meet with immense herds of this animal.

Ngulbea was the easternmost point of our excursion; and, turning here a little west from north, we continued our march over drier pasture-grounds, placed beyond the reach of the inundation, and, after about three miles, reached the deeply-indented and well-protected creek, called "Ngomaren." Here I was most agreeably surprised by the sight of eleven boats of the Yedina. Large, indeed, they were considering the ship-building of these islanders; but otherwise they looked very small and awkward, and. resting quite flat on the water, strikingly reminding me of theatrical exhibitions in which boats are introduced on the stage. They were not more than about twenty feet long, but seemed tolerably broad; and one of them contained as many as eleven people, besides a good quantity of natron and other things. They had a very low waist, but rather a high and pointed prow. They are made of the narrow boards of the fogo-tree, which are fastened together with ropes from the dum palm, the holes being stopped with bast.

The Kanembu inhabitants of many neighbouring villages carry on trade with the islanders almost uninterruptedly, while elsewhere the latter are treated as most deadly enemies. Two parties of Kanembu happened to be there with argum or millet, which they exchanged for the natron. They were rather frightened when they saw us, the Budduma being generally regarded as enemies; but the sheikh and the counsellors are well aware of this intercourse, and, wanting either the spirit or the power to reduce those islanders to subjection, they must allow their own subjects, whom they fail to protect against the continual inroads of the Budduma, to deal with the latter at their own discretion. It was my earnest wish to go on board one of the boats, and to examine their make attentively; and, with the assistance of Kashella Kotoko, who was well-known to the Budduma, I should perhaps have succeeded, if Bu-Sad, my Muhammadan companion, had not behaved like a madman: indeed, I could scarcely restrain him from firing at these people, who had done us no harm. This was certainly a mere outbreak of fanaticism. When the people in the boats saw my servant's excited behaviour, they left the shore, though numerous enough to overpower us; and we then rode on to another creek, called "Mellela," whence we turned westwards, and in about an hour, partly through water, partly over a grassy plain, reach Maduwari.

Maduwari, at that time, was an empty sound for me—a name without a meaning, just like the names of so many other places at which I had touched on my wanderings; but it was a name about to become important in the history of the expedition, and to which many a serious remembrance was to be attached Maduwari was to contain another white man's grave, and thus to rank with Ngurutuwa.

When I first entered the place from the side of the lake, it made a very agreeable impression upon me, as it showed evident signs of ease and comfort, and, instead of being closely packed together, as most of the towns and villages of the Kanuri are, it lay dispersed in eleven or twelve separate clusters of huts, shaded by a rich profusion of korna and bito-trees. I was conducted by my companion, Kashella Kotoko, to the house of Fugo Ali. It was the house wherein Mr. Overweg, a year and a half later, was to expire; while Fugo Ali himself, the man who first contracted friendship with me, then conducted my companion on his interesting navigation round the islands of the lake, and who frequented our house, was destined to fall a sacrifice in the revolution of 1854. How different was my reception then, when I first went to his house on this my first excursion to the lake, and when I revisited it with Mr. Vogel in the beginning of 1855, when Fugo Ali's widow was sobbing at my side, lamenting the ravages of time, the death of my companion, and that of her own husband.

Soon after his return to Kuka, Barth was joined by Overweg, who had suffered much from illness at Zinder, and was both fatigued and sickly. Having made the weary traveller comfortable in his house, Barth started, on the 29th of May, on that remarkable excursion to Yola, the capital of Adamawa, a country south of Lake Tsad, and which excursion led to the discovery of the upper waters of the Benuwe or Eastern Niger.

The country was at first flat and swampy, with much pasture-land, frequented by Arabs, or Shuwa as they are called in Bornu, and Shiwa by the Bagirmi. Barth says that this native Arab population appears to have immigrated from the east at a very early period. These Shuwa are divided into many families or clans, and may altogether form in Bornu a population of from 200,000 to 250,000 souls, being able to bring into the field about 20,000 light cavalry. Many of them have fixed villages, but the majority are nomadic and pastoral.

No place of interest was attained till our traveller

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MBUTUDE—MAGHI VILLAGE.

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Mbutudi. [illegible]

We had now, says Barth, reached Mbutudi, a village [illegible] had

reached the province of Ghamerghu, which is watered in its southern part by a river in Komadugh called Alaw, which discharges itself into Lake Tsad, and upon which are three goodly towns, not at a very great distance from one another; the first, Uje Maiduguri with a population of 6,000, surrounded by fields of cotton and corn and large herds of cattle; secondly or lower down the river, Uji Mabani, with 8,000 inhabitants, engaged in weaving and dyeing, and having indigo plantations, and lastly, or at least as far down the river as Barth's explorations extended, Uje Kasakula where a market is held which is frequented by merchants from Kano and Kuka. The whole of this district is densely inhabited, and is indeed the most so, and also the most fertile and best cultivated in all Bornu.

The border land between Uje and Marghi, is called Shamo, which, although inhabitated by Marghi, still belongs to Bornu, but beyond this is the vast forest of the Marghi full of elephants and partly inhabited, and which constitutes a disputed frontier region between Bornu and Adamawa. There are groups of villages more especially north and south, Molghoy, Issego and Kofa, and there are some lakes with fish in this vast expanse of forest, which is bordered to the east and south-east by the mountain range of Wandalla, which attains an elevation of some 2,500 feet, and is inhabited by independent pagan tribes.

MBUTUDI—MARGHI VILLAGE.

The forest becomes better watered as the more rocky and mountainous region to the south is reached; it is traversed indeed by many water-courses, all tributaries to Lake Tsad, and at length is entirely broken up by rocky heights, which are succeeded again by rich cultivated ground and the town of Uba, the northernmost Pullo place of Adamawa. From this point the waters have also all a southerly flow to the Benuwe or Eastern Niger.

Pasture-grounds, with patches of forest and cornfields, lead hence to the district of Mubi, a hilly region of similar character, and in the heart of which is Mbutudi.

We had now, says Barth, reached Mbutudi, a village situated round a granite mound of about 600 yards circumference, and rising to the height of about three hundred feet. It had been a considerable place before the rise of the Fulbe, encompassing on all sides the mount, which had served as a natural citadel; but it has been greatly reduced, scarcely more than one hundred huts altogether now remaining; and were it not for the picturesque landscape—the steep rocky mount overgrown with trees, and the slender deleb-palms shooting up here and there, and forming some denser groups on the south-east side—it would be a most miserable place.

My companions were greatly astonished to find that since they went to Kukawa, some Fulbe families had

settled here: for formerly none but native pagans lived in the village. It was, therefore, necessary that we should address ourselves to this ruling class; and after we had waited some time in the shade of some caoutchouc-trees, a tall, extremely slender Pullo, of a very noble expression of countenance, and dressed in a snow-white shirt, made his appearance, and after the usual exchange of compliments, and due inquiry on the part of my companions after horse, cattle, mother, slaves, and family, conducted us to a dwelling not far from the eastern foot of the rock, consisting of several small huts, with a tall deleb palm in the middle of its court-yard, which was never deserted by some large birds of the stork family—most probably some European wanderers. However, it had the great disadvantage of being extremely wet, so that I preferred staying outside; and going to some distance from the huts, I laid myself down in the shade of a tree, where the ground was comparatively dry. The weather had been very cool and cheerless in the morning, and I was glad when the sun at length came forth, increasi' the interest of the landscape.

The Zani, the Fali, and the Demsa, all so-called Batta tribes, occupy the remaining alternately rocky forest and cultivated lands that lie between the Mubi and the fertile plains of the Benuwe. As this was one of Barth's chief discoveries, we will let him relate it in his own words. It was a beautiful fresh morning, all nature being revived and enlivened by the last night's storm. My companions, sullen and irritated, quarrelled among themselves on account of the selfish behaviour of Ibrahima. As for me, I was cheerful in the extreme, and borne away by an enthusiastic and triumphant feeling; for to-day I was to see the river.

The neighbourhood of the water was first indicated by numbers of high ant-hills, which, as I shall have occasion to observe more fully in the course of my narrative, abound chiefly in the neighbourhood of rivers: they were here ranged in almost parallel lines, and afforded a very curious spectacle. We had just passed a small village or runde, where not a living soul was to be seen, the people having all gone forth to the labours of the field, when the lively Muhammadu came running up to me, and exclaimed, "Gashi, gashi, dutsi-n-Alantika ke nan" ("Look! look! that is Mount Alantika"). I strained my eyes and saw, at a great distance to the S.W., a large but insulated mountain mass, rising abruptly on the east side, and forming a more gradual slope towards the west, while it exhibited a rather smooth and broad top, which certainly must be spacious, as it contains the estates of seven independent pagan chiefs. Judging from the distance, which was pretty well known to me, I estimated the height of the mountain at about eight thousand feet above the plain, or about nine thousand feet of absolute elevation; but it may be somewhat less.

Here there was still cultivated ground, exhibiting at present the finest crop of masr, called "butali" by the Fulbe of Adamawa; but a little further on we entered upon a swampy plain (the savannas of Adamawa), overgrown with tall rank grass, and broken by many large hollows full of water, so that we were obliged to proceed with great caution. This whole plain is annually (two months later) entirely under water. However, in the middle of it, on a little rising ground which looks as if it were an artificial mound, lies a small village, the abode of the ferrymen of the Benuwe, from whence the boys came running after us—slender well-built lads, accustomed to fatigue and strengthened by daily bathing; the younger ones quite naked, the elder having a leathern apron girt round their loins. A quarter of an hour afterwards we stood on the bank of the Benuwe.

It happens but rarely that a traveller does not feel disappointed when he first actually beholds the principal features of a new country, of which his imagination has composed a picture, from the description of the natives; but although I must admit that the shape and size of the Alantika, as it rose in rounded lines from the flat level, did not exactly correspond with the idea which I had formed of it, the appearance of the river far exceeded my most lively expectations. None of my informants had promised me that I should just come upon it at that most interesting locality—the Tepe—where the mightier river is joined by another of very considerable size, and that in this place I was to cross it. My arrival at this point, as I have stated before, was a most fortunate circumstance. As I looked from the bank over the scene before me, I was quite enchanted, although the whole country bore the character of a desolate wilderness; but there could scarcely be any great traces of human industry near the river, as, during its floods, it inundates the country on both sides. This is the general character of all the great rivers in these regions, except where they are encompassed by very steep banks.

The principal river, the Benuwe, flowed here from east to west, in a broad and majestic course, through an entirely open country, from which only here and there detached mountains started forth. The banks on our side rose to twenty-five, and in some places to thirty feet, while just opposite to my station, behind a pointed headland of sand, the Faro rushed forth, appearing from this point not much inferior to the principal river, and coming in a fine sweep from the south-east, where it disappeared in the plain, but was traced by me, in thought, upwards to the steep eastern foot of the Alantika. The river, below the junction, keeping the direction of the principal branch, but making a slight bend to the north, ran along the northern foot of Mount Bagele, and was there lost to the eye, but was followed in thought through the mountainous region of the Bachama and Zima to Hamarruwa, and thence along the industrious country of Kororofa, till it joined the great western river the Kwara or Niger, and, conjointly with it, ran towards the great ocean.

On the northern side of the river another detached mountain, Mount Taife, rose, and behind it the Bengo, with which Mount Furo seemed connected, stretching out in a long line towards the north-west. The bank upon which we stood was entirely bare of trees, with the exception of a solitary and poor acacia, about one hundred paces further up the river, while on the opposite shore, along the Faro and below the junction, some fine clusters of trees were faintly seen.

Yola, the capital of Adamawa, is only a short distance to the south of this great eastern arm of the Niger. It was an unfavourable circumstance, Barth relates, that we arrived on a Friday, and just during the heat of the day. The streets were almost deserted; and no person met us in order to impart to us, by a friendly welcome, a feeling of cheerfulness and confidence.

Yola is a large open place, consisting, with a few exceptions, of conical huts surrounded by spacious court-yards, and even by corn-fields, the houses of the

SULTAN OF BAGIRMI ENTERING HIS CAPITAL, MAS-ENA.

governor and those of his brothers being alone built of clay. Keeping along the principal street, we continued our march for a mile and a quarter before we reached the house of the governor, which lies on the west side of a small open area, opposite the mosque, a flat oblong building, or rather hall, inclosed with clay walls, and covered with a flat thatched roof a little inclined on one side, Having reached this place, my companions fired a salute, which, considering the nature of Billama's mission, and the peculiar character of the governor, which this officer ought to have known, and perhaps also since it happened to be Friday, was not very judicious.

First impressions were corroborated by subsequent events, the ruler, Muhammad Lowel, a name belonging to the Fulfulde language, was very naturally irritated with the party, as some of its members had been foolish enough to constitute themselves bearers of hostile letters from the Sheikh of Bornu, and declaring himself governor in the name of the Sultan of Sokoto, he bade the expedition, although Barth was very ill at the time, at once find its way back, and thus did our traveller's further progress south, and further investigation of this new and most interesting region come to an untimely end. We shall extract, however, what he has summed up concerning a district previously utterly unknown to Europeans.

Yola is the capital of an extensive province, called by foreigners generally, and by the conquering Fulbe in diplomatic language, Adamawa, but the real name of which is Fumbina. Indeed, Adamawa is quite a new name given to the country (exactly as I stated in my report sent to Europe some years ago), in honour of Mallem Adama, the father of the present governor, who succeeded in founding here a new Muhammadan empire on the ruins of several smaller pagan kingdoms, the most considerable of which was that of Kokomi. Whether what the people used to say be true, that the name of the wife of this officer was Adama too, I am not able positively to decide.

Yola is quite a new settlement, called by this name after the princely quarter of the town of Kano—the former capital, of which Denham's expedition heard some faint report, being Gurin. Yola is situated in a swampy plain, and is bordered on the north side by an inlet of the river the inundation of which reaches close to that quarter where I was living. The town is certainly not less than three miles long from east to west. It seems probable that there are different names for the different quarters; but my stay was too short to allow me to learn them. The court-yards are large and spacious, but often contain only a single hut, the whole area being sown with grain during the rainy season. All the huts are built with clay walls on account of the violence of the rains, and are tolerably high. Only the governor and his elder brothers possess large establishments with dwellings built entirely of clay. Notwithstanding its size, the place can hardly contain more than twelve thousand inhabitants.

It has no industry; and the market, at least during the time of my stay there, was most insignificant and miserably supplied: but certainly during the season of field labours, as I have already had occasion to observe, all the markets in Negroland are less important than at other times of the year. The most common objects in the market, which find ready sale, are turkedi, beads, and salt, while other articles, such as striped Manchester calico, cloth bernuses, are generally sold privately to the wealthier people. The only articles of export at present are slaves and ivory. Four good turkedi, bought in Kano for 1800 or 2000 kurdi each, will generally purchase a slave; and a turkedi will often buy an elephant's tusk of tolerable size.

Slavery exists on an immense scale in this country; and there are many private individuals who have more than a thousand slaves. In this respect the governor of the whole province is not the most powerful man, being outstripped by the governors of Chamba and Koncha—for this reason, that Muhammad Lowel has all his slaves settled in ruude or slave villages, where they cultivate grain for his use or profit, while the above-mentioned officers, who obtain all their provision in corn from subjected pagan tribes, have their whole host of slaves constantly at their disposal; and I have been assured that some of the head-slaves of these men have as many as a thousand slaves each under their command, with whom they undertake occasional expeditions for their masters. I have been assured also that Muhammad Lowel receives every year in tribute, besides horses and cattle, about five thousand slaves, though this seems a large number.

The country of Fumbina is about two hundred miles long in its greatest extent, running from south-west to north-east, while its shortest diameter seems to reach from north-west to south-east, and scarcely ever exceeds seventy or eighty miles; but this territory is as yet far from being entirely subjected to the Muhammadan conquerors, who in general are only in possession of detached settlements, while the intermediate country, particularly the more mountainous tracts, are still in the hands of the pagans. The people in this part of the country are engaged in constant warfare. While the country north from the Benuwe, between Yola and Hamarruwa, is entirely independent, and inhabited by warlike pagan tribes, the best subjected tract seems to be that between the Wandala and the Musgu country, where the settlements of the conquering tribe are very compact. I must observe, however, that I am not quite clear as to the exact manner in which those distant settlements are dependent on the governor of Adamawa. That part of the country seems to deserve a great deal of interest, and to be destined to become a province by itself. It is sometimes designated by the special name of "Jemmaru," a name certainly of general import, and meaning nothing but "the congregation"—a corruption, in short, of Jemmaa.

The country is certainly one of the finest of Central Africa, irrigated as it is by numerous rivers, among which the Benuwe and the Faro are the most important, and being diversified with hill and dale. In general, however, it is flat, rising gradually towards the south, from an elevation of about eight hundred feet along the middle course of the Benuwe, to fifteen hundred feet or more, and broken by separate hills or more extensive groups of mountains; but, as far as I know, there is not here a single example of large mountain masses. Mount Alantika, of which I had a fine view from several points, though at a considerable distance, is considered as the most massive and elevated mountain in the whole country; and this is an entirely detached mountain, at the utmost fifty miles in circumference, and elevated certainly not more than eight thousand five hundred or nine thousand feet above the plain from which it rises. No doubt the Benuwe may be presumed to have its sources in a

mountainous tract of country; but of the uppermost course of this river I was not able to obtain the least information, while I have been able to lay down its lower course with great approximative certainty. Yet, although the elevation of the country is in general the same, the nature of the different districts varies greatly: thus in Chamba, apparently on account of the neighbourhood of Mount Alantika, which attracts the clouds, the rainy season is said to set in as early as January, so that by the end of April or beginning of May the first crop is ripe, while in Yola, and in the country in general, the rains rarely begin before March.

The grain most commonly grown in the country is *Holcus Sorghum*: but in this respect also there is a great difference between the districts. Thus, the country of the Mbum round Ngaundere scarcely produces anything but rogo or yams, which form the daily and almost sole food of the inhabitants. Meat is so dear there that a goat will often fetch the price of a female slave. Ground-nuts are plentiful both in the eastern and the western districts. A tolerable quantity of cotton, called "pottolo" in Adamawa, is cultivated; but indigo or "chachari" is very rare, and is hardly cultivated anywhere but in Sarawu and Maruwa; and this is very natural, as the Fulbe do not value coloured shirts.

With regard to exuberance of vegetation, Tibati seems to be one of the richest places; there both kinds of the banana or ayabbie, the gonda, or papaya, "dukuje," several species of the guro tree, the monkey-bread tree, the "rimi," and numerous other kinds are found. Of the palm tribe, the deleb-palm, or gigina, is frequent, but strictly limited to certain localities, while the date-tree (called by the Fulbe of Adamawa by the beautiful name "tannedaraje") is very rare, and, except a few specimens in Yola and Bundang, scarcely to be met with. Among the bushes, the palma Christi is extremely common. Altogether, the predominant tree in the southern provinces of Adamawa seems to be the banana. There are hot springs in the country of the Bakr Yemyem, about three days south from Koncha, which are said to issue from the west foot of a mountain stretching from east to west, and to have a very high temperature; the water is reported to be palatable.

Of animals, the elephant is exceedingly frequent, not only the black or gray, but also a yellow species. The rhinoceros is often met with, but only in the eastern part of the country. East from the Bennwe the wild bull is very common. The most singular animal seems to be the ayu, which lives in the river, and in some respects resembles the seal; it comes out of the river in the night, and feeds on the fresh grass growing on its banks.

With regard to domestic animals, cattle were evidently introduced by the Fulbe some two or three hundred years ago. There is an indigenous variety of ox, but quite a distinct species, not three feet high, and of dark gray colour; this is called maturu. The native horse is small and feeble; the best horses are brought from the northern districts, chiefly from Uba.

On Barth's return to Kuka, so much fame had he obtained from the success of his adventurous journey, that, as he approached the southern gate of the town, three horsemen who were stationed there came galloping up to him, and having saluted him with their spears raised, placed themselves in front, and led him in stately procession through the town to his house, where he was also soon regaled with a plentiful supper sent by the vizier. A few days afterwards he was also joined by Mr. Overweg, who had been exploring Lake Tsad in a boat.

X.

Excursion to Kanem — Troops of Elephants — Large Snake — The Welad Sliman — Fate of a Female Slave — Bir el Ftaim — Kanemma Chief — Return to Kuka.

Among the many interesting excursions which Barth made from Kuka as a centre, was one on his return from Adamawa, to Kanem, a previously unexplored region, east of Lake Tsad. The great river of Bornu, the Waube, was crossed at the town of Yo, which is described as consisting of closely packed streets, extremely hot, and exhaling such an offensive smell of dried fish, that it appeared a very disagreeable and intolerable abode. Our traveller's way thence lay along the north-western limits of Lake Tsad, the country at first barren, with some talha-trees, and cultivation only around the villages. Nearer to the lake, the capparis sodata grew in abundance, testifying to the saline nature of the soil, although the waters of the lake are fresh. The swampy borders of the lake at its north-eastern extremity, clad with luxuriant reed grass, are succeeded further inland by sand-hills with thick underwood. This region abounded in elephants, and one morning, Barth relates, about seven o'clock, we had the good fortune to enjoy one of the most interesting scenes which these regions can possibly afford. Far to our right was a whole herd of elephants, arranged in regular array, like an army of rational beings, slowly proceeding to the water. In front appeared the males, as was evident from their size, in regular order; at a little distance followed the young ones; in a third line were the females; and the whole were brought up by five males of immense size. The latter (though we were at some distance, and proceeding quietly along) took notice of us, and some were seen throwing dust into the air; but we did not disturb them. There were altogether ninety-six. There were also many native lakes, and salt is largely manufactured by the natives from the ashes of the Capparis.

On the 29th of September, Barth relates, we started early; the character of the country continued the same as yesterday, and presented beautiful specimens of the mimosa, here breaking down from age, at another place interwoven with creepers, one species of which produces the red juicy fruit called "fito" by the Kanuri, and has been mentioned by me before. It was nearly eight o'clock when, proceeding in groups, two of our horsemen, on passing near a very large and thick gherret, suddenly halted, and with loud cries hastened back to us. We approached the spot, and saw a very large snake hanging in a threatening attitude from the branches of the tree: on seeing us it tried to hide itself; but after firing several balls, it fell down, and we cut off its head. It measured eighteen feet seven inches in length, and at the thickest part five inches in diameter, and was of a beautifully variegated colour. Two natives, who had attached themselves to our troop the day before, cut it open and took out the fat, which they said was excellent.

A tract of country was passed on this occasion at the northern extremity of the lake, which at that time furnished good pasture-lands covered with herds of

cattle, and which was deeply under water on the return early in November. From Beri, a large village on the borders of the lake, the road took an inland direction to the east and south-east, the country presenting a pleasant variety of sandy hills and pastoral lands, intersected by thickly wooded hollows and deep and romantic dales with most luxuriant vegetation. This fine country is tenanted by the Wolad Sliman and Arab tribe, who, in consequence of their restless habits, having been driven from their original dwelling-places in the Syrtis, after a great variety of events, have at length established themselves in this border region between the Desert and the fertile regions of Negroland. Two characteristic incidents occurred whilst among these Arabs.

The sun having set, I lay down outside my tent to enjoy the coolness and tranquillity of the evening after a hot and troublesome day. All seemed calm and tranquil, when suddenly a terrible screaming and crying arose from the women in the west part of the encampment. We hurried to our arms, thinking that an enemy had entered the place. The cry "Alla' dhahar! ala e' dhahar!" ("Mount! mount!")—properly speaking, "In the saddle!" "in the saddle!"—sounded from all sides, and the horsemen hurried past us; but it was only a small party of freebooters, who, in the twilight of the evening, had made an attack upon the camels, and after having put to flight two or three men and killed a horseman, had driven off a part of the herd. Our friends pursued the robbers at full speed, and soon overtook them, when they retreated into the thicket, and gave up their booty.

In this way we had a specimen of the character of our present expedition the very first day we had joined this little horde; and the lamentations of the females, on account of the man who had been slain, sounded wofully through the night, and brought before our minds the fate which, in a short time, might befall ourselves.

Again, two days afterwards, very early in the morning, when all was quiet, I was aroused from my sleep by the mournful song of an Arab, who, between the different stanzas of his dirge, seemed to give vent to his tears. The impression made by this song, which was full of deep feeling, among such a horde of lawless people, where generally only the meanest side of a man was exhibited, was charming; but as the singer was at some distance from my tent I could not distinctly make out what was the cause of his grief, neither was I able to learn it afterwards: the thoughts of the Arabs were taken up by another affair. The most handsome among the female slaves who composed part of the spoil that was to be taken to the vizier by his officer Haj Abbas, had made her escape during the night; they were eagerly searching from dawn of day, but could not find her. At length they discovered her necklace and clothes, and the remains of her bones,—evident proof that she had fallen a prey to the wild beasts. She belonged to the Yedina or Buddima, and was represented as having been possessed of considerable charms; and it was supposed that her loss would affect the vizier greatly, who, as I have before observed, was rather fond of an ethnological variety of female beauty. There was a great deal of unpleasant conversation about this affair, the girl not yet having been delivered up to Haj Abbas when she made her escape.

The country through which the way led hence, Barth says, was entirely of the same character as that which I have already described, a sandy level adorned with trees of moderate size, almost all of the genus *Mimosa*, and in favourable seasons well adapted for the cultivation of Indian corn—now and then broken by deep hollows of larger or smaller extent, generally with a sufficient supply of water to produce fine plantations or corn-fields, and overgrown with more luxuriant vegetation. We crossed a fine vale of this description about eight miles from our starting-point, and chose our camping-ground on the higher level commanding the "Bir el Ftaim." The hollow, however, which contains this well is rather of a peculiar kind; for, unlike the other basins, which afford sufficient space for cultivation, it is extremely narrow, while the encompassing slopes, at least that on the north side, rise to a greater altitude than the general level of the country.

On this commanding point there was a village of the Fugabu Kobber; and Overweg and I, before we went to our encampment, which was chosen on the southern slope, paid these people a visit, dismounting under a tree at some distance from their light huts, and were well received. They brought us immediately a dish made of the meal of Indian corn and sour milk, and sat down cheerfully, questioning us as to the difference between their country and ours, and asking, with regard to the politics of England, whether we were the friends or enemies of Dar-Fur and Waday (which countries, together with Bornu, comprised their political horizon), and expressed great astonishment at our instruments. They brought us a lion's skin, and soon after another very palatable dish of deshishe made of wheat, with very good butter, which had nothing of that nasty taste peculiar to the butter of Bornu and the surrounding countries: the dish was seasoned with dates.

It would have been far more instructive and agreeable to us to be in the constant company and under the protection of these people, the natives of the country, who would have made us acquainted with its characteristic features so much better than that band of lawless robbers who took no real interest in it, except as regarded the booty which it afforded them. But they had neither power nor authority; and we were satisfied that where the Arabs were not able to conduct us, these people never could. Notwithstanding their alliance with the Arabs, they are treated with contempt by the latter, and the Arabs never omit to add a sneer when they speak of the "damned" ("am bu") Kerada; for so they call the Fugabu. Of course the intercourse of these two different people can neither be sincere nor intimate, and the natives were only waiting for their day of revenge. (*For sketch of* Bir el Ftaim, *see* p. 97).

The predatory Arabs, with whom Barth and Overweg were obliged to associate themselves, rendered the latter part of this excursion exceedingly unpleasant. Having got into the district of the Woghda, they commenced a series of razzias, which were retaliated by the intrepid and warlike natives to the final loss of much valuable property on the part of our travellers, and a final necessity for retracing their steps rather more hastily than they had made their advance. The illustration (page 117) presents a spirited sketch of a native Kanemma or Kanembu chief, accompanied by his warriors, the existing representatives of the once mighty and populous kingdom of Kanem, now reduced to the desolate abode of the scanty remnants of the former native population, preyed upon every day by roving and lawless tribes from different quarters.

XI.

ARMED EXPEDITION TO MANDARA—A BORNU MINISTER OF POLICE—SUBMISSION OF MANDARA—ADVANCE TO MUSGU—THE ARMY ON ITS MARCH—PILLAGE OF MUSGU VILLAGES—BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF PRISONERS—A MUSGU CHIEF—LAKE AND VILLAGE OF DEMNIO—GREAT RIVER SERBEWUEL—GREAT SYSTEM OF INTERNAL NAVIGATION—RAZZIA OF BAREA—AN ARMY PUT TO FLIGHT BY BEES.

OUR travellers reached Kuka in safety on the 14th of November, 1851, and ten days afterwards Barth left the metropolis of Bornu to join a new and this time a warlike expedition. The coffers and slave-rooms of the great men being empty, a razzia was got up to obtain new supplies. Early on the morning of the 26th the signal for the decampment of the army was given in front of the tent of the Sheikh, by the sound of the great drum; and in broad battle array ("bata") the army with its host of cavalry moved onwards over the plain, which was covered with tall reeds, and showed only here and there a few signs of cultivation.

This time, says Barth, I still remained with the camels and the train oxen, which, mixed with pedestrians and some single horsemen in long unbounded lines, kept along the road, while single troops of Kanembu spearmen, in their light fanciful garments, mostly consisting of a small apron of rags, or a hide tied round the loins, and armed with their light wooden shields, passed the luggage-train, shouting out in their wild native manner. Thus, after a march of about eleven miles, we reached the cotton-fields of Yedi, a town of considerable magnitude, surrounded by a clay wall in a state of good repair.

The Ngaufate or army advanced on the 28th as far as the town of Marte. This was the beginning of the so called "firki" ground, bleak, boggy soil, and expansive plains devoid of any sort of vegetation except some mimosas, and which comprises so large a space in the southern regions of Bornu. The marches of so large an army and no end of camp-followers were necessarily brief. The next day they encamped on the west side of a large town called Ala, and on the following day at the still larger town of Dikowa. Here Barth and Overweg had a long discussion with the vizier upon the impropriety as well as false policy of these slave-hunts, which it is to be hoped may in due time bear fruit. Europeans are not, however, without responsibility in the matter, for Barth declares that had it not been for the cupidity of the natives in purchasing fire-arms, the slave-trade would never have reached those gigantic proportions which it has attained.

Dakowa is a large walled city, watered by a fine river called the Yalowe, and the cotton plantations are very extensive, but much neglected. After a protracted stay at this place the army moved on to another walled town, called Zogoma.

I had hardly pitched my tent, Barth relates, when that cruel minister of police, Lamino, a man whose character my friend Haj Edris used significantly to describe in the few words, "kargo dibbi, kindi dibbi" (bad in heart, and bad in deed), brought into my presence a famous cut-throat of the name of Barka-ngolo, whose neck was secured in a large machine called "bego," consisting of two pieces of wood from four to five feet in length, and very heavy, so that every movement was accompanied with the greatest pain. Nevertheless my mischievous friend persuaded himself that it would gratify me to see this miserable wretch fight with another culprit secured in the same manner, by giving to each of them a long whip of hippopotamus-hide, and forcing them by threats to flog each other. It was a horrible sight; and I had great difficulty in convincing my cruel friend that such a scene was far from being agreeable to me. In order to get rid of him, I presented him with a quantity of cloves to give to his beloved Aaisha, of whose culinary powers we had already had several proofs. He was greatly pleased with my present; and with an amorous smile he described to me how deeply he was in love with his darling, saying that he loved her, and she loved him also: "and," added he in a very sentimental way, "such a mutual love is the greatest bliss on earth."

Beyond Dikowa and Zogoma, situated with other towns in the fertile valley of the Alawo river, is the forest-district of Maza, next a region of greater capabilities, inhabited by the Shuwa Arabs, and finally the district of Woloje, a fine and fertile region, inhabited by Kanuri and Benese, the latter a Shuwa tribe. This is the last territory belonging to Bornu, to the south of this direction, and it is succeeded by Logone to the east, a region watered by the great river Shari Logone, Serbewuel or Arre, a tributary to Lake Tsad, and it is separated by a great wilderness, called Fili Obaja by the Fulbe, chiefly occupied by dense forests, with large herds of elephants and giraffes, with occasional tracts of pasture-grounds, visited by wandering Fulbe, with their cattle and pools, with rice growing wild, and an otherwise luxuriant vegetation, from the territory of the Musgu, situated upon the upper River Serbewuel and its tributaries. Musgu itself, it may be also remarked, is divided into three districts, Kade to the north, with its swamps and hamlets; Barea, a fine country, well inhabited with dykes for catching fish in the middle; and to the south, Waliya, an exceedingly fertile and densely inhabited region, with forests and swamps that become vast lakes in the rainy season.

Whilst the army was at Diggera, the petty chief of Mandara, a region first made known by Major Denham, sent in his submission; whereupon the Sheikh retraced his steps, with a small part of the army, leaving the vizier to undertake an expedition into the Musgu country above described, accompanied by our travellers, who had thus an opportunity, although not a very agreeable one, of becoming acquainted with regions previously untrod by European feet.

Seeing that we were now, says Barth, entirely in the hands of the vizier, my companion and I used to present ourselves at his tent every morning, and to ride for some time near him. I, however, soon found it pleasanter to keep more in the rear of the army, a little in advance of his female slaves; and in the narrow paths in the midst of the forest, where the crowding became very disagreeable, I used to keep behind his led-horses. Of female slaves on horseback and led-horses, the vizier had with him the moderate number of eight of each kind, while the sheikh had twelve; but this appeared to me a small number when I afterwards saw the king of Bagirmi returning from the expedition with a string of forty-five mounted female partners. These black damsels were all clothed in white woollen bernuses, with their faces completely veiled, and were closely watched.

It was an exalted feeling of unrestrained liberty which animated me while, mounted on my noble charger, I rode silently along at the side of this motley

host, contemplating now the fine, beautiful country, now the rich scenes of human life, which were illumined by a bright morning sun. As yet no blood had been shed by this army, and neither misery, devastation, nor the horrors of people torn from their homes, cried out against it. Every one seemed to think only of sport and amusement. Now and then a stir would be raised in the whole army, when a gazelle started forth from the thicket, endeavouring to escape from her pursuers, but soon found herself hemmed in on every side, while Shuwa horsemen and Kanembu spearmen, each endeavouring to possess himself of the prize, cried out to his rivals in the pursuit, "Kolle, kolle!" "Leave off, leave off!" as if the prey was already his own, while others animated their companions by shouting out, "Gone, gone!" "Chase, chase!" the sounds re-echoing from one troop to another; or when a fat guinea-fowl, "kaji," or a partridge, "kwiye," roused from its secure covert, took to its wings, but, trying to fly over those widely-scattered troops of hostile men, and frightened by their cries, was soon obliged to look for a moment's respite, and, after a vain struggle, fell a prey to its pursuers, who often, while they laid hold of it, tore it actually into pieces.

At length, on Tuesday the 23rd of December, the expeditionary force entered the Musgu country, upon which occasion they were joined by Adishen, the Musgu chief, with a troop of naked horsemen, mounted on a breed of small, unseemly, but strong, ponies, without saddles or bridles, altogether, says Barth, presenting a most barbarous and savage spectacle. It was certainly a most primitive one. (*See* p. 112.) The proceedings of the motley and armed host now assumed a totally different aspect: pillage, plunder, slave kidnapping, devastation, and murder became the order of the day. This even in the villages belonging to Adishen, who enjoyed the friendship and protection of the rulers of Bornu. Arrived at Gabari, the northernmost part of the Musgu villages, all the people of the army, Barth says, were busy in threshing the grain which they had just gathered at the expense of their friends, and loading their horses with it. Even the fine nutritive grass from the borders of the swamp, which, woven into long festoons, the natives had stored up in the trees as a provision against the dry season, was carried off, and, notwithstanding the express order to the contrary, many a goat, fowl, and even articles of furniture which had been left behind by the natives, fell a prey to the greedy host.

The spectacle of this pillage was the most saddening, as the village not only presented an appearance of comfort, but exhibited, in a certain degree, the industry of its inhabitants. In general each court-yard contained a group of from three to six huts, according to the number of wives of the owner. The walls of the dwellings, without a single exception, were built of clay, which in the court-yards of the richer people even formed the building material of the fences. The roofs of the cottages were thatched with great care, and at least as well as in any house or village in Bornu, and far superior to the thatching of the Shuwa. The roofs even exhibited traces of various styles, and perhaps a certain gradation in the scale of society. Almost every court-yard inclosed a shed, besides the huts, and one granary, built of clay, and from twelve to 15 feet high, with an arched roof, likewise of clay, there being an opening at the top, which was protected by a small cover of thatching. The way in which the natives had stored up their supply of hay for the dry season was very remarkable, the rank grass being woven into festoons of about fifteen feet in length, and hung up in the korna-trees which adorned the fields.

A sketch, illustrative of the interior of a Musgu dwelling, is given at p. 113. Further on, and passing Barea, consisting of scattered huts, they reached another large Musgu village, the character of which is thus described. The architecture of the huts, and the whole arrangement of the yards, was very similar to that of the village we had first seen on entering the country. But the tops of the granaries in general were here provided with a sort of "fennel," covered in by a roof of straw. Broad well-trodden paths, lined by thick fences of a peculiar bush, called "magara" in Kanuri, which I have mentioned in another locality, were winding along through the fields in every direction. But there was one object which attracted my attention in particular, as it testified to a certain degree of civilisation, which might have shamed the proud Muhammadan inhabitants of these countries. For while the latter are extremely negligent in burying their dead, leaving them without any sufficient protection against the wild beasts so that most of them are devoured in a few days by the hyænas, here we had regular sepulchres, covered in with large well-rounded vaults, the tops of which were adorned by a couple of beams cross-laid, or by an earthen urn. The same sort of worship as paid by these pagans to their ancestors prevails in a great part of Africa, and however greatly the peculiar custom attached to the mode of worship may vary, the principle is the same; but I nowhere more regretted having no one at hand to explain to me the customs of these people, than I did on this occasion. The urn most probably contains the head of the deceased; but what is indicated by the cross-laid beams I cannot say.

I was so absorbed in contemplating this interesting scene, that I entirely forgot my own personal safety; for the vizier, without my becoming aware of it, had pursued the track on his powerful charger at an uncommonly quick rate, and was far in advance. Looking around me, I found only a small number of Shuwa horsemen near me, and keeping close to them pursued the path; but when we emerged from the thick forest, and entered another well-cultivated and thickly-peopled district, every trace of a trodden footpath ceased, and I became aware that I was entirely cut off from the main body of the army. A scene of wild disorder here presented itself. Single horsemen were roving about to and fro between the fences of the villages; here a poor native, pursued by sanguinary foes, running for his life in wild despair; there another dragged from his place of refuge; while a third was observed in the thick covert of a ficus, and soon became a mark for numerous arrows and balls. A small troop of Shuwa horsemen were collected under the shade of a tree, trying to keep together a drove of cattle which they had taken. In vain did I address Shuwa and Kanuri, anxiously inquiring what direction the commander-in-chief had taken; nobody was able to give me any information with regard to his whereabout. I therefore scoured the village in all directions, to see if I could find by myself the track of the army, but the traces ran in every direction.

It is to be observed that in the view given of this place, it has been thought fit not to represent the moment of destruction, but a preceding one of the

quiet life of the natives, the approaching misfortune being only indicated by the column of smoke in the back-ground.

At Kakala, one of the most considerable places in the Musgu country, Barth relates as follows. A large number of slaves had been caught this day; and in the course of the evening, after some skirmishing, in which three Bornu horsemen were killed, a great many more were brought in: altogether they were said to have taken one thousand, and there were certainly not less than five hundred. To our utmost horror, not less than one hundred and seventy full-grown men were mercilessly slaughtered in cold blood, the greater part of them being allowed to bleed to death, a leg having been severed from the body. Most of them were tall men, with not very pleasing features.

Adishen, the Musgu chief, had, in order not to be recognised during these savage proceedings as an ally of the enemies, shaved his head, in order to give to himself the appearance of a Moslim, and wore a tobe; but of his companions, only one had adopted this foreign garment, all the others having their loins girt with a leather apron. In order to keep themselves on horseback, they have recourse to a most barbarous expedient. They make a broad open wound on the back of their small sturdy ponies, in order to keep their seat; and when they want to ride at full speed, they often scratch or cut their legs in order to

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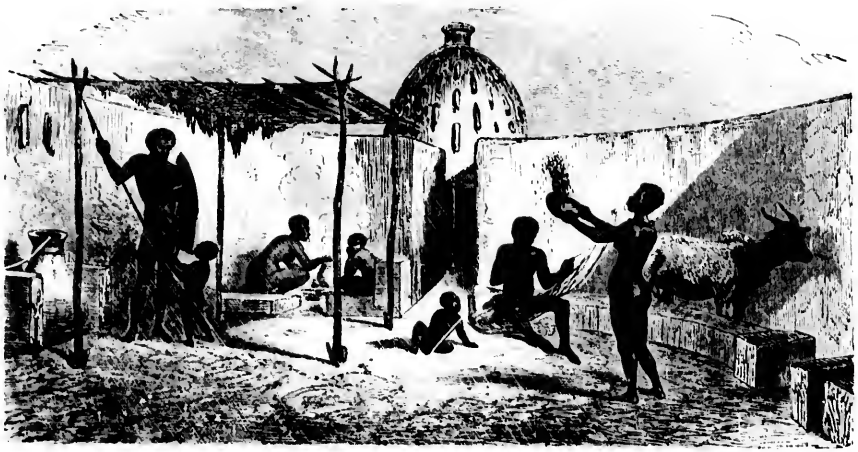
glue themselves to the horse's flanks by means of the blood which oozes from the wounds: for as I have stated above, they have neither saddle, stirrups, nor bridle, and they use nothing but a simple rope to guide their animals. They generally carry only one spear, but several "goliyo's" or hand-bills, the latter being evidently the best weapon, not even in close fight, but even at a distance, as they are very expert in throwing this sharp and double-pointed iron sideways, and frequently inflict severe wounds on the legs of horses as well as of men. Some of their chiefs protect their persons with a strong doublet made of buffalo's hide, with the hair inside. A Musgu chief, dressed in this last-described fashion, is represented above.

At length, on the 30th of December, the expedition came to its farthest southerly march. The Dawa and the Tuburi tribes, who dwelt beyond, were spared for discretionary reasons. This was at a place called Demmo, where was a large watercourse more than two miles in width. Greatly interested in the scene, we closely approached the edge of the water, which seemed to be of considerable depth, although a number of hungry Kanembu had passed the first open sheet, and were fishing in its more shallow part, which divided the open water into two branches. From beyond the opposite shore a whole forest of deleb-palms were towering over the other vegetation of lower growth, as if enticing us to come and enjoy their picturesque shade. The direction

of the watercourse at this spot was from S.W. to N.E.; and according to the unanimous statement of those who had any knowledge of these regions, it joins the Serbewuel, that is to say the upper course of the river or "ere" of Logon.

Here we stood awhile, and looked with longing eyes towards the opposite shore; it was a most interesting and peculiar scenery, highly characteristic of these level equatorial regions of Africa. What an erroneous idea had been entertained of these regions in former times! Instead of the massive mountain range of the moon, we had discovered only a few isolated mounts; instead of a dry desolate plateau, we had found wide and extremely fertile plains, less than one thousand feet above the level of the sea, and intersected by innumerable broad watercourses with scarcely any inclination. Only towards the south-east, at the distance of about sixteen miles, the low rocky mount of the Tuburi was seen. But not less interesting than the scenery of the landscape was the aspect of the host of our companions, who were here crowded together at the border of the water. Only very few of them had penetrated as far before; and they looked with curiosity and astonishment upon this landscape, while most of them were rather disappointed that the water prevented them from pursuing the poor pagans, the full-grown amongst whom, with few exceptions, had just had time to escape. But a considerable number of female slaves and young children were captured; for the men did not take to flight till they became aware, from the thick clouds of dust which were raised by the army, that it was not one of the small expeditions which they were accustomed to resist, that was coming to attack them. Besides the spoil in human beings, a considerable number of colts and cattle were brought in.



INTERIOR OF MUSGU DWELLING.

The great river of Logon, called in its upper part Serbewuel, was also visited from this place, and is thus described by Barth. After a short time we stood on the banks of the stream. It was a considerable river even at the present moment, although it was greatly below its highest level, and probably represented the mean depth of the whole year. At present it was about four hundred yards wide, and so deep that six Shuwa horsemen, who, in their eager desire for spoil, had ventured to enter it, were carried away by the stream, and fell an easy prey to about a dozen courageous pagans, who, in a couple of canoes, were gliding up and down the river to see what they could lay their hands upon. They felt that we were unable to follow them without canoes, although for any active body of men it would have been an easy affair to construct a few rafts for crossing over, there being a plentiful supply of timber.

The banks of the river on this side were at present about twenty-five feet high. The opposite shore was not so steep, and from its rich vegetation had a very inviting appearance; but I was glad, for the sake of the poor natives, that we were unable to reach it, and I think even our friend the Haj Beshir looked at this interesting landscape rather with a degree of scientific interest than with anger and disappointment. Unfortunately, on this occasion I had not taken my telescope with me, but I was so fortunate as still to get a sight of this river a little lower down.

Having stood here for a few minutes on the steep bank, looking down into the stream, which rolled unceasingly along, cutting off our further progress, we turned our horses' heads in the direction from which we had come, while our friends endeavoured to soothe their disappointment by saying that if the pagans had escaped from their hands, they would certainly not fail to fall into the power of their enemies, viz., the pagans who lived on the other side of the river under the protection of Bagirmi.

Speaking of this river, Barth says—Of course, in a

country politically rent into so many petty principalities, where every little community, as in ancient times in Latium and Greece, forms a separate little state in opposition to its neighbours, no considerable intercourse is possible, and those natural high roads with which nature has provided these countries, and the immense field therefore which is open in these regions to human industry and activity, must remain unproductive under such circumstances; but it will be turned to account as soon as the restless spirit of the European shall bring these countries within the sphere of his activity. This period must sooner or later come. Indeed, I am persuaded that in much less than fifty years European boats will keep up a regular annual intercourse between the great basin of the Tsad and the Bay of Biyafra.

An almost uninterrupted communication has been opened by nature herself; for, from the mouth of the Kwara to the confluence of the River Benuwe with the mayo Kebbi, there is a natural passage navigable without further obstruction for boats of about four feet in depth, and the mayo Kebbi itself, in its present shallow state, seems to be navigable for canoes, or flat-bottomed boats like those of the natives, which I have no doubt may, during the highest state of the inundation, go as far as Dawa in the Tuburi country, where Dr. Vogel was struck by that large sheet of water which to him seemed to be an independent central lake, but which is in reality nothing but a widening of the upper part of the mayo Kebbi.

It is very probable that from this place there may be some other shallow watercourse, proceeding to join the large ngaljom of Demmo, so that there would exist a real bifurcation between the basin of the Niger and that of the Tsad. But even if this should not be the case, the breadth of the water-parting between these two basins at the utmost cannot exceed twenty miles, consisting of an entirely level flat, and probably of alluvial soil, while the granitic region attached to that isolated rocky mountain which I have mentioned above may, most probably, be turned without difficulty. The level of the Tsad and that of the River Benuwe near Gewe, where it is joined by the mayo Kebbi, seem to be almost identical; at least, according to all appearance, the Benuwe at the place mentioned is not more than 850 or 900 feet above the level of the sea. All this bounty of nature will, I trust, one day be turned to account, though many changes must take place in this country before a regular and peaceful intercourse can be established. The very scenes which I witnessed are an unmistakable proof of the misery into which these regions are plunged.

This great slave expedition took its way back to Bornu by very short marches, and by a different but parallel route so as to have the plunder of new villages. The whole district, Barth relates, in which we had been roving about since the 30th December, belongs to Wuliya, which is decidedly one of the most fertile and best irrigated regions in the world.

A desolate border-district, consisting at times of green swampy ground uprooted by the footprints of the elephant, and on this account affording a very difficult passage for cavalry, at others of dense forest, the one following the other in rapid succession, separated Wuliya from another principality of the name of Bareu, and inhabited by a tribe of the Musgu of the name of Abare. It was characteristic of the little peaceful intercourse which exists among these various petty tribes, that the Abare did not seem to have had the slightest information of the approach of the expedition, till we suddenly came upon them through the dense forest, so that they had scarcely time to escape with their families from the village, and endeavour to hide themselves in the dense covert of the forest towards the east. They were pursued and overpowered, after a short resistance, by the continually increasing numbers of the enemy; and the booty of that day, chiefly in cattle, was rather considerable. Slaves were also brought in in considerable numbers, principally young boys and girls. The distance of the field of battle spared us the sight of the slaughter of the full-grown men.

This sad incident is made the subject of illustration at page 120. As a relief to it, one of a rather ludicrous character happened to the slavers at a village which lay straggling over a wide extent of ground, in separate groups of cottages, which were surrounded by stubble-fields, shaded by karage-trees of great richness and exuberance.

Of course, everyone was desirous of having his tent pitched in the shade of one of these beautiful trees, when suddenly the intruders were attacked by swarms of large bees, which, settling behind their ears, tormented them to the utmost, as if they wanted to take revenge for the mischief that had been done to their masters, and to defend their favourite resting-places against these cruel intruders. It is well known that swarms of bees had almost caused the destruction of Mungo Park's, as well as Major Gray's expedition; but here a whole army was running away from these little creatures. Even those who had encamped at a greater distance were only able to protect themselves by the large volumes of smoke which issued from the fires they had lighted. Before this, we had not observed the rearing of bees in this country; but here the larger trees were full of bee-hives, made of large-sized blocks. Even flocks of turtle-doves were not wanting in this fertile region, so rich in water and vegetation.

This melancholy expedition ended with the capture of some 3000 slaves and 16,000 head of cattle, and the only real relief to its horrible details are, that the account of it gives some insight into the habits and manners of Negroland, and that it opens to our acquaintance a richly watered zone of the equatorial regions, which had been supposed to form an insurmountable barrier of a high mountain chain, and industrious but persecuted tribes whose character had been represented as almost approaching that of wild beasts.

EXCURSION TO BAGIRMI — FROM KUKA TO THE NIGER – ACROSS COUNTRY TO TIMBUKTU, AND DOWN THE RIVER BACK—ONCE MORE ACROSS TO KUKA AND RETURN BY MURZUK.

XII.

Excursion to Bagirmi—Province of Kotoko—Little Kingdom of Logon—Rivers Logon and Shari—Difficulties of entering into Bagirmi—Noxious Insects—Travellers put in Irons—Arrive at Mas-sna—Description of the Capital—Lady Patients—Public Entrance of the Sultan—Return to Kuka—Death of Mr. Overweg.

The slave expedition against the Musgu returned to Kuka on the 1st of February, 1852, and, on the 4th of March, Barth started on a little less interesting and adventurous excursion to Bagirmi, a previously undescribed region, south-east of Lake Tsad. Overweg remained behind on this occasion, in order to explore the lake, and was destined to succumb to the fatal climate, in the course of a few months, at Maduwari. Our traveller's route lay at first along the western side of the lake, by the previously described towns of Ngornu and Yedi, and thence by its southern shores through a thickly populated country, in part cultivated and in part covered with dense forests, the abode more particularly of the wild boar and guinea-fowl, is the province of Kototo. This province, or little kingdom, is described as being in itself a group of distinct principalities, the independent character of which is clearly shown by the great diversity of its dialects, which vary with every large town, of which eight are enumerated by name. The first of these, on the way from the West Ngala, presented a very peculiar character, all the ancient quarter of the town consisting of clay houses, built on an imposing and elevated terrace. The palace of the governor was indeed something stupendous for these regions, having, with its immense substructure and its large towering walls, the appearance of a large citadel. Ren, the next town in succession, was formerly a considerable place, but is now almost deserted, and the wall has fallen to ruins; the aspect of the place is, however, very picturesque, beautiful and wide-spreading fig-trees shading the ruins of high well-built clay houses. Afade, the chief town of the province, was scarcely better off, being one heap of rubbish, from which only here and there a building in tolerable repair started forth; the greatest ornament of the place being a most magnificent fig-tree. I scarcely ever, says Barth, remember to have seen such a noble and luxuriant specimen of this family of the vegetable kingdom. Spreading its vast impenetrable canopy of the freshest and most beautiful green over a great part of the square in front of the lofty ruins of the governor's palace, it formed the chief lounging-place for the idle loiterers in this once industrious and wealthy town. A large proportion of the population of the province of Afade consists of Shuwa Arabs. All these towns were very inconvenient to travellers, their gates not being large enough for loaded camels to pass through.

The province of Kototo was succeeded by that of Logon or Logone, previously noticed in the expedition to Musgu, and the first town belonging to this territory —Kala—was in a state of decay. The boys were in a state of entire nudity, a thing hardly ever seen in Bornu, but the dwellings, instead of being round conical huts, were spacious oblong houses of clay of considerable elevation. This town stood in a beautiful grove of fig-trees, and were ever towered by some remarkably lofty fan-palms. The next town, Ulluf, was similarly circumstanced, but the caravan did not enter, it being ill-famed for the witchcraft and sorcery of the inhabitants.

On the 13th of March, our traveller reached Logon Birni, the capital of the province situated on the banks of the river of same name, a tributary to Lake Tsad. The interior of the town, where we entered it, had not a very animated appearance. The cottages, belonging evidently to the poorer classes of people, are in a wretched condition; and the only animation which the scenery presented was due to a group of dum-palms, towering over this poor quarter from the north side. The character of the place improved, however, as we advanced; the streets were tolerably large, and I was struck with the appearance of the principal street, or dendal, which is formed by the palace of the sultan or miyara, towards the south, and the house of the Keghamma or Ibalaghwan, towards the north.

The entrance to the palace of the sultan—the "raana miyara" in the kelaku Logon or language of Logon—is towards the east, where there is an open square, shaded by a few trees; here I was obliged to wait a long time on horseback, while my quarters were getting ready, for etiquette did not allow me to dismount. The sun was very powerful, and my situation not exactly pleasant; but it afforded me some amusement to observe the flights of falcons and other birds, who were nestling in the top of a group of tall dum-palms which towered above the walls of the mosque opposite the palace.

The river here is about 350 to 400 yards wide, and is navigated by boats under the charge of a so-called water-king. But no traffic, except between the nearest places is kept up. It is to be observed that Major Denham previously got as far as this capital of a little kingdom, the very existence of which was denied by so eminent a man as M. Fresnel a few years ago. The sultan of Logon treated Barth with exceeding kindness and hospitality, so much so, indeed, as to have had a bad effect upon his future proceedings, for the people of Bagirmi were foolish enough to fancy, that if he should enter their own country in the absence of the ruler, he might create a party for himself.

When crossing the Logon, on the way to Bagirmi, Barth saw naked young lads splashing and playing about in the water, together with wild boars in the greatest harmony, and calves and goats were pasturing in the fields, with wild hogs in the midst of them Passing the half-deserted town of Bata, our traveller relates, I had gone on a little in advance, when suddenly I beheld, through the branches of the trees, the splendid sheet of a large river, far larger than that of Logon. All was silence; and the pellucid surface of the water undisturbed by the slightest breeze · ne

vestiges of human or animal life were to be seen, with the exception of two river-horses (called "niye" by the people of Logon), which, having been basking in the sun on the shore, plunged into the water at our approach. This, then, was the real Shari, that is to say the great river of the Kotoko (for Shari, as I have said before, means nothing else but river), which, augmented by the smaller but very considerable river of Logon, forms that large basin which gives to this part of Negroland its characteristic feature.

The boatmen at the ford of Asu refusing to take our traveller across, he was obliged to try another place, and only ultimately succeeded at one—Mele by name—where he was not expected. The river was at this point not less than 600 yards in width. After proceeding a short distance hence, he was brought back by the head man of Mele, who would not allow him to continue his journey, but permitted him to send a messenger to the capital to obtain the sanction of the sultan to his travelling in the empire of Bagirmi. On the 25th of March the messenger returned with orders from the lieutenant-governor that he should be removed to Bugoman, higher up the river, until the sultan's own feelings had been consulted on the matter. During this detention on the river, Barth observed that it not only abounded in fish and crocodiles, but was also frequented by the rhinoceros and a large river cow (the ayu of the Benuwe and Niger, Manatus Vogelii), and a species of which, noticed by Burckhardt in Nubia may possibly have been the behemoth, the Hebrew name of which is inconsistent with that of the river-horse or hippopotamus, which is always spoken of in the masculine gender.

Being sent back from Bugoman, no alternative remained to our traveller but to pursue his way into the interior, which he accomplished successfully as far as the village of Bakada, whence he once more sent off a messenger. In no country, says Barth, in the whole extent of Negroland which I have travelled over, have I seen such vast numbers of destructive worms, and such a predominance of ants, as in Bagirmi. There is especially a large black worm called "hallu-wendi," as long as the largest grub, but much bigger, which, swarming in millions, consumes an immense proportion of the produce of the natives. Bu Bakr showed me also another far smaller, but not less voracious insect, which they call "kunjungjudu," a beetle about half an inch long, and of a yellow colour; but the poor natives, like the inhabitants of other countries in the case of the locust, do not fail to take their revenge, for when the insect has grown fat and big at their expense, they devour it themselves—a habit which may be one of the numerous relics of their former pagan existence, it being still a general custom with the Sokoro to eat a large species of beetle called "dernana."

With the white and black ants I myself waged repeatedly a relentless but unsuccessful war during my residence in the country. Already, the second day of my stay in Bakada, I observed that the white ant was threatening my couch, which I had spread upon a very coarse mat, made of the thickest reed, with total destruction. I therefore, for want of a better protection, contrived an expedient which I thought would guarantee my berth against the further attacks of those cruel intruders, placing my couch upon three very large poles; but I soon had cause to discover that those ferocious insects were not to be deterred by such means, for two days afterwards, I found that they had not only built their entrenchments along the poles, and reached the top, but had eaten through both the coarse mats, finished a large piece of my Stambuli carpet, and destroyed several other articles. And during my further stay here I had the greatest trouble in preventing these insects from destroying all my things, for their voracity and destructive powers seem to increase towards the beginning of the rainy season, which was fast setting in. Add to this, there is a sort of worm, differing from the guinea-worm, which dwells in the little toe, and eats it gradually away, beginning at the joint, so that the limb has the appearance of being tied with a thread. This disease is so general hereabouts, that amongst ten people you will find at least one who has only four toes.

Wearied with waiting at this unpropitious spot, Barth made up his mind to attempt to retrace his steps, but no sooner had he arrived at Mele, than he was forcibly detained, put in irons, and deprived of his arms and luggage. A worthy man, Bu-Bakr Sadek, who had made the pilgrimage to Mekka, came to his relief in this extremity, and not only set him free, but promised that he should visit the capital without further delay. The worthy Haj kept his promise, and on the 27th of April our traveller, after all his trials and discouragements, reached its capital, Maa-ena. As we were proceeding onwards, he relates, we suddenly obtained a view over a green depression clad with the finest verdure, and interspersed with the ruins of clay houses. This, then, was Mas-ena, the capital. It presented the same ruined appearance as the rest of the country. The town was formerly much larger; and the wall had been carried back, but it was still far too large for the town, and in the utmost state of decay. Ruined by a most disastrous civil war, and trodden down by its neighbours, the country of Bagirmi seems to linger till it is destined either to rise again, or to fall a prey to the first invader.

However, I was not allowed to enter the holy precinct of this ruined capital without further annoyance; for, being obliged to send a message to the lieutenant-governor, announcing my arrival, I was made to wait more than an hour and a half outside the gate, although there was not the least shade. I was then allowed to make my humble entrance. Only a few human beings were to be seen; and open pasture-grounds extended to a considerable distance, principally on the right side towards the south. We then entered the inhabited quarter, and I was lodged in a clay house standing in an open court-yard, which was likewise fenced by a low clay wall. The house contained an airy front room well suited to my taste, and four small chambers at the back, which were certainly not very airy, but were useful for stowing away luggage and provisions.

The town of Mas-ena extends over a considerable area, the circumference of which measures about seven miles; but only about half of this area is inhabited, the principal quarter being formed in the midst of the town on the north and west sides of the palace of the sultan, while a few detached quarters and isolated yards lie straggling about as outposts. The most characteristic feature of the place consists in a deep trough-like depression or bottom, stretching out to a great length, and intersecting the town from east to west, in the same manner as the town of Kano is intersected by the Jakara; for this hollow of the capital of Bagirmi, after the rainy season, is filled with water, and on this account is called "beda" by the

natives, and "el bahr" by the Arabs, while during part of the dry season it is clothed with the richest verdure. It is remarkable that not only in this respect the town of Mas-ena resembles that of Kano, but, like the great market-place of Hausa, its surface is also broken by many other hollows, which contain the wells, and during the rainy season are changed into deep ponds, which, by accumulating all the refuse of the town, cause a great deal of insalubrity; but in general the soil, consisting of sand, dries very quickly after a fall of rain.

Dilapidated as was the appearance of the whole town, it had a rather varied aspect, as all the open grounds were enlivened with fresh pasture; but there is no appearance of industry, and the whole has the character of a mere artificial residence of the people immediately connected with the court. The market-place is rather small, and not provided with a single stall, the people being obliged to protect themselves as well as they can, by forming a new temporary shed every market-day. The most interesting aspect is afforded by the beda, or bahr, which is bordered on the south-west side by a few picturesque groups of dum-palms and other trees and fine foliage, while at the western end, near the market-place, there is a large extent of kitchen-gardens, as well as near the south-eastern extremity. In consequence of the peculiar nature of the beda, the direct communication between

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the northern and southern quarters, which during the dry season is kept up by a good path, seems to be occasionally interrupted during the rains.

The construction of the houses in general is good, and the thatchwork of the roofs formed with great care, and even with neatness; but the clay is of rather a bad description for building, and the clay houses afford so little security during the rainy season, that most people prefer residing during that part of the year in the huts of reeds and straw: and I myself had sufficient opportunity of becoming acquainted with the frail character of these structures. There are, however, some pretty-looking houses on the road to Abu-Gher.

The walls of the town, in most places, are in a state of great decay, so that the gates in reality have lost all importance, nevertheless there are still nine gates, or rather openings, in use. Most of them lie on the south side, while there is not a single gate towards the north, this quarter of the town being so deserted that it is even overgrown with dense underwood. All around the place, as well on the south side, where a large pond is formed in the rainy season, as on the other sides, there are villages inhabited by Shuwa or Shiwa (native Arabs), principally of the tribe of the Beni Hassan, who supply the town with milk and butter.

Our traveller's time was much occupied during his

stay here in administering medicines to the people, and not only did the women of the commonalty come to consult, but the princesses also, or the daughters of the absent king, who in this country too bear the title of "mairam" or "meram," called upon him occasionally, under the pretext of wanting some medicines. Amongst others, there came one day a buxom young maiden, of very graceful but rather coquettish demeanour, accompanied by an eldest sister, of graver manners and fuller proportions, and complained to me that she was suffering from a sore in her eyes, begging me to see what it was; but when, upon approaching her very gravely, and inspecting her eyes rather attentively without being able to discover the least defect, I told her that all was right, and that her eyes were sound and beautiful, she burst out into a roar of laughter, and repeated, in a coquettish and flippant manner, "Beautiful eyes, beautiful eyes. He says I have got beautiful eyes!"

At length, on the 3rd of July, the sultan returned to his capital, and his entrance forms the subject of the illustration, page 105. It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the army approached the south side of the town, displaying a great deal of gorgeous pomp and barbaric magnificence, although it was not very numerous, being reduced to the mere number of the inhabitants of the capital, the remainder having already dispersed in all directions, and returned to their respective homes. Thus there were not more than from 700 to 800 horsemen, or "malasinda;" but my friend the sherif Sliman (who, exasperated at the bad treatment of the lieutenant-governor, had left the capital to join the expedition, and who, as far as I had an opportunity of trying him, was not inclined to exaggerate) assured me that, even on their return, the army mustered at least two thousand horsemen.

At the head of the troop, as having supplied the place of his master during his absence, in his character of lieutenant-governor, rode the kadamange, surrounded by a troop of horsemen. Then followed the barma, behind whom was carried a long spear of peculiar make, which in the history of this country forms a very conspicuous object, being meant originally to represent an idol, which is said to have been transplanted from the parent state Kenga Mataya, and evidently bore a great resemblance to the "fete" of the Marghi and Musgu. Just in front of the sultan rode the facha, or commander-in-chief, who is the second person in the kingdom, similar to the keghamma in the old empire of Bornu, and who in former times possessed extraordinary power. The sultan himself wore a yellow bernus, and was mounted upon a gray charger, the excellence of which was scarcely to be distinguished, it being dressed in war-cloth, or libbedi, of various-coloured stripes, such as I have described on my expedition to Musgu. Even the head of the sultan himself was scarcely to be seen, not only on account of the horsemen riding in front and around him, but more particularly owing to two umbrellas, the one of green and the other of red colour, which a couple of slaves carried on each side of his majesty.

Six slaves, their right arm clad in iron, were fanning him with ostrich feathers attached to long poles; and round about him rode five chieftains, while on his right were seen the gheletma and other principal men of the country. This whole group round the prince formed such a motley array, that it was impossible to distinguish all the particular features with accuracy; but, as far as I was able to make out from the description of the natives, there were about thirty individuals clad in bernuses, while the others wore nothing but black or blue-coloured shirts, and had their heads mostly uncovered. Close behind this group followed the war camel, upon which was mounted the drummer, "kodganga," who was exerting his skill upon two kettle-drums which were fastened on each side of the animal; and near him rode three musicians, two of whom carried a buki, "kaja," or small horn, and a third a jojo, or "zozo," a sort of double derabuka, or Indian tom-tom.

However grotesque the appearance of the royal cavalcade, that part of the procession which followed was more characteristic of the barbaric magnificence, and whole manner of living, of these African courts. It consisted of a long uniform train of forty-five favourite female slaves, or concubines, "habbabat," of the sultan, mounted on horseback, and dressed from top to toe in black native cloth, each having a slave on either side. The procession terminated in a train of eleven camels carrying the luggage. The number of the infantry or "malaja" was also limited, as most of them had returned to their respective homes. But, on the other hand, almost all the people of the town had come out to see the victorious army on their return.

This day, however, the sultan did not enter the capital, but, in conformity with the sacred custom of the kings of this country on their return from an expedition, was obliged to encamp among the ruins of the oldest quarter on the west side of the town; and it was not until Sunday the 4th day of July, about noon, that he made his solemn entry. This time, however, the "habbabat" did not form part of the procession, having entered the town somewhat early in the morning; but their absence was atoned for by the presence of a greater number of horsemen, and behind the drummer on camel's back followed an interesting warlike train, consisting of fifteen fiery chargers, all clad in "libbedi," or war-cloth, and better adapted, it would seem, to the serious game of Mars, than the train of lovely damsels.

On this occasion, the banga led in his triumphant procession seven pagan chiefs, amongst whom that of Gogomi was the most conspicuous person, and the greatest ornament of the triumph, being not less remarkable for his tall, stately figure than on account of his having been the ruler of a considerable pagan state, with a capital in an almost inaccessible position. He excited the interest of the savage and witty Bagirmi people, by submitting with a great deal of good humour to his fate, which was certainly not very enviable, as it is the custom in this country either to kill or to emasculate these princely prisoners, after having conducted them for some time through all the court-yards of the palace, while allowing the wives and female slaves of the sultan to indulge their capricious and wanton dispositions in all sorts of fun with them.

The Sultan bade our traveller welcome, repudiated the ill-treatment he had received at the hands of his people, and granted him an audience, he being all the time seated behind a screen. But still Barth's position in this country, where under the veil of Islamism a

greater amount of superstitious ideas prevail than in many of the Pagan countries, was far from being pleasant. He was at one moment looked upon as a spy, and at another as one possessed of gifts and charms that could rob even the Sultan himself of his life. He had also received despatches from Europe, and was anxious to return to Kuka on his way to the Niger; so after the delays inevitable at a court and government so constituted, he at length effected a start on the 10th of August, and after recrossing the Shari at Mele, at that time swollen to a thousand yards in width, and traversing those swamps of Logon and Kotoko which are no doubt the reason for the people dwelling in high houses and lofty terraces, he reached Kuka on the 20th of the same month. Mr. Overweg, who had in the meantime made a very interesting trip to the mountainous districts south-west of Bornu, looked more weak and exhausted than Barth says he had ever seen him.

Being fully aware of the unhealthiness of the climate during the month of September, we agreed by common consent to keep moving about as much as possible, and to take a ride every day to some distance. It was on this account that we arranged a visit to Dawerghu on Sunday the 20th; but, unfortunately, some business which we had to transact prevented our setting out at an early hour in the morning, and, my friend's head being that day rather affected, I proposed to him putting off our excursion till another day; but he thought that the fresh air might do him good. We therefore started in the heat of the day, although the sun was not very bright, while my companion did not neglect to protect his head as well as possible from the rays of the sun.

Having refreshed ourselves in the cool shade of a fine hajilij, Mr. Overweg thought himself strong enough to go about shooting, and was so imprudent as to enter deep water in pursuit of some waterfowl, and to remain in his wet clothes all the day without saying a word; and I only became aware of this fact late in the evening, after we had returned to the town, when he dried his wet clothes at the fire.

Although he had been moving about the whole day, he was not able to enjoy our simple supper; but he did not complain. However, the next morning he felt so weak that he was unable to rise from his couch; and instead of taking a sudorific, which I most earnestly advised him to do, he was so obstinate as not to take any medicine at all, so that his illness increased with an alarming rapidity, and rather an alarming symptom appeared on the following day, when his speech became quite inarticulate and almost unintelligible. He then became aware himself of the dangerous state he was in. He informed me that in the town he should never recover, that it was absolutely necessary for him to get a change of air, and that he entertained the hope that, if I could take him to Maduwari, he might speedily regain his health in the house of our friend the kashella Fugo Ali.

It was a difficult task to take my sick companion to the desired place, which is distant from Kukawa more than eight miles; and though he began his journey on Thursday morning, he was not able to reach it until the morning of Friday. Having made a present to our friend Fugo Ali, that he might be induced to take sufficient care of him, and having left the necessary orders, I returned to the town in order to finish my despatches; but the same evening one of the servants whom I had left with Mr. Overweg, came and informed me that he was much worse, and that they were unable to understand a single word he said. I mounted immediately, and found my friend in a most distressing condition, lying outside in the courtyard, as he had obstinately refused to sleep in the hut. He was bedewed with a cold perspiration, and had thrown off all his coverings. He did not recognise me, and would not allow me or anyone else to cover him. Being seized with a terrible fit of delirium, and muttering unintelligible words, in which all the events of his life seemed to be confused, he jumped up repeatedly in a raging fit of madness, and rushed against the trees and into the fire, while four men were scarcely able to hold him.

At length, towards morning, he became more quiet, and remained tranquilly on his couch; and, not becoming aware that his strength was broken, and hoping that he might have passed the crisis, I thought I might return to the town. After asking him if he had any particular desire, he said that he had something to tell me; but it was impossible for me to understand him, and I can only fancy, from what happened, that, being aware that death was at hand, he wanted to recommend his family or some particular friend to me.

At an early hour on Sunday morning, Mr. Overweg's chief servant came to me with the sad news that the state of my friend was very alarming, and that since I had left him he had not spoken a word, but was lying motionless. I mounted immediately on horseback; but before I reached the place, I was met by a brother of Fugo Ali, who, with tears in his eyes, told me that our friend was gone. With the dawn of day, while a few drops of rain were falling, after a short struggle, his soul had departed.

In the afternoon I laid him in his grave, which was dug in the shade of a fine hajilij, and well protected from the beasts of prey. Thus died my sole friend and companion, in the thirtieth year of his age, and in the prime of his youth. It was not reserved for him to finish his travels, and to return home in safety; but he met a most honourable death, as a martyr to science; and it is a remarkable fact that he found himself a grave on the very borders of that lake by the navigation of which he has rendered his name celebrated for ever. It was certainly a presentiment of his approaching death which actuated him in his ardent desire to be removed to this place, where he died hard by the boat in which he had made his voyage. Many of the inhabitants of the place, who had known him well during his repeated visits to the village, bitterly lamented his death; and no doubt the "tabib," as he was called, will be long remembered by them.

Dejected, and full of sad reflections on my lonely situation, I returned into the town in the evening; but our dwelling, which during my stay in Bagirmi my companion had greatly improved, and embellished by white-washing it with a kind of gypsum, of which he found a layer in our courtyard, now appeared to me desolate and melancholy in the extreme. While, therefore, originally it had been my plan to make another trial along the eastern shores of the Tsad, any longer stay in this place had now become so into-

lerable to me, that I determined to set out as soon as possible on my journey towards the Niger—to new countries and new people.

XIII.

START FOR THE NIGER—RIVER VALLEY OF BORNU—HILLY TERRITORY OF MUNIYO—ARRIVE AT SOKOTO—RAPACIOUS CHIEF OF GANDO—RIVER OF SOKOTO AND ITS TOWNS—REACH THE VALLEY OF THE NIGER—TERRITORY OF GURMA—THE SONGHAY LANGUAGE—QUADRANGULAR TOWERS—IRON FURNACES—PROVINCE OF LIBTAKO—DOBE, ITS CAPITAL—A FALSE ALARM.

THE death of Mr. Overweg induced our traveller to relinquish his original plan of once more trying his fortune in Kanem, and on the north east shores of the Tsad, as an undertaking too dangerous for him in his isolated position, and to direct his whole attention towards the west, in order to explore the countries situated on the middle course of the great western river, the Isa, or the so-called Niger; the first point in view being the town of Say, situated on that river, considerably to the south-east of Timbuktu, and the second and the main object of his journey being to reach the latter semi-mysterious city itself. With this view our enterprising traveller left Kuka, which had been his head-quarters for upwards of twenty months, on the 26th of November, 1852, accompanied by a small party, consisting of an Arab sherif from Fas (Fez) going to Zinder, a native of Jalo, who was to serve as mediator with the natives, five Mussulman attendants, freemen, and two liberated slaves, Dyrrgu, a Hausa boy, and Abbega, a Marghi lad, of whose interesting appearance we are favoured by facsimiles.

The weather at this time of the year was cool, the nights being positively cold; and it is a very important

PLUNDERING A MUSGU VILLAGE.

point to establish, that, notwithstanding its black inhabitants, that part of the interior of Africa which comprises the fertile plains of Negroland, so far removed from the influence of the sea (which is warmer in winter than land) forms, according to Dr. Barth, with regard to the cold season, an insulated cool space in the tropical regions, thereby differing much from the warm climates of the West Indies, and the coasts and islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In addition to this pleasant change of temperature, and the unbounded delight with which the traveller felt himself once more in open country, was to be added the pleasing aspect of the land, the bleak and dreary hollows of black, argillaceous soil, seen on the first journey from Kano to Kuka, being now changed into the richest corn fields, and waving with luxuriant crops of masakwa, while the fields of small millet stood in stubble. The whole party were thus in the best spirits at starting, cheerful and full of expectation of the novelties, both in human life and nature, that were to be disclosed in the unknown regions in the far west.

On the 1st of December they reached the Komadugu, or river-valley of Bornu, presenting, with its network of channels and thick forests, a difficult passage after the rainy season. Fine groups of trees began to appear, and droves of Guinea fowl enlivened the landscape. The way in which the Komadugu, assisted probably by artificial means, spread over the whole region, was very remarkable. The passage of this swampy district at this season of the year, covered as it was with the thickest forest, was extremely difficult, and after visiting Ghasr-eggomo, the site of the ancient capital of the Bornu empire, Barth had to make a very large circuit in order to reach the village of Zengiri, where the river could be most easily crossed.

Passing hence Ngurutuwa, where poor Richardson

MARKET AT SOKOTO.

died, they entered the province of Manga, the Arab merchant being robbed on the way by the thievish natives of his woollen blanket, the thieves dragging him along in it to a distance, till he was forced to let go. The walled town of Gesma; Zurrikulo, "the queen of the region of the dum-palm;" Kechidumiya, "the sweetness of the world;" and other places with pleasant names, led the way to the hilly territory of Muniyo, whilst proceeding through which they were joined by parties of native traders, who carried their merchandise on their heads—a very primitive mode of commercial intercourse. This was an agreeable country to travel through, with wooded hills, salt, natron, and fresh-water lakes, towns and villages, and cultivated or pasture lands, enlivened by herds of camels, horses, cattle, sheep, and goats.

Our traveller arrived on the 25th of December at Zinder, a busy commercial mart, "the gate of Sudan," as he calls it, and where he rested, for some time, awaiting supplies, which duly made their appearance on the 20th of January, and with which he made such purchases of common red bernuses, white turbans, looking-glasses, cloves, razors, chaplets, and other things as he deemed best fitted to advance the further object he had in view. He afterwards added largely to his stock at Katsena, where, besides the cotton and silk manufactures of Kano and Nupe, he provided himself with the staple commodity of the place, leather water-skins, and skins for covering the luggage, besides two hundred and thirty-two black shawls for covering the face—the best presents for the Tawareck; seventy-five turkedis, or woman-cloths; fifty-five black tobes, and tobacco of the place, much in esteem, even in Timbuktu; and all articles adapted to pave the way through the countries on the middle course of the Niger, where nothing is esteemed more highly than these native manufactures.

The disturbed state of the country obliged our traveller to make a considerable détour in proceeding from Katsena to Sokoto. The sultan having taken up his residence at Wurno, a place of some 12,000 to 13,000 inhabitants (Sokoto has 20,000 to 22,000), Dr. Barth was detained for some time at that place before visiting the capital of the empire of the Fulbe or Fellani—the most intelligent of all the African tribes, although surpassed in physical attributes by the Jolof—and the city where the unfortunate Clapperton died (*See* p. 121).

Once passed Sokoto, our traveller's steps led him into almost unknown regions, never before trodden by European foot. His journey lay, as usual, in great part through densely inhabited districts, well cultivated with yams and corn, and on the 17th of May he reached Gando, the residence of another powerful Fulbe or Pullo prince. Unfortunately, Khalilu, as this sultan was called, was a fanatic, most inaccessible to a European and a Christian. An Arab, who had gained influence at the court of this bigot, acted as go-between the traveller and the chieftain; and hence, not only did difficulties arise, and long negotiations become necessary, to obtain permission to prosecute his journey, but the doctor was mulcted out of a considerable portion of his stores before he could satisfy the rapacity of the chief and his satellites. Gando itself, although the capital of a number of wealthy provinces, all lying along that great West African river which opens such an easy access into the continent, is neither a very populous nor commercial place.

At length, on Saturday, June 4th, Dr. Barth was allowed to proceed on his journey, which now promised to become of overwhelming interest, as he was approaching that great African river which has been the object of so much discussion and of individual ambition for so long a period. Unfortunately, the rainy season had set in, and the traveller's progress was slow. His way lay at first through districts as populous as usual with extensive fields of rice, and large herds of cattle. At the villages of Kambasa and Badda-badda greater variety was observed, and in the same rich valley, along which flowed a tributary to Gulbi-n-Sokoto, or the Sokoto river, yams and tobacco were cultivated, and a few herds of elephants were observed. The capital of the province of Kebbi, called Birni-n-Kebbi, was at the mouth of this valley. It consists of two towns—the old town, in ruins, and the new town, which Dr. Barth describes as being thickly inhabited, but far from presenting that cheerful aspect which is peculiar to most of the towns in the same regions, as it is almost bare of trees.

Passing Kola, a town of four thousand inhabitants, Jugguru, only remarkable for its numerous horses and many snakes, and Diggi, with its rice-fields, our traveller attained the valley of the river of Sokoto, beyond which were two goodly towns—Tilli, with six thousand inhabitants, and Zogirma, the residence of Hamed Burtu, one of the most powerful chiefs of the district. At that time the so-called river of Sokoto was nothing but a shallow swampy valley, intersected by broken sheets of stagnant water; but in the month of September the whole valley is flooded by a river of considerable breadth.

Beyond Zogirma lay extensive forests and wildernesses unsafe to the traveller, who was thus obliged to obtain an escort from Hamed Burtu, described as a very decent-looking man, of from fifty to sixty years of age, with almost European features, but with rather a melancholy expression of countenance. The escort did not, however, venture further than the town of Kalliyul, situated on the valley of Fogha, and which valley constitutes the boundary between the Hausa and Sunghay languages. The chief of Kalliyul gave the wanderer a kindly reception, and he was enabled to continue his journey without serious interruption, until his patience and perseverance were rewarded on the 20th of June by his reaching the valley of the Niger.

We were, he says, now close to the Niger; and I was justified in indulging in the hope that I might the next day behold with my own eyes that great river of Western Africa, which has caused such intense curiosity in Europe, and the upper part of the large eastern branch of which I had myself discovered. Elated with such feelings, I set out the next morning at an early hour; and after a march of little less than two hours, through a rocky wilderness covered with dense bushes, I obtained the first sight of the river, and in less than an hour more, during which I was in constant sight of this noble spectacle, I reached the place of embarkation, opposite the town of Say. (*See* p. 129.)

In a noble unbroken stream, though here, where it has become contracted, only about 700 yards broad, hemmed on this side by a rocky bank of from twenty to thirty feet in elevation, the great river of Western Africa (whose name, under whatever form it may appear, whether Dhiuliba, Mayo, Eghirreu, Isa, Kwara, or Baki-n-ruwa, means nothing but "the river," and which, therefore, may well continue to be called the

Niger) was gliding along, in a N.N.E. and S.S.W. direction, with a moderate current of about three miles an hour. On the flatter shore opposite, a large town was spreading out, the low rampart and huts of which were picturesquely overtopped by numbers of slender dum-palms. This is the river-town, or "ford," the name Say meaning in this eastern dialect, "the river." The Fulbe call it Ghutil, which name may originally have been applied to the ford at the island of Oitilli. The banks at present were not high; but the river, as it rises, approaches the very border of the rocky slope.

As Dr. Barth could not proceed from the town of Say up the river, which here formed the limit between the tolerably known regions of Central Negroland and the totally unexplored countries on the south-western side of its course, he was obliged to follow a north-westerly direction, exchanging, however, in so doing, the low regions on which Say stood—the very bed of fever—for the more healthy and hilly country of Gurma. In this country a new language—the Songhay—was spoken, so that the long and tedious labour of acquiring the Fulbe went now for nothing, and our persevering traveller had to set to work to learn the rudiments of another tongue. His entrance into this hilly region was ushered in by a terrible thunderstorm, accompanied with a most fearful sand-wind, which enveloped the whole district in the darkness of night, and made progress, for a time, quite impossible. The prevalence of such storms must, we should fancy, somewhat imperil the navigation of the Central Niger, especially to light craft.

At Champagore, the first town Dr. Barth came to in Gurma, he met with a novel feature in African architecture, and which we afterwards observe in all the views of Gurma, Mas-ena, or Songhay, and of the great city of Timbuktu itself. This was the occurrence of towers, or quadrangular buildings, raised a few feet from the ground in order to protect them from the ants. They are used as magazines for corn, and at Champagore were from ten to fifteen feet in height, and about six feet in diameter, the walls gradually sloping inwards towards the top.

Beyond this the country was hilly, but intersected with water-courses, and generally tolerably well cultivated as well as thickly inhabited. It was also adorned, here and there, with baobab-trees, and a fine leafy tree called haruna. These people smelted iron in very primitive furnaces, about six feet high and a foot and a half in diameter at the base. A large quantity of wood ashes were placed on the iron-stone, and the draught being considerable, it soon melted, and was received by three different channels in a basin below. As our traveller proceeded onwards, the country became more wild, at times dry, without any fresh pasture grounds, or rugged and broken by small rocky ridges, at others clothed with fine pasture, interspersed with flowers, in whose sweet blossoms numerous butterflies were indulging; at others, again, dense forests, with corn-fields now and then interrupting the thick growth of talha-trees and prickly underwood, while occasionally a baobab or a tamarind-tree gave greater variety to the scenery. Elephants, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses inhabited this half-wild, half-cultivated, or pastoral district, the latter animal being apparently wanting in the region between the Niger and Lake Tsad.

On the 2nd of July, the River Sirba, a tributary to the Niger, was crossed on bundles of reeds which they had to tie together themselves; and, after getting through the swamps, our traveller entered upon a wooded, rocky country, with occasional tracts of pasture and cultivated land. Indigo and cotton were seen by the side of some of the ponds. This part of Africa is described as rather poor in flowers, yet were these dense jungles of tall reed-grass interspersed with blue and yellow flowers, rank grass variegated by blue cruciferæ, and a liliacea, so plentiful in some places that it formed, as it were, a rich carpet. One of the servants was here attacked by the Guinea worm, which at times, Dr. Barth says, "rendered him the most disagreeable person in the world."

On the 6th, they reached the clay-walled town of Sebba, the capital of the small province of Yagha, and consisting of pleasant-looking huts, but terribly infested with ants. The corn was here preserved in large-sized clay jars, and great havoc was made with the travellers' luggage. Soon after leaving Sebba—the capital of the wilderness, as Barth calls it—our travellers entered the province of Libtako, the south-eastern limit of the range of commerce of Timbuktu. This new province presented the usual alternating dry and rocky lands, forests, and pastoral and cultivated districts. At the town of Namantugu, Barth fell in with a strange character, an Arab from the west, who spoke Fulfulde, Songhay, Mosi, and Bambara fluently, and Temashight, or the language of the Tawarek or Berbers, slightly, and who, despite the sad tricks he subsequently played the traveller, was of some use to him, from his knowledge of the country and of the different languages spoken; and it was partly by his instrumentality that he was even enabled to enter the town of Timbuktu. He called himself Sheikho, but Barth called him El Walati.

On the 12th of July our travellers reached Dore, the capital of Libtako, situated on an immense plain, feeding numerous flocks of gazelles. The appearance of the town itself created much disappointment, presenting, as it did, unmistakable signs of misery and decay; the wall by which it had been formerly surrounded being nothing but a disgusting heap of rubbish, while the whole place exhibited the utmost neglect. Barth learnt at this place that Hamed Weled Habib, the sheikh of Arawan, who, from the account of Caillié, is generally regarded in Europe as the chief murderer of Major Laing, had died a short time before, after a reign of forty years; and he looked upon this piece of news as an auspicious omen for the success of his undertaking

The political state of the country was, however, at that time, worse even than its material condition. The disorder and anarchy were such as to make it appear as if there were no government at all. Throughout there were so many different factions that one paralysed the other, and the position of the traveller amidst these discordant populations had changed much for the worse. The intrigues of his new companion, El Walati, also detained him much longer at Dore than would otherwise have been the case.

At length our traveller set out on the 21st of July, on what he calls the last and most dangerous stage of his journey to Timbuktu, thinking at that time that he would have been enabled to reach that city in about twenty days. But on the 23rd he entered a country intersected by rivers and swamps, which threw great difficulties in the way of his progress, and caused much delay. On the 25th, not being able to pass one of these

streams, they struck into the forest in a south-westerly direction, in order to ford it higher up. Here, he says, suddenly we fell in with two men who were pasturing a couple of asses; but, although we made signs to them that we were their friends, they would not hear us, and, beating their shields, cried out lustily to their companions, who, all on a sudden, rushed out in every direction from behind the bushes, and in a moment surrounded us. There were from 150 to 200 people, all tall, slender men, half-naked, with nothing but a poor ragged cloth round their loins, and another rag, still poorer, round their heads, and each armed with a couple of spears and a ragged shield, which they brandished over their heads with warlike gesticulations. The affair seemed rather serious, and here it was fortunate that I had such a clever companion as the Walati with me; for, while I was pointing my gun, he begged me to ride quietly in advance straight upon these people, and at the same time cried out to them that I was a sherif, and a friend of the Sheikh El Bakay, to whom I was carrying a number of books from the east. All of a sudden they dropped their spears and thronged around me, requesting me to give them my blessing; and the circumstances under which I was placed obliged me to comply with this slight request, although it was by no means a pleasant matter to lay my hands on all these dirty heads.

These poor distrustful people, who were returning to Dore from the market at Aribinda, having received the traveller's blessing, conducted him to a place where they declared the water to be fordable; but it was so only after great difficulties and several mishaps had been experienced, all the traveller's journals getting wet, and his horse being with difficulty extricated from a bog in which it had been lying for some minutes as if dead. Aribinda, where they arrived the same night, was formerly an important place, and the most considerable at one time of all the districts on the south side of the Niger.

XIV.

Songhay Towns—Province of Dalla—Barth assumes the Character of an Arab—Castellated-looking Towns—Tower-like Granaries—Hombori Mountains—Bambara on a Backwater of the Niger—Barth a Rain-maker—Labyrinth of Creeks, Backwaters, and Channels—The Isa, Maro Balleo or Niger—Kabara, the Port of Timbuktu—Arrival at Timbuktu.

The same swampy character of country, interspersed with granitic ranges and cones, continued beyond Aribinda. At the clay village of Filiyo, the houses had tower-like entrances, not unlike the granaries in Champagore, showing the character of the country. The next Songhay town they came to—Tinge—was built on the summit of a hill, and had a castellated appearance. The inhabitants smoked all day long, and danced every evening when not mining—an amusement which, already in the eleventh century, the Andalusian geographer, El Bekri, did not fail to remark as characteristic of these people; while their less happy brethren in Timbuktu and Jimballa have been deprived of these their favourite and innocent amusements by the austere laws of their fanatical oppressors. Yet were these dancing, smoking people not idle; on the contrary, Barth says they were industrious, both in cultivating the ground and in weaving.

After some delay at Tinge, owing to the rains, our traveller started through the province of Dalla, and here the country being ruled by a governor in direct subjugation to the fanatical chief of Mas-ena, residing in Hamda-Allahi, who would never allow a Christian to visit his territory, Barth was obliged to assume the character of an Arab. At the first town they came to, Kubo, their appearance created a great alarm in the place, the people thinking that a hostile troop was approaching; but as soon as they beheld the laden camels, their fears ceased, and they gave them quarters.

The party were quite horror-struck at a village near this at observing all the paths full of small red worms, marching in unbroken lines towards the village—a phenomenon, Barth says, peculiar to this region. Our traveller had a first interview with the Governor of Dalla at Nyanga Sera; nor were the results very auspicious, as, unknown to him at the time, El Walati was intriguing against him, in order to effect his ruin and to secure his property. The towns were all now castellated-looking places, with round towers of clay and conical thatched roofs, and the cottages had also conical roofs, curved in a peculiar way (*See* p. 134). The broken, detached masses and imposing cones of the Hombori mountains were also now visible in the distance. On the 7th of August, Isaye, or Ise, was reached—a place of some importance, consisting of a nucleus of clay houses, but remarkable only on account of their peculiar tower-like granaries, and a suburb of cottages of thatch-work of the most varied shape.

The route hence became highly interesting, on account of the peculiar nature and the picturesque shape of the several detached cones of the Hombori mountains (*See* p. 130) through the midst of which the way led; but morally it was not so agreeable, for the traveller fell in here again with the roving Tawarek, without enjoying the protection of a single powerful chief, as he had on setting out on his journey, and guided solely by the advice of that crafty man—El Walati—whose only purpose was to get as much from him as possible, if not all. This Arab represented Barth to these people as a great sherif, in order to excite their hospitable feelings, while at the same time he instigated the traveller to reward their treatment in a generous manner, but, nevertheless, sold his presents to them as his own property. It does not, however, require to go to Central Africa to meet with dragomans practising a similar system of duplicity.

On the 18th of August our traveller reached the town of Bambara, an important point in his journey, to use Barth's own words: It being for me, as proceeding from the south-east, what that celebrated creek three days west from Timbuktu was to the traveller from the north during the middle ages, and which on this account has received the name of "Ras el ma." The town of Bambara is situated on a branch, or rather a dead backwater of the river, forming a very shallow bottom of considerable breadth, but a very irregular border, and containing at that time but little water, so that the communication with the river was interrupted; but about twenty days later in the season, for about four or five months every year, during the highest state of the inundation, the boats proceed from here directly, either to Dire by way of Galaye and Kanima, or to Timbuktu by way of Delego and Sarayamo, thus opening a considerable export of corn towards that dependent market-place, which again has to supply the whole of the nomadic tribes of Azawad, and the neighbouring districts.

Our traveller had, in fact, entered beyond the Hom-

bori mountains into what he designates as the region of network of creeks, backwaters, and lakes belonging to the Niger.

The people of Bambara, instigated by rumours that had preceded our traveller, waited upon him in a body, headed by their emir, to solicit his interference for a good shower of rain. "I succeeded," he relates, "this time in eluding their solicitations for a direct prayer, satisfying them by expressing my fervent hope that the Almighty would have mercy upon them. But I was so favoured that there was really a moderate shower in the evening, which did a great deal of good to the ground, although the air did not become much cooler, for it was excessively hot all this time, and sometimes almost insupportable in my narrow, dirty hut."

Barth was placed in great peril at this place by the arrival of a travelled Arab who was acquainted with Europeans, but luckily, he says, his whole appearance inspired him with such confidence that he even took an interest in his welfare, and accompanied him a short distance when he started for Sarayamo. On their way, ascending a sandy ridge, they beheld in front of them an extensive sheet of water, stretching out to a distance of several miles, its surface agitated by a strong breeze, and with tall reeds forming its border. It is called Nyengay by the Fulbe, and Isse-ewga by the Tawarek, and it forms part of the network which in times of inundation is navigable to the Niger. Numbers of people were catching fish in this fine and imposing sheet of water. After this they passed a similar lake, called Gerru. Leaving these interesting expanses of water behind them, they traversed a district adorned with acacias, caper shrubs, and mimosa, to the encampment of Somki, one of the principal chiefs of the Tawarek in these regions, whence the next day they reached the town of Sarayamo, the chief place in the province of Kiso, and situated on a creek which falls into the main labyrinth of channels and water-courses. People navigate hence to the great river Niger by an eastern channel at one season, and by a western at another. "A labyrinth of creeks," says Barth, "backwaters, and channels is in this manner spread over the whole of this country, of which people had no previous idea." Our traveller's faith and virtues were again put to the test at Sarayamo, and he was obliged, in order to preserve his character, to say the fat-ha, or opening prayer of the Kuran, as also to pray for rain, and luckily on this, as on the previous occasion, his prayers were followed by a heavy storm.

A large boat arriving here from Timbuktu with passengers and merchandise, Barth hired it for the exclusive use of his own party for ten thousand shells, and great was his gratification when, on the 1st of September, he found himself floating on the backwater which was to carry him to the harbour of Timbuktu. The propulsion was effected mainly by poles, the water being in many places obstructed by vegetation, but in others open. Fish abounded, and furnished plentiful meals; and as they proceeded, great lizards, called zangways, barked at night, while still further down alligators were seen, and then hippopotami. At the junction with the Niger there was a group of solitary trees, which appeared, says Barth, to form the usual nocturnal place of resort for all the water-fowl in the neighbourhood, the trunk as well as the branches of the trees being overlaid with a white crust formed by the droppings of these visitors.

Having here left the shore, which at present formed a low and bare headland, but which in the course of a month would be entirely under water, we at once entered the middle of that magnificent river the Isa, or Mayo Balleo, running here from W. 35 deg. S. to E. 35 deg. N., which has excited the lively curiosity of Europeans for so many years. It was at this spot about a mile across, and by its magnitude and solemn magnificence in the new moon which was rising in front of us, and with the summer lightning at times breaking through the evening sky, inspired my servants with real awe and almost fright; while we were squatting on the shelving roof of our frail boat, and looked with searching eyes along the immense expanse of the river in a north-easterly direction, where the object of our journey was said to lie.

Whether from the excitement of the day, or from the previous night's wetting, when at length we lay to at the ancient Songhay town of Koiretago, which had once been a place of importance, but had been almost destroyed by the Fulbe in conjunction with the Tarki chief Somki, I was seized with a severe attack of fever, but in order to take care of my luggage I was unwilling to go on shore, where I might have lain down on a fine sandy beach, choosing rather to remain on board our frail boat.

Dr. Barth fell at this point into the course pursued by the French traveller Réné Caillié, and he describes it as an agreeable duty to confirm the general accuracy of his account. "Following close," he remarks, "upon the track of the enterprising and intelligent, but unfortunate Major Laing, who had been assassinated two years previously on his desperate journey from Timbuktu, Caillié naturally excited against himself the jealousy of the English, to whom it could not but seem extraordinary that a poor unprotected adventurer like himself should succeed in an enterprise where one of the most courageous and noble-minded officers of their army had succumbed."

The River Niger was, where Barth crossed it, about three-quarters of a mile in breadth, but in the time of flood it inundates the whole country to a great distance. This magnificent stream was, however, with the exception of a few fishing-boats, almost tenantless, the only objects which in the present reduced state of the country animated the scenery being a number of large boats that lay at anchor near the village of Korome. At this latter place, Barth learnt the to him exceedingly unsatisfactory news that the Sheikh El Bakay, on whose reputation as a noble and trustworthy character he had placed his whole confidence for success, was absent in Gundam.

At Kabara, a town, or rather port, situated on the slope of a sandy eminence, seven good-sized boats were lying, giving to the whole place some little life. During the palmy days of the Songhay empire, we are told an uninterrupted intercourse took place between Gagho and Timbuktu on the one side, and between Timbuktu and Jenni on the other; and a numerous fleet was always lying here under the orders of an admiral of great power and influence. Whilst at Kabara, Barth was visited by a party of armed men, horse and foot, from Timbuktu, most of them clad in light-blue tobes, tightly girt round the waist with a shawl, and pressed in short breeches, their head being covered with a pointed straw hat. As they were out to protect their cattle from the Tawarek, they did not molest our traveller, except by their rude curiosity. El Walati had, in the meantime been

despatched to Timbuktu to obtain protection for our traveller, and in the evening Sidi Alawate, Sheikh El Bakay's brother, arrived with his followers. Protected by this chieftain, Barth was enabled the next day, September 7th, to proceed to Timbuktu.

It was ten o'clock, he says, when our cavalcade put itself into motion, ascending the sand-hills which rise close behind the village of Kabara, and which, to my great regret, had prevented my obtaining a view of the town from the top of our terrace. The contrast of this desolate scenery with the character of the fertile banks of the river which I had just left behind, was remarkable. The whole tract bore decidedly the character of a desert, although the path was thickly lined on both sides with thorny bushes and stunted trees, which were being cleared away in some places in order to render the path less obstructed and more safe, as the Tawarek never fails to infest it, and at present were particularly dreaded on account of their having killed a few days previously three petty Tawati traders on their way to Arawan. It is from the unsafe character of this short road between the harbour and the town, that the spot, about half-way between Kabara and Timbuktu, bears the remarkable name of "Ur-immandes," "he does not hear," meaning the place where the cry of the unfortunate victim is not heard from either side.

Having traversed two sunken spots designated by especial names, where, in certain years when the river rises to an unusual height, as happened in the course of the same winter, the water of the inundation enters and occasionally forms even a navigable channel; and leaving on one side the talha-tree of the Weli Salah, covered with innumerable rags of the superstitious natives, who expect to be generously rewarded by their saint with a new shirt, we approached the town: but its dark masses of clay not being illuminated by bright sunshine, for the sky was thickly overcast and the atmosphere filled with sand, were scarcely to be distinguished from the sand and rubbish heaped all round; and there was no opportunity for looking attentively about, as a body of people were coming towards us in order to pay their compliments to the stranger and bid him welcome. This was a very important moment, as if they had felt the slightest suspicion with regard to my character, they might easily have prevented my entering the town at all, and thus even endangered my life.

I therefore took the hint of Alawate, who recommended me to make a start in advance in order to anticipate the salute of these people who had come to meet us; and putting my horse to a gallop, and gun in hand, I galloped up to meet them, when I was received with many salams. But a circumstance occurred which might have proved fatal, not only to my enterprise, but even to my own personal safety, as there was a man among the group who addressed me in Turkish, which I had almost entirely forgotten; so that I could with difficulty make a suitable answer to his compliment; but, avoiding farther indiscreet questions, I pushed on in order to get under safe cover.

Having then traversed the rubbish which has accumulated round the ruined clay wall of the town, and left on one side a row of dirty reed huts, which encompass the whole of the place, we entered the narrow streets and lanes, or, as the people of Timbuktu say, the tijeraten, which scarcely allowed two horses to proceed abreast. But I was not a little surprised at the populous and wealthy character which this quarter of the town, the Sane-Gungu, exhibited, many of the houses rising to the height of two stories, and in their façade evincing even an attempt at architectural adornment. Thus, taking a more westerly turn, and followed by a numerous troop of people, we passed the house of the Sheikh El Bakay, where I was desired to fire a pistol; but as I had all my arms loaded with ball, I prudently declined to do so, and left it to one of my people to do honour to the house of our host. We thus reached the house on the other side of the street, which was destined for my residence, and I was glad when I found myself safely in my new quarters.

XV.

History of Timbuktu—Tribulations—Aspect of the City—Sheikh El Bakay—Death of Major Laing—Hostility of the Fulbe—Encampment of the Sheikh El Bakay—Details Regarding Mungo Park—Death of the Chief of the Berabish—Inundation of the Niger—Trade and Industry of Timbuktu—European Commerce—The Future.

Dr. Barth prefaces the account of his residence in Timbuktu and his description of the place by some remarks on its history, and that of the adjacent regions in Africa, derived from a MS. history by one Ahmed Baba of the kingdom of Songhay, from the very dawn of historical records down to the year 1640 of our era, and these materials add greatly to the scanty notices before obtained from El Bekri, Ebn Khaldun, the obscure reports of Leo, and the conquest of Timbuktu and Gagho, or Gogo, by Mulay Ahmed el Dhehebi, as mentioned by some historians of Morocco and Spain. Barth sums up from this historical notice that—It will be seen that Timbuktu has rather unjustly figured in Europe as the centre and the capital of a great Negro empire, while it never acted more than a secondary part, at least in earlier times; and this character evidently appears from the narrative of Ebn Batuta's journey, in the middle of the fourteenth century. But on account of Timbuktu becoming the seat of Muhammadan learning and Muhammadan worship, and owing to the noble character of its buildings, well deserving to rank as a city or "Medina," a title which the capital itself, perhaps, never deserved, it always enjoyed great respect, even during the flourishing period of the latter; and after Gagho or Gogo had relapsed into insignificance, in consequence of the conquest by the Ruma at the end of the sixteenth century, Timbuktu, on account of its greater proximity to Morocco, became the more important place, where gradually the little commerce which still remained in that distracted region of the Niger was concentrated.

Although it had been arranged that, during the absence of the Sheikh El Bakay, whose special guest Barth was to be, no one should be allowed to see him, still numbers of people gained access to his house, and gave no small trouble by their inquisitiveness, the annoyance of which was further increased by the traveller's serious indisposition. On the very first day of his arrival he learned that Hammadi, the rival and enemy of El Bakay, had informed the Fulbe, or Fullan, that a Christian had entered the town, and that, in consequence they had come to the determination of killing him. The second day was, however, more promising; he received visits from several respectable people, and his health began to improve.

I was, he says, not allowed to stir about, but was confined within the walls of my house. In order to obviate the effect of this want of exercise as much as possible, to enjoy fresh air and at the same time to become familiar with the principal features of the town, through which I was not allowed to move about at pleasure, I ascended as often as possible the terrace of my house. This afforded an excellent view over the northern quarters of the town. On the north was the massive mosque of Sankore, which had just been restored to all its former grandeur through the influence of the Sheikh El Bakay, and gave the whole place an imposing character. Neither the mosque Sidi Yahia, nor the "great mosque," or Jingere-ber, was seen from this point; but towards the east the view extended over a wide expanse of the desert, and towards the south the elevated mansions of the Ghadamsiye merchants were visible. The style of the buildings was various. I could see clay-houses of different characters, some low and unseemly, others rising with a second story in front to greater elevation, and making even an attempt at architectural ornament, the whole being interrupted by a few round huts of matting. The sight of this spectacle afforded me sufficient matter of interest, although, the streets being very narrow, only little was to be seen of the intercourse carried on in them, with the exception of the small market in the northern quarter, which was exposed to view on account of its situation on the slope of the sand-hills which, in the course of time, have accumulated round the mosque.

But while the terrace of my house served to make me well acquainted with the character of the town, it had also the disadvantage of exposing me fully to the gaze of the passers-by, so that I could only slowly, and with many interruptions, succeed in making a sketch of the scene thus offered to my view. At the same time I became aware of the great inaccuracy which characterises the view of the town as given by M. Caillié; still, on the whole, the character of the single dwellings was well represented by that traveller, the only error being that in his representation the whole town seems to consist of scattered and quite isolated houses, while, in reality, the streets are entirely shut in, as the dwellings form continuous and uninterrupted rows But it must be taken into account that Timbuktu, at the time of Caillié's visit, was not so well off as it is at present, having been overrun by the Fulbe the preceding year, and he had no opportunity of making a drawing on the spot.

Our traveller made use of the leisure time thus presented by his confinement, to send articles into the market, and himself purchasing calico, which still bears the same name that it did in El Bekri's time—nearly eight hundred years ago—of shigge, or seben hindi. He was disturbed, however, in these tranquil occupations by a rumour which came to him on the 10th, that the party opposed to his residence in the town was arming, in order to attack him in his house. Barth, however, suspected his own friends, Sidi Alawate and El Walate, to be at the bottom of the rumour, and treated it with contempt. A discussion which he undertook at the same time, in favour of Christianity as opposed to Muhammadinism, instead of injuring his position had a contrary effect, and, he says, improved his situation in an extraordinary degree, by basing his safety on the sincere esteem which several of the most intelligent of the inhabitants had contracted for him.

On the 13th, our traveller received a most agreeable letter from El Bakay, to which he lost no time in sending a suitable reply; and, on the 26th, the sheikh himself arrived at Timbuktu. Barth, however, was too unwell to see him till the day after his arrival. After the usual greetings, one of the first questions which the sheikh put had reference to the rais, as Major Laing was called.

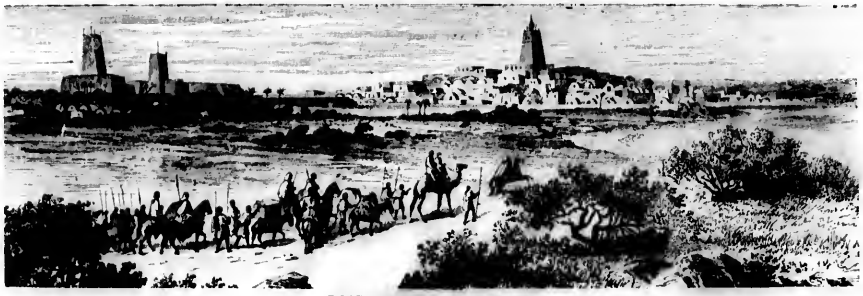
I then learned to my great satisfaction what I afterwards found confirmed by the facts stated in Major Laing's correspondence, that this most enterprising but unfortunate traveller, having been plundered and almost killed by the Tawarek, in the valley Ahennet, on his way from Tawat, was conducted by his guides to, and made a long stay at, the camp or station of the sheikh's father, Sidi Mohammed, in the hillet Sidi El Mukhtar, the place generally called by Major Laing Beled Sidi Mohammed, but sometimes Beled Sidi Mooktar, the Major being evidently puzzled as to these names, and apt to confound the then head of the family, Sidi Mohammed, with the ancestor Sidi Mukhtar, after whom that holy place has been called. It is situated half a day's journey from the frequented well Bel Mechan, on the great northerly road, but is at present deserted.

We thus came to speak of Major Laing, here known under the name of E Rais (the Major), the only Christian that my host and most of the people hereabouts had ever seen. the French traveller, Réné Caillié, who traversed this track in 1828, having, in his poor disguise, entirely escaped their observation, not to speak of the sailors, Adams and Scott, who are said to have visited this place, although their narrative does not reveal a single trait which can be identified with its features.

Major Laing, during the whole time of our intercourse, formed one of the chief topics of conversation, and my noble friend never failed to express his admiration, not only of the major's bodily strength, but of his noble and chivalrous character. I made immediate inquiries with regard to Major Laing's papers, but, unfortunately, not being provided with a copy of the blue book containing all the papers relating to that case, I had not the means of establishing all the points disputed. I only learnt that at the time none of those papers were in existence, although the sheikh himself told me that the major, while staying in Azawad, had drawn up a map of the whole northerly part of the desert from Tawat as far south as the hillet, or the place of residence of his father.

On his return to his quarters, Barth sent the sheikh a handsome present, the whole amounting to the value of £30.

This more favourable position of our traveller in Timbuktu was suddenly interrupted on the 1st of October by a considerable body of armed men arriving from Hamda Allahi, the residence of the Sheikh Ahmedu ben Ahmedu, to whose nominal sway the town of Timbuktu and the whole province had been subjected since the conquest of the town in the beginning of the year 1826. These people brought with them the order to expel the stranger out of the town. This proceeding, however, only roused the spirit of El Bakay, who was resolved to show the Fullan that he was able to protect the traveller; and with this view he had him removed for a short time to his camp without the town. The change was agreeable to Barth; he had more liberty and exercise, better



FIRST APPROACH TO TIMBUKTU.

air and varied scenery, but the pleasure was marred by attempts at proselytism and political intrigues. On the 13th he returned to Timbuktu, at that time much disturbed by the antagonism of parties, especially between the Fulbe and Tawarek, but after another excursion to the port of Kabara, he was enabled to explore the city in greater detail, beginning with the Jingere-ber, or great mosque, which Barth says made a deep impression on his mind by its stately appearance.

Although Barth soon removed again to the encampment of El Bakay, the perils of his position kept increasing daily, and it was in vain that he urged his protector to provide the means of escape. His enemies were not confined to one hostile man or party; their name was legion. Fresh parties kept arriving, indeed, almost every week, with orders to seize the stranger, dead or alive. One of these parties made an actual descent upon the camp, and were only driven from their purpose by the resolute stand made by the traveller and his faithful protectors. In fact, as Barth acknowledges, his mere presence in the city, or even its neighbourhood, caused an entire revolution in the daily life of the community. Still he would pick up, amidst these harassing events, occasional scraps of information, as, for example:—The same evening I had an interesting conversation with the chief Arab, who paid me a long visit, in company with his mallem,

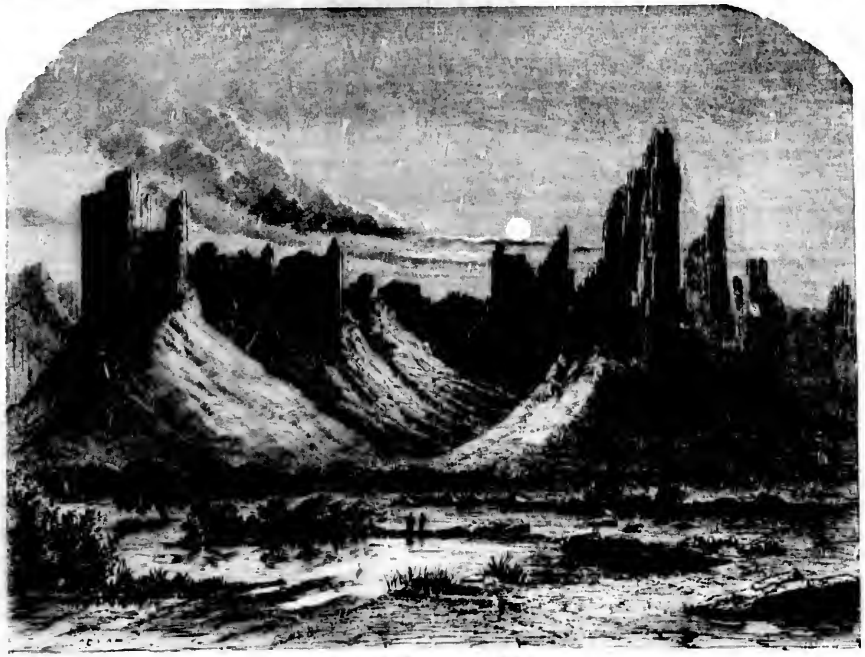
FERRY ON THE NIGER OR SAY.

and gave me the first account of the proceedings of that Christian traveller, Mungo Park (to use his own words), who, about fifty years ago, came down the river in a large boat; describing the manner in which he had been first attacked by the Tawarek below Kabara, where he had lost some time in endeavouring to open a communication with the natives, while the Tin-geregedesh forwarded the news of his arrival, without delay, to the Igwadaren, who having collected their canoes, attacked him, first near Bamba, and then again at the narrow passage of Tosaye, though all in vain; till at length, the boat of that intrepid traveller having stuck fast at Ensymmo (probably identical with Ansango), the Tawarek of that neighbourhood made another fierce and more successful attack, causing him an immense deal of trouble, and killing, as Awab asserted, two of his Christian companions. He also gave me a full account of the iron hook with which the boat was provided against hippopotami and hostile canoes; and his statement altogether proved what an immense excitement the mysterious appearance of this European traveller, in his solitary boat, had caused among all the surrounding tribes.

To add to the traveller's misery, he was the almost constant victim of climacteric fever. "In a sanitary point of view," he says, "Timbuktu can in no wise be reckoned among the more favoured places of these regions. Both Sansandi and Sego are considered more

healthy." On the 19th of December a circumstance happened of considerable import to our traveller. Ali, the chief of the Berabish, who had arrived with a large body of armed followers in Timbuktu on the 12th, with the professed intention of taking his life, fell suddenly sick and died. His death made an extraordinary impression upon the people, as it was a well-known fact that it was his father who had killed the former Christian who had visited this place; and the more so, as it was generally believed that I was Major Laing's son.

It was the more important, as the report had been generally spread that, as I have observed before, the Welad Sliman, the principal and most noble section of the Berabish, had sworn to kill me; and the people could not but think that there was some supernatural connection between the death of this man, at this place and at this period, and the murderous deed perpetrated by his father: and, on the whole, I cannot but think that this event exercised a salutary influence upon my final safety. The followers of the chief of the Berabish were so frightened by this tragical event that they came in great procession to the Sheikh El Bakay, to beg his pardon for their neglect, and to obtain his blessing; nay, the old man himself, a short time afterwards, sent word that he would in no way interfere with my departure, but wished nothing better than that I might reach home in safety. The excitement of the people on account of my stay here thus settled down a little, and the party of the Fulbe



THE MOUNTAINS OF HOMBORI.

seemed quietly to await the result produced by the answer which the sheikh had forwarded to Hamda-Allahi.

The river was at this time rising rapidly, and vast masses of water poured into the valleys and depressions of this sandy region, and gave an appearance of truth to the fabulous statements of thirty-six rivers flowing through this tract. The 25th of December was especially an important epoch, the water having entered the wells, which are situated round the southern and south-western part of the town; and this period, which is said to occur only about every third year, obtains the same importance here as the lelet e nuktah—the day and night in which the dyke which separates the canal from the Nile is cut—possesses with the inhabitants of Cairo. The inundation of the Niger reached its height towards the end of January, an anomaly with the Tsadda or Benuwe, which reaches its highest level in August, both risings depending on the tropical rains, which Dr. Barth explains upon the grounds of certain peculiarities in the upper course of the river, just as the Liambesi is flooded at a time (July and August) when its lower course, the Zambesi (supposing it to be really so), is at its lowest.

On the 4th of January (1854) the first boat from Kabara reached Timbuktu, and as the immediate result of such a greater facility of intercourse, the supply of corn became more plentiful, and, in consequence, much cheaper. Speaking of the trade and industry of Timbuktu, Barth remarks that the great feature which

distinguishes its markets from that of Kano, is the fact that Timbuktu is not at all a manufacturing town, while the emporium of Hausa fully deserves to be classed as such.

Almost the whole life of the city is based on foreign commerce, which, owing to the great northerly bend of the Niger, finds here the most favoured spot for intercourse, while at the same time that splendid river enables the inhabitants to supply all their wants from without; for native corn is not raised here in sufficient quantities to feed even a very small proportion of the population, and almost all the victuals are imported by water-carriage from Sansandi and the neighbourhood.

The only manfactures carried on in the city, as far as fell under my observation, are confined to the art of the blacksmith, and to a little leather-work. Some of these articles, such as provision or luggage-bags, cushions, small leather-pouches for tobacco, and gun-cloths, especially the leather bags, are very neat; but even these are mostly manufactured by Tawarek, and especially females, so that the industry of the city is hardly of any account. It was formerly supposed that Timbuktu was distinguished on account of its weaving, and that the export of dyed shirts from hence was considerable; but I have already had an opportunity of showing that this was entirely a mistake, almost the whole clothing of the natives themselves, especially that of the wealthier classes, being imported either from Kano or from Sansandi, besides the calico imported from England. The export of the produce of Kano, especially by way of Arawan, extends to the very border of the Atlantic, where it comes into contact with the considerable import of Malabar cloth by way of St. Louis, or Nder, on the Senegal, while the dyed shirts from Sansandi, which, as far as I had an opportunity of observing, seem to be made of foreign or English calico, and not of native cotton, do not appear to be exported to a greater distance. These shirts are generally distinguished by their rich ornament of coloured silk, and look very pretty; and I am sorry I was obliged to give away, as a present, a specimen which I intended to bring home with me. The people of Timbuktu are very experienced in the art of adorning their clothing with a fine stitching of silk, but this is done on a very small scale, and even these shirts are only used at home. There is, however, a very considerable degree of industry exercised by the natives of some of the neighbouring districts, especially Fermagha, who produce very excellent woollen blankets, and carpets of various colours, which form a most extensive article of consumption with the natives.

The foreign commerce has especially three great high roads: that along the river from the south-west (for lower down the river there is at present scarcely any commerce at all), which comprise the trade proceeding from various points; and two roads from the north, that from Morocco on the one hand, and that from Ghadames on the other. In all this commerce, gold forms the chief staple, although the whole amount of the precious metal exported from this city appears to be exceedingly small, if compared with a European standard. It probably does not exceed an average of £20,000 sterling per year. The gold is brought either from Bambuk or from Bure, but from the former place in a larger quantity. The gold from the country of the Wangarawa does not reach this market, but, as it seems, at present is directly exported to that part of the southern coast which on this account is called the Gold Coast. The species of gold from Bambuk is of a more yellow colour; that from Bure is rather whitish; and that from Wangara has a greenish hue. Most of this gold, I think, is brought into the town in rings. I do not remember to have seen or heard of gold dust, or "tibber," being brought into the market in small leathern bags, such as Shabini and other people describe, containing about one ounce, equal to twenty-five dollars in value. But, nevertheless, a considerable amount of this article must come into market, as most of the gold dust which comes to Ghadames and Tripoli passes through Timbuktu, while another portion goes directly from Sansandi to Arawan.

The next article that forms one of the chief staples in Timbuktu, and in some respects even more so than gold, is salt, which, together with gold, formed articles of exchange all along the Niger from the most ancient times. It is brought from Tavdenni, the mines of which have been worked, as we know from Ahmed Baba, since the year 1596. The guro or kola nut, which constitutes one of the greatest luxuries of Negroland, is also a most important article of trade.

With regard to European manufactures, the road from Morocco is still the most important for some articles, such as red cloth, coarse coverings, sashes, looking-glasses, cutlery, tobacco; while calico especially, bleached as well as unbleached, is also imported by way of Ghadames, and in such quantities of late, that it has greatly excited the jealousy of the Morocco merchants. The inhabitants of Ghadames are certainly the chief agents in spreading this manufacture over the whole north-western part of Africa, and, in consequence, several of the wealthier Ghadamsi merchants employ agents here. The most respectable among the foreign merchants in Timbuktu is Taleb Mohammed, who exercises at the same time a very considerable political influence; and the wealthiest merchants from Morocco besides him, during the time of my stay, were El Mehedi, the astronomer, Mula e' Salam, the nobleman, and my friend the Sweri: while among the Ghadamsi merchants, Mohammed ben Taleb, Snusi ben Kyari, Mohammed Lebbe-Lebbe, Haj Ali ben Shawa, and Mohammed Welee el Kadhi, were those most worth mentioning.

But to apply even to these first-rate merchants a European standard of wealth would be quite erroneous, the actual property of none of them exceeding probably 10,000 dollars, and even that being rather an exceptional case. Scarcely any of them transact business on a large scale, the greater part of them being merely agents for other merchants residing in Ghadames, Swera (Mogador), Merakesh (Morocco), and Fas.

The greater part of the European merchandise comes by way of Mogador, where several European merchants reside; and from this quarter proceeds especially the common red cloth, which, together with calico, forms one of the chief articles of European trade brought into the market. All the calico Barth saw bore the name of one and the same Manchester firm, printed upon it in Arabic letters. All the cutlery in Timbuktu is also of English workmanship. Tea forms a standard article of consumption with the Arabs; for the natives, it is too expensive a luxury. Tobacco is also naturally a considerable article of consumption.

With regard to exports, they consisted, at the time of my stay in the place, of very little besides gold and a moderate quantity of gum and wax, while ivory and

slaves, as far as I was able to ascertain, seemed not to be exported to any considerable amount. However, a tolerable proportion of the entire export from these regions proceeds by way of Arawan, without touching at Timbuktu. At any rate, those gentlemen who estimate the annual export of slaves from Negroland to Morocco at about 4,000 are certainly mistaken, although in this, as well as in other respects, the exceptional and anarchical state of the whole country at the time of my residence, and my own most critical situation, did not allow me to arrive at any positive results. Thus much is certain, that an immense field is here opened to European energy, to revive the trade which, under a stable government, formerly animated this quarter of the globe, and which might again flourish to great extent. For the situation of Timbuktu is of the highest commercial importance, lying as it does at the point where the great river of Western Africa, in a serpent-like winding, approaches most closely to that outlying and most extensive oasis of "the far West"—Maghreb el Aksa, of the Muhammadan world—I mean Tawat, which forms the natural medium between the commercial life of this fertile and populous region and the north; and whether it be Timbuktu, Walata, or Ghanata, there will always be in this neighbourhood a great commercial entrepôt, as long as mankind retain their tendency to international intercourse and exchange of produce.

After still further experience of the place, he adds: The difficulties which a place like Timbuktu presents to a free commercial intercourse with Europeans are very great. For while the remarkable situation of the town, at the edge of the desert and on the border of various races, in the present degenerated condition of the native kingdoms makes a strong government very difficult, nay, almost impossible, its distance from either the west coast or the mouth of the Niger is very considerable. But, on the other hand, the great importance of its situation at the northern curve or elbow of that majestic river, which, in an immense sweep encompasses the whole southern half of North-Central Africa, including countries densely populated and of the greatest productive capabilities, renders it most desirable to open it to European commerce, while the river itself affords immense facilities for such a purpose. For, although the town is nearer to the French settlements in Algeria on the one side, and those on the Senegal on the other, yet it is separated from the former by a tract of frightful desert, while between it and the Senegal lies an elevated tract of country, nay, along the nearest road, a mountain chain extends of tolerable height. Further, we have here a family which, long before the French commenced their conquest of Algeria, exhibited their friendly feelings towards the English in an unquestionable manner, and at the present moment the most distinguished member of this family is most anxious to open free intercourse with the English. Even in the event of the greatest success of the French policy in Africa, they will never effect the conquest of this region. On the other hand, if a liberal government were secured to Timbuktu, by establishing a ruler independent of the Fulbe of Hamda-Allahi, who are strongly opposed to all intercourse with Europeans, whether French or English, an immense field might be opened to European commerce, and thus the whole of this part of the world might be subjected to a wholesome organisation.

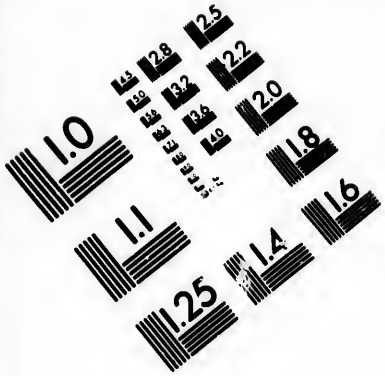
XVI.

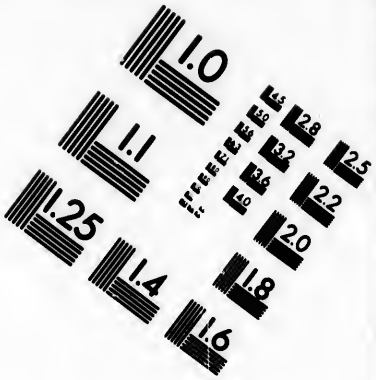
Difficulties at leaving Timbuktu—The Tawarek arrive and he is set at liberty—Descent of the River Niger — Gogo or Gawo, Capital of the Songhay Empire — Old Capital of Nenoiland — Presumed Sepulchre of Mungo Park—Return to Kuka—Meet Mr. Vogel—Cross the Desert to Murzuk.

The month of January ended with utter disappointment at the failure of his expected departure, and with nothing but empty promises. There were family as well as political reasons mixed up with this delay. At length a crisis was brought about by the arrival of a "tabu," or army of the Tawarek; the Fullan or Fulbe of Timbuktu fearing that the presence of the traveller should be made the excuse for a civil war, insisted upon his quitting the city, and Barth gladly availed himself of the opportunity of placing himself under the protection of the Tawarek. Unluckily, the Tawarek themselves were much indisposed against the traveller on account of his presumed connection with the French, who had at that time been extending their operations against the Berbers or Tawarek of Algeria; and our traveller had to encounter many other delays, annoyances, and vexations, before he was able to effect what he calls his "final and real start" down the Niger. When he at length got rid for ever of Fulbe and Tawarek and swampy regions alike, he found the character of the country along the banks of the river to improve much. The river soon exhibited its truly magnificent character, and the route lay in part close along the border of its limpid waters, on beautiful sandy beaches, at times shut in by downs, richly clad with dum-palms and tagelalet. Traces of wild hog were observed along this part of the Niger, and Barth, for the first time, saw the footprints of the mangway. This animal which we did not see, he says, appears to be quite distinct from the crocodile, and perhaps resembles the American iguana. We should suspect it more likely to resemble the Asiatic monitor. Swamps, however, drove our traveller occasionally to a distance from the river; but even then the country was enlivened by grassy creeks, with groves and villages, and herds of cattle, sheep, and goats.

Our traveller was thus enabled to accomplish a distance of some two hundred and fifty miles from Timbuktu to Gogo, the ancient capital of Songhay, without any serious perils; and although the country thus traversed formed the limit of the great interior desert, still, being on the banks of the river, it appears to have been by no means difficult to travel, from the absence of occasional cultivation, pasture lands, or villages.

As soon as I had made out that Gogo was the place which for several centuries had been the capital of a strong and mighty empire in this region, I felt a more ardent desire to visit it than I had to reach Timbuktu. The latter, no doubt, had become celebrated throughout the whole of Europe, on account of the commerce which centred in it; nevertheless I was fully aware that Timbuktu had never been more than a provincial town, although it exercised considerable influence upon the neighbouring regions from its being the seat of Muhammadan learning. But Gawo or Gogo had been the centre of a great national movement, from whence powerful and successful princes, such as the great Muhammad el Haj Aakia, spread their conquests from Kebbi, or rather Hausa, in the east, as far as Futa in the





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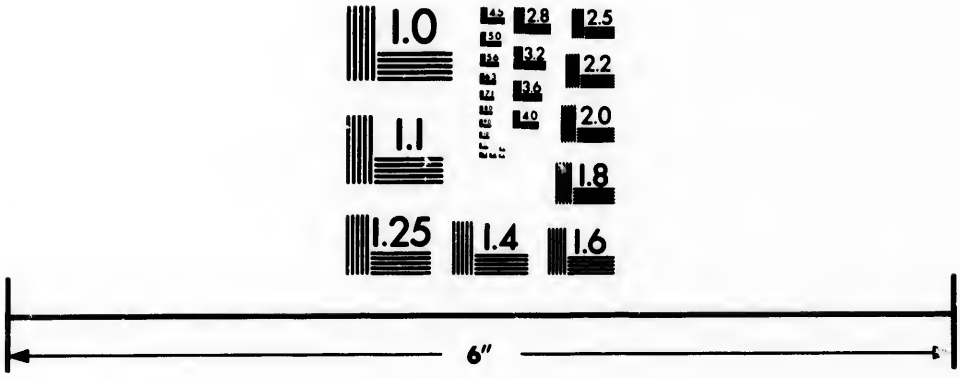

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west; and from Tawat in the north, as far as Wangara and Mosi towards the south.

Cheered at having reached this spot, I passed a tranquil night, and rising early in the morning, lay down outside my tent, quietly enjoying the prospect over this once busy locality, which, according to the unanimous statements of former writers, was the most splendid city of Negroland, though it is now the desolate abode of a small and miserable population. Just opposite to my tent, towards the south, lay the ruined massive tower, the last remains of the principal mosque, or Jingerê-ber, of the capital, the sepulchre of the great conqueror Muhammad.

With the exception of this tower, however, all that remained of the once great city of Negroland was from three hundred to four hundred huts, grouped in separate clusters, and surrounded by heaps of rubbish, to indicate the site of the former city. An old man attached himself to our traveller at this place, and conducted him through the rubbish to a long narrow clay building at a short distance west from the mosque where he wanted to show him something of interest, but the owner of the house refused him admittance. Our traveller seems to hint at the possibility of this being the burial-place of Mungo Park.

To the south of this olden capital of Negroland, the character of the country improved greatly, and on Sunday, July 9th, Barth, after bidding farewell to his dilatory but kind and faithful friend and protector, El Bakay, crossed the river to the right bank at a place called Gona, some ten miles below Gogo; from this point to Say, where Barth had first crossed the river on his way to Timbuktu, was a distance of a little upwards of two hundred and fifty miles, Goro being nearly half-way between the two cities; and Barth was happily enabled to accomplish this further survey of a large portion of the Central Niger without any mishaps. The only alarming adventure he experienced arose from an error which occurred near Say, where some mounted Songhay and Fulbe, mistaking his party for a hostile host, had nigh made an assault upon them.

As Mr. Barth's journey from Say to Kuka lay through Central Negroland by Gando, Sokoto, Wurno, and Kano—towns and countries previously traversed—it is needless to follow his weary footsteps once more through these populous but half-civilised regions. There was the same trouble with greedy rulers, the same annoyance of hostile, thievish populations, the same vexations of rains, swamps, and fevers, and the same old financial difficulties, the last, unluckily, not even destined to be relieved by the meeting effected with Mr. Vogel at Bundi, near Kuka. "It was with great surprise," Barth relates, "that he heard from his young friend that there were no supplies in Kuka, that what he had brought with him he had spent, and that the usurper Abd-e-Rahman had treated him very badly, having even taken possession of the property which I had left in Zinder." It is not a little amusing to find Barth adding, that even the news of the want of pecuniary supplies did not cause him so much surprise as the report which he received from Mr. Vogel that he did not possess a single bottle of wine. For, he says, having now been for more than three years without a drop of anything stimulant except coffee, and having suffered severely from frequent attacks of fever dysentery, he had an insuperable longing for the juice of the grape, of which former experience had taught him the benefit. Speaking of Vogel, of whose unfortunate end there remains little doubt, Barth says: My residence in the town became infinitely more cheerful, in consequence of the arrival of Mr. Vogel, on the 29th December, when I spent a period of twenty days most pleasantly in the company of this enterprising and courageous young traveller, who, with surprising facility accustomed himself to all the relations of this strange [illegible] Hurried away by the impulse of his own enthusiasm, and giving up all pretensions to the comforts of life, he unfortunately committed the mistake of expecting that his companions, recently arrived from Europe [illegible] were less elevated, should do the [illegible] rise to a lamentable quarrel [illegible] great measure the intentions [illegible] had sent all the party [illegible] regard to countries which we had [illegible] and planning schemes as to the [illegible] Mr. Vogel was to pursue, and especially [illegible] journey which he was to undertake [illegible] and Adamawa we passed our time [illegible]

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Mr. Vogel was at this time afflicted by a very dangerous weakness in the digestive powers, so much so that it was impossible for him to eat any meat at at all. The very sight of a dish of meat made him sick. Corporal Macguire was also affected in the same way. The corporal remained with Mr. Vogel, whilst his comrade, Corporal Church, returned to Europe with Barth. Macguire was afterwards, as it is supposed, murdered at the well Bedwaram, after the death of his chief, and on his way home. Barth, on his side, left Kuka on his homeward journey on the 4th of May, and crossing the hot and arid desert that extends between Negroland and Murzuk, he entered the latter town, on what may truly be called the extreme boundary of civilisation, on the 13th of July. "I could not," says our patient enduring traveller, "but feel deeply affected when, after so long an absence, I again found myself in friendly hands, and within the reach of European comforts."

It is impossible, whilst giving the traveller all possible credit for his great physical and mental attributes as a traveller, his patience and endurance, his courage and perseverance, his skill and ability, his knowledge and acquirements, and the indomitable energy with which he applied these in all positions and conditions, not at the same time to acknowledge the first-rate importance of the additions which he has made to geographical knowledge, and the openings presented by these to commerce and to general civilisation. If Livingstone discovered a Zambesi, Barth discovered a Binue. If Livingstone crossed Southern Africa from east to west, Barth explored and mapped the Central Niger, and sojourned for many tedious months at the hitherto semi-mysterious Timbuktu. If Livingstone has met with peaceable, well-disposed populations and available lands in Southern Africa, Barth has explored a vast region teeming with villages, towns, and cities, much divided among themselves, cursed by slavery and the ambitious hostilities of chiefs and of peoples, parties and factions as well as nationalities, and torn to pieces by intestine wars, but still easily opened to commercial intercourse by their great arterial streams; and it is to be hoped that improved communication will lead to a gradual and corresponding improvement in their social political and religious condition.

A MISSIONARY'S ADVENTURE

IN EASTERN AFRICA.

The following remarkable adventure befell the missionary Krapf on the occasion of a second journey into Ukambani in Eastern Africa, upon which occasion that worthy traveller had the good fortune to obtain positive intelligence of the existence of a mountain in the East African Alps, whose summit was clad with snow, as also to inspect the Dana, a fine river flowing apparently from the eastern slopes of the same mountain range.

The immediate object of my second journey, Dr. Krapf relates, to Ukambani was, in accordance with the decision of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, to found a missionary station in Ukambani, and thus actually to commence the chain of missions

SONGHAY VILLAGES.

through Africa formerly spoken of. If the Ukambani mission succeeded, it was hoped that then a further missionary station might be established in the neighbourhood of the snow-mountain situated on the high ground of Yata, some 110 leagues from Rabbai in the village of a Mkamba, Mtangi wa Nsuki, a man of great

influence in the district of Yata, and which being visited by all the caravans which journey either from Ukambani to the sea-coast, or from the latter to Ukambani, a missionary stationed there would have frequent opportunities of corresponding with his brethren at Rabbai. The village lies in a plain, which is at least 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and contains many Wakamba villages. As the Wakamba-land proper begins with Yata, a missionary stationed there could make excursions in every direction, and as at the same time many Wakamba from Yata were settled at Rabbai Mpia, in constant intercourse with their friends and relations in the interior, the Yata people would be obliged to be careful in their treatment of the stranger. If they maltreated him, the authorities of the coast would, in accordance with the East African custom, retaliate on the settlers from the interior in their power.

I engaged thirty Wanika as burden-bearers and escort, Mana Zahu being the leader of the little caravan, which was joined on the way by about 100 Wakamba, who were returning to their homes. Our departure from Rabbai took place on the 11th of July. The disorder, insane chatter, drunkenness, gluttony, and disobedience of my people were great, and gave me much pain, until, on the 14th of July, we left behind us the inhabited country, and reached the great wilderness at Ndunguni, when the Wanika were obliged to be quiet and silent. On the 15th we were met by a caravan of Wakamba coming from the interior with ivory to the coast, and to some of them, who seated themselves on the ground beside me, I explained the object of my journey; after which, a Mkamba told me that in his youth he had travelled to Mbellete, and had then proceeded into the country of the Wabilikimo, or "little people" (pigmies). The distance between Ukambani and Ubilikimoni was greater than that between the former and Mombaz; the Wabilikimo had long feet, but short bodies, and on their backs a kind of hump; and nobody understood their language. The Wakamba made friends with them by offering copper rings, for which honey was presented in return; they were good, harmless people, and there were many elephants in their country. At our night bivouac the Wanika and Wakamba were quarrelling over the division of a slaughtered goat, whereupon a Mkamba made a long speech, in which he exhorted the people thenceforth to observe silence, and on the march not to leave the caravan, as the way was dangerous. After a very fatiguing march of two days we reached Mount Maungu, where we met a number of Wanika of the Kiriama tribe, waiting for ivory caravans from Ukambani. They gave us the unwelcome intelligence that the day before a large band of Gallas had been seen in the neighbourhood of Kadiza, evidently with the design of attacking and plundering the ivory-caravans of the Wakamba. On the 18th of July we determined to rest for a little at Maungu. The Kiriama people surrounded me almost the whole day putting questions, or trying to inspect the things which I was taking to Ukambani. With a few of them I had some talk upon religious matters, and they asked who was Jesus Christ, and what had He done? To-day the leaders of the Wakamba caravans made their people swear, that in case of an attack by the Gallas or Masai, they would not run away, but would defend themselves. My leader, too, was obliged to be present at the oath-taking. I took no notice of the circumstance, but in the course of the journey I found that the caravan-leaders had shown very proper forethought. A European ought not altogether to despise the reports and fears of the natives; but because the people had babbled so much about the dangers of the journey to Ukambani, and I had performed my last journey thither in safety, I looked on their tales and terrors as fanciful. However, I was later forced to acknowledge that the natives had good ground for their anxieties and precautions.

We started again on the morning of the 19th of July, our route lying more to the north and our path being level and sandy. Leaving Mount Ndara on the left we marched some six leagues till we reached the River Woi, where we bivouacked. On the 20th we crossed the Woi, and noticed on the bank fresh traces of elephants; and upon entering the noble prairie, free of thorns and jungle, with which the eastern range of the Bura mountains terminates, we saw here and there a shy zebra, or a giraffe, which my people vainly endeavoured to capture. At noon we reached Kangongo; but, as had been the case two years ago, we found no water there, and so pushed forward to reach the Tzawo. On the 21st we started before dawn to reach the Tzawo as soon as possible, as our stock of water was nearly exhausted, and about nine we ascended a small hill, and sat down in the vicinity of a thick wood. How little did I suspect that lurking enemies were surrounding and watching us! During the march, I had been ruminating upon the various petitions of the Lord's Prayer, and almost every word of it had impressed itself as a blessing to me. Till now the Wakamba caravan which kept company with us, had preceded us during the whole journey, but when we resumed our march it remained, I know not why or how, behind my people. Just as I had entered with my Wanika a large thicket where it was difficult to move to the right or to the left, we heard suddenly a loud cry which proceeded from the Wakamba, who formed the rearguard. They cried "Aendi! Aendi! Aendi!"—Robbers! Robbers! Robbers! (literally hunters). A frightful confusion now arose among my people; they threw down their loads, and would have fled into the wood, but found it difficult to penetrate the bushes. One called out this, another that; several shouted, "Fire off the guns, fire off the guns!" I wished to do so, but the man who carried my double-barrelled one had fled, and I was quite unarmed. I got hold of him and it at last, and fired in the air, on which the Wanika set up a dreadful war-cry, and the others who had guns then fired three or four shots in succession. Whilst this firing was going on at our front, the Wakamba were discharging their poisoned arrows at the Aendi, who had shot theirs at them from the hill I have mentioned. The Wakamba who were furthest behind, threw down their loads at the sight of the enemy, allowing them to come and put them on their shoulders, whereupon the Wakamba fired and shot three of the robbers dead; and we had one Mkamba wounded. When the enemy saw that the Wakamba made a stand and heard our firing, they retreated to their hiding-place, upon which my scattered Wanika collected again, took courage and joined the Wakamba, who had been exposed to the greatest danger. Had the conflict lasted longer we should have been in a very perilous plight, as in the confusion I lost my powder-horn, and one of my people burst the barrel of his gun by putting too large a charge

into it. The ramrod of another was broken, through his being knocked over by a Mnika in the confusion, just as he was going to load; whilst the gun of another missed fire altogether. I saw clearly that it was God who preserved us, and not our own sword and bow. After the rearguard of the Wakamba had got up to us, we hurried on to escape from the inhospitable thickets; but we had not gone far when those in front cried, "Aendi! Aendi!" "Robbers! Robbers!" We fired at once in the air; but we soon discovered our mistake, and got off with the mere alarm; as it turned out to be the caravan expected at Maungu, consisting of three to four hundred Wakamba, who were coming from the interior with a number of elephants' tusks, and whom our vanguard had taken for robbers. Fortunately the travellers at once recognised our Wanika, and cried to us "Do not fire, we are trading people!" Some of these Wakamba came from one side through the thicket, and as I still took them to be robbers I pointed my gun at them, but waited a moment, till they should begin the attack. Fortunately the Wanika called out to me: "Do not fire, they are friends!" Fear was succeeded by sudden joy; evidently the robbers had intended to attack the expected caravan, but on the principle of a bird in the bush, thought it better to plunder us as first comers, and we had thus prepared the way for the large caravan. It was fortunate for me that the first attack had been made on the Wakamba, for they defended their property, while my people cared neither for me nor for my baggage, but were anxious about their own lives alone.

We reached the Tzawo in safety, and, continuing our journey on the 22nd, arrived on the 24th after a two days' very toilsome march at Kikumbuliu, where we rested for a day. At last, on the afternoon of the 26th, we crossed the Adi and began to ascend the high land of Yata, my destination as a missionary. On the way, I besought earnestly in my heart the Father of all mercies to guide and help me to make a commencement of missionary work in this country. Arrived at the plain on the top we proceeded to the nearest village, and inquired after the Mkamba, Muilu wa Kiwui, with whom I was first to reside. We were told that he had quitted the village, in consequence of a famine from which the country was suffering through want of rain. We then betook ourselves to Mtangi wa Nauki, another Wakamba chief, who gave us a friendly reception; and in a short time there was an assemblage of the other chiefs to whom I explained the object of my journey. They declared that they would willingly permit me to reside among them, build a hut, and do whatever I pleased, assuring me of their protection. After this declaration I delivered to them my present, which consisted of eight ells of calico and some four pounds of beads; for which they presented me in return with a goat. I made a special present to Mtangi wa Nauki, as it was within his inclosure that I was to erect my hut, and as he had offered me his particular protection. Thus far at starting everything had gone satisfactorily, so that I took courage and thanked God for His powerful protection and assistance.

July 27.—In the course of the day I was visited by many Wakamba, who wished to see me and my baggage, which I was obliged to leave lying in the open air, whilst for the want of a proper dwelling-place I too was forced to camp out, with no other shelter than that which my umbrella afforded me against the heat of the sun during the day; whilst at night a cold wind was blowing from the south from Kilimanjaro and Yulu; and even in the morning at 10 o'clock the glass stood at 68°, and did not reach beyond 72° at midday. It was most unpleasant to me to have no habitation, however small, in which I could rest from the fatigues of the journey and be sheltered from the intrusion of the Wakamba. I felt, consequently, rather low-spirited, and this mood was somewhat aggravated by the declaration of my Wanika, that next day they intended to return to Rabbai with a Wakamba caravan which was journeying towards the coast. I reminded them of their undertaking to build me a dwelling-place before they returned to the coast, which they did not deny, and at once set to work with it. In a few hours they had put together, with stakes fetched from the wood, a miserable henroop, scarcely six feet high, and about as many feet broad and long, but with which I was fain to be content as my things were lying in the open air, and I had neither shelter by day from the heat of the sun, nor by night from the cold of the bitter blast sweeping in from the southern mountains.

July 28.—My Wanika started this morning without finishing the roofing in of the hut with grass; and the single servant whom I had brought in from Rabbai ran away, although I had always treated him with particular affection and kindness. I could not trust the Wakamba; my conscience forbade me to buy a slave; and yet I was obliged to have some one who could look after my things, and to whose care I could entrust my hut, and I saw that I must have a tolerable servant and a better dwelling-place if I was to settle in Yata. In my henroop I could neither write, nor read, nor sleep, and was continually besieged by the Wakamba, who by day, even before dawn, did not leave me a moment alone. If I wished to read, they asked me if I was trying to spy into their hearts, or whether I was looking for rain and inquiring after diseases; when I wrote, they wanted to know what I had written, and whether it contained sorcery. Everyone of my movements was sharply observed. Many came to beg this or that, to see new things, or to buy wares, as they took me for a merchant; others brought a few eggs or a little meal, and then asked for twice or three times as much as their presents were worth; whilst others, again, wished merely to be amused. My hut had not even a door, so that I could not close it, and by night I was safe neither from thieves nor from wild beasts.

July 30.—Meditating this morning on my painful position, I came to the conclusion, on the one hand, that I ought not to abandon Yata, as the people, on the whole, were friendly, and part of them listened with attention when I strove to make them acquainted with the Word of God; on the other hand, it was clear to me that I could not remain if my two Wanika were to forsake me now, or at the close of two months; for on the flight of my servant (who was afraid to stay in Ukambani by himself), these two had offered their services, very highly paid, for two months only, at the end of which I was either to return with them to the coast, or remain by myself at Yata. I therefore resolved to make use of the interval in visiting the interior of Ukambani as far as the River Dana, and first of all to repair to my old friend Kivoi, with whose help I might attain my object. If I were then obliged to quit Ukambani I should, at least, have added to my knowledge of the country, and have promulgated the

gospel in it, here and there. After I had decided on journeying to Kivoi, I asked Mtangi wa Nsuki for a small escort, which he readily granted, giving me, however, to understand that I was to return to him, and remain with him.

August 1.—I awoke this morning in a very feverish state, caused partly by the cold at night, partly by the unwholesome air of my hut; but, nevertheless, set out on the journey to Kivoi, accompanied by four Wakamba and one of my two Muika servants, leaving the other to look after my things. The Wakamba moved on so swiftly that I could not keep pace with them; it was more like jumping than walking. In the villages which we passed through, I had often to stop and allow myself to be gaped at by the people like an ape or bear in Europe. In the evening we reached the River Tiwa.

August 2.—On waking this morning I was so unwell that I would have returned to Yata, if my servant and the Wakamba would have allowed me. My servant hoped to receive a piece of ivory from Kivoi, which was the reason why he would not return to Yata. So on we went, the Wakamba running so fast that I could not keep up with them, and our way lay through an uninhabited and uncultivated country.

August 4.—About noon we reached the village of the chief, Kivoi, who was absent. When he came home he greeted me in a friendly manner, and observed that he should have taken it very ill if I had not come to him. He told me, among other things, that he had at present a feud with the Wakamba tribe Atua, which had destroyed the house of his relative, Ngumbau, because the wife of the latter, who is reputed a witch, had been suspected of casting a spell upon the cattle of the Atua.

August 5.—To-day Kivoi introduced me to Rumu wa Kikandi, a native of the tribe Uembu, whose territory lies five or six days' journey to the north-west of Kitui, quite close to the snow-mountain Kirenia (Kenia). He told me that he had frequently been to the mountain, but had not ascended it, because it contained Kirira, a white substance, producing very great cold. What the Jagga people call Kibo, snow, is called by the natives of Uembu, Kirira, which brings to mind the Ethiopic word kur, or kuir (coldness). The white substance, he added, produced continually a quantity of water, which descended the mountain and formed a large lake, from which the River Dana took its rise.

August 7.—* * * * In Kivoi's hut I saw a quantity of Magaddi, a dried earth of whitish hue, which has a sour but aromatic odour, and is found in Jagga, as well as in Udeizu and in the north-eastern Wakamba-land. It is made into a powder by the Wakamba and Wanika, and mixed with snuff, of which the East Africans are passionately fond.

August 9.—To-day Kivoi had a quantity of Uki prepared for the banquet which he was to give to his tribe to induce them to accompany him on his expedition against the Atua, if a reconciliation with the latter turned out to be impossible. This beverage is thus prepared from sugar-cane: first, the bark of the cane is cut away; then the cane is cut into small pieces and put into a wooden mortar, which is made firm in the earth; after it has been pounded into a pulp it is put into a pit, when, being covered over with a cowhide and pressed down, the juice rises through the top. The expressed juice, which is very sweet, is then poured into calabashes, and these are placed near a fire to be made hot. When this process is over, the beverage is ready for use.

August 13.—Many Wakamba were here to-day; they sat in groups in Kivoi's yard, where I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with many of them, and of speaking to them respecting the salvation of their souls.

August 14.—To-day about two hundred men appeared in Kivoi's village. They came singing, dancing, and piping, and seated themselves in a semi-circle on the ground outside the village.

Kivoi asked me to accompany him, with my telescope in my hand: which I did, and when perfect quiet was restored, Kivoi marched up and down within the semi-circle, and delivered a long address. On his head he wore a kind of hat, decorated with ostrich-feathers; in his hand he carried a club, and by his side hung his sword and powder-horn; his body was perfectly naked, with the exception of a scanty piece of cloth. He stated in his address that he wished to recover from the Atua the cattle of which his relative had been robbed. If they would not assist him he should depart out of the land, and then they would never again see a stranger like me. After the people had promised obedience and assistance, they started on the expedition with Kivoi at their head.

The population of the village was now reduced to females only, it did not contain a single male, except myself, my servant, and Ngumbau, whose wife was said to have bewitched and destroyed the cattle of the Atua. The people were in great terror of an attack of the Atua by night, who might easily have taken and burned the village. Ngumbau came during the night trembling into my hut, and asked me to look through my telescope and see whether friends or foes were coming; my servant, too, was in great terror, and wished to return immediately to Yata and the sea-coast; I commended myself to the protection of Almighty God, and laid down in tranquillity on my bed.

August 17.—Kivoi returned after having peacefully arranged his quarrel with the Atua, the latter having promised to restore the cattle which had been stolen. Both parties had slaughtered an animal, eaten certain portions of it, and sworn to observe the treaty of peace. I spoke to Kivoi respecting that true peace which the world cannot give nor take away.

August 18.—When I informed the chief to-day of my wish to return to Yata, he said I was not to do so, as he would soon accompany me to the River Dana and to Mbe. He would afterwards go with me to Mombaz; there I was to hire some Suahili, who could build me a substantial dwelling in Ukambani; he would then help me to visit all the countries round about, and I might do with him what I pleased. I had no doubt that Kivoi could and might execute all these intentions, yet I feared his great greed, which would lead him to try and make capital out of me. He was well acquainted with Europeans, Suahili, and Arabs; he possessed great influence, too, on the coast and in the interior; but I felt no impulse to throw myself into his arms, and to enter into his schemes. I was still of the opinion that Yata was the best place for a missionary station.

August 19.—Kivoi's whole village rejoiced and danced in consequence of the restoration of peace. The chief had a quantity of uki prepared for our ap-

proaching journey to the River Dana. Early in the morning, whilst walking up and down in his inclosure, he gave each of his female slaves a quantity of Indian corn to grind.

August 20.—A little caravan arrived yesterday from Mbe with tobacco, which the Mbe people wished to sell in Ukambani.

August 24.—We started on our much-talked-of expedition yesterday evening, our route being to the north and north-west, mostly through very fine country, well suited for tillage and grazing. In the evening we bivouacked by a brook which flows towards Kitui. In the open and grassy wilderness, through which we wandered, there was here and there an acacia-tree to be seen; but otherwise the country was completely without wood.

August 25.—We broke up early, and after a short march we came upon four rhinoceroses grazing; but as we did not disturb them they remained quietly where they were. I used to have a great dread of those ugly and clumsy creatures, but by degrees I grew accustomed to them. All day we were gradually ascending; there was not a single tree to be seen, nothing but grass. We observed great herds of antelopes; and at one time we saw a flock of vultures flying upwards and then descending to the ground again; upon which the Wakamba immediately threw down their loads, and ran to the spot, where to their joy they found a great piece of the flesh of Ngundi, a kind of large antelope. Everywhere on our road Kivoi set fire to the grass, which did us mischief subsequently, as the fire informed the enemy of our onward march. We passed soon afterwards the brook Andilai, the water of which was very salt, on the banks of which I remarked a stratum of crystallized salt, which, however, was mixed with earth; but Kivoi's wives collected a quantity of it for our use on the road.

August 26.—We started very early. The caravan of Uembu people, whose leader was my Rumu wa Kikandi, carried a quantity of the wood of the poison-tree which grows in Kikambuliu, Mberria, and Teita, in pieces of from four to three inches thick. The wood is pounded, and then boiled, and the point of the arrow is besmeared with the black, thick paste, which is the result of the operation, the strength of the poison being first tested on animals. The people on the other side of the River Dana exchange tobacco and ivory for this wood, which does not grow in those regions, and in Kikumbuliu I saw whole caravans conveying heavy loads of this wood to Ukambani. Our way led us first up and then over a hill, a continuation of the Data, from the top of which there is a magnificent view towards Kikuyu and the valley of the Dana. To the south-west are Mounts Iweti and Nsao Wi, and beyond them the lofty Muka Mku and the Kanjallo, which mark the beginning of the highlands of Kikuyu. It seem probable that the chain of mountains which stretches from Ndungnai to Yata, and so on Kanjallo, may lose itself in Kirenia. When we had descended it on the other side, we halted by a brook, and while we were resting, the Wakamba saw again a number of vultures flying upward and downward. My servant ran immediately to the spot and found a great piece of a fallow-deer, which had been seized and partly devoured in the morning by a lion, whose footprints were apparent. I was glad of this roasting-joint, as Kivoi had but indifferently fulfilled his promise of furnishing us with provisions during the journey, and on the first day we had had nothing but bananas. After we had enjoyed our venison, we continued our journey. Again we saw the high mountain Muka M'ku, past the eastern foot of which the River Dika is said to flow, falling in Muea into the Dana, the Dana itself flowing to the west of Muka Mku.

August 27.—Last night we had encamped in a grassy wilderness; I felt much disquieted and awoke several times. Once the wind drove the fire to our encampment; another time, I thought I heard people running about. In the morning, we had no water for cooking purposes, so that there was but little enjoyment of our meal. When we reached the isolated Mount Kense, which rises up out of the great plain leading to the Dana, some twenty-five of Kivoi's people, who had left Kitui after us, joined our caravan, which now comprised from fifty to fifty-five persons. Not far from Kense, where we had halted, Kivoi lost the handle of my umbrella, which I had given him. After an hour and a half, he first discovered the loss, when he immediately commanded a halt, and returned with a troop of people to look for the missing article. This unimportant circumstance irritated me not a little, as I was hungry and thirsty, and wished to reach the river as soon as possible; and being thus discontented with the behaviour of Kivoi, who troubled himself about such a trifle as the loss of an umbrella handle, I went forward alone, hoping that five or six Wakamba would follow me, and hasten onward to the river. But not one of them moved an inch, because, as they said, Kivoi had not ordered them to break up the encampment, and was still a good way from us; so I had to stomach my ire as best I might, and was, after all, obliged to remain for several hours with the caravan, till Kivoi returned with the recovered umbrella handle. As soon as he had arrived, we broke up and journeyed onward; when after a short march, one of Kivoi's wives found in the grass a quantity of ostrich feathers, upon which he again commanded a halt to make a search for more feathers. He seated himself on the ground, and had the feathers found brought to him, not allowing any one to share them with him. When we were again in motion, and were within a good league of the Dana, Kivoi's slaves on a sudden pointed towards the forest towards which we were marching from the grassy and treeless plain. I ran to Kivoi's side, and saw a party of about ten men emerging from the forest, and soon afterwards came other and larger parties from another side, evidently with the object of surrounding us. Our whole caravan was panic-stricken, and the cry, "Meida" (They are robbers), ran through our ranks, upon which Kivoi fired off his gun, and bade me do the same. After we had fired thrice the robbers began to relax their pace, probably because they had heard the whistling of our bullets through the air. In the confusion and the hurry of loading I had left my ramrod in the barrel of my gun and fired it off, so that I could not load again. Whilst we were firing and our caravan was preparing for a conflict, Kivoi ordered one of his wives to open my umbrella, when the robbers immediately slackened their speed. They were also obstructed by the grass, which Kivoi had set on fire that the wind might blow the flames in their faces. When at last they had come within bow-shot of us Kivoi called to them to stop, and not to approach nearer. He then ran towards them, and invited them to a parley, upon which they ran up and

down, brandishing their swords and raising a shout of triumph. After a few minutes, Kivoi succeeded in persuading three of them to come into our encampment, where we had seated ourselves in rank and file upon the ground. The enemy likewise seated themselves. Kivoi now made a speech, telling them who he was and whither he was going; and after he had finished his address the spokesman of the opposite party laughed and said, "You need not be afraid; we have no hostile design; we saw the grass on fire, and only wished to know who the travellers were that had set it on fire. You can now go forward to the river; we will follow at once, and yonder settle our business with you." The robbers then remained seated, and took counsel with each other, while we continued our journey

On the way Kivoi was much troubled, and said that the interview had been unsatisfactory, and that the people were robbers. At last we entered the forest, the pathway on either side being inclosed by trees and bushes. Whenever our caravan rested for a little the robbers were seen following us from the plain, so I took advantage of one such interval to cut myself in haste a ramrod, and to load my gun. Meanwhile some five robbers came to us and said, "This is the way to the river; follow us." We followed them, I marching with the Uembu people, the front men of our caravan, while Kivoi remained behind Suddenly the robbers in front wheeled round, set up a war-shout, and began to discharge their arrows at us, and the robbers in the rear surrounded Kivoi. A great confusion arose; our people threw away their burdens, and discharged their arrows at the enemy, begging me imploringly to fire as quickly as I could. I fired twice, but in the air; for I could not bring myself to shed the blood of man. Whilst I was reloading a Mkamba rushed past me wounded in the hip, a stream of blood flowing from him. Right and left fell the arrows at my feet, but without touching me. When our people saw that they could not cope with an enemy 120 strong they took to flight. Rumu wa Kilandi and his people ran away and left me quite alone.

I deemed it now time to think of flight, especially as in the confusion I could not distinguish friend from foe; so I set off at a run in the direction taken by Rumu and his people; but scarcely had I gone some sixty paces, when I came to a trench or rather the dried-up bed of a brook, some ten feet deep, and from four to five in width. The Uembu people had thrown their loads into it, and leapt over the trench; but when I made the attempt I fell into it, breaking the butt-end of my gun and wounding my haunches in the fall; and as I could not climb up the steep bank of the brook I ran on along its bed until I came to a place where I could emerge from it. When I had gained the bank I ran on as fast as I could after the Uembu people, pursued by the arrows of the robbers which reached the brook; but as I could not come up with the former, my gun and the heavy ammunition in my pockets impeding my progress, I remained behind all alone in the forest; all my people had disappeared from before my face, and not one of them was to be seen. I may mention, that when I first took to flight, and before I reached the trench, I heard a heavy fall on the ground, and at once it occurred to me that Kivoi must have fallen, and this as I afterwards found out was really the case. I now ran on quickly as I could by the side of the brook into the forest. All at once I came to a glade where I saw a number of men, some 300 paces in front of me. Thinking them to be my people, recovered from their terror and collected again, I crossed the brook to reach them. Suddenly it came into my head that they might be the robbers, so I took my telescope, looked through it, and discovered to my horror that they were indeed the robbers, who were carrying off the booty plundered from our caravan. I noticed particularly one man with ostrich-feathers on his head, whom I recognised as one of the band when we first met with it; so I retreated immediately across the brook again, without being observed by the Meida, although I could see them with the naked eye. As I was re-entering the wood two large rhinoceroses met my view, which were standing quietly in front of me, some fifteen to twenty paces from me, but they soon turned aside and disappeared in the forest. For eight or ten minutes I resumed my flight at a run, till I thought I was out of the robbers' track, and emerged again into an open and grassy plain where I laid down beneath a tree, first of all giving thanks to the Father of mercy who had preserved me through so great a danger. I then reflected on my critical situation and the possibility of returning to Kivoi's village; then thought that I would repair to Mberre and seek our people there to accompany me back again. My most pressing want was water; for I was extremely thirsty, and had not had anything to drink all day, so I determined to press forward to the river. After a short march I came to a trodden pathway which I followed, and soon saw the surface of the river gleaming through the trees and bushes on its banks with a pleasure which no pen can describe, and which none but those who have been similarly placed can realise. After my thirst was satisfied, for want of water-bottles I filled the leather case of my telescope as well as the barrels of my gun, which was now useless to me; and I stopped up the mouths of the gun-barrels with grass, and with bits of cloth cut off my trousers.

After I had attended sufficiently to my animal wants I made a slight exploration of the river which was about 150 feet in width, and from six to seven feet deep. But this cannot be its normal depth during the hot season, for Kivoi, and Ruma wa Kikandi, both told me distinctly that then it only reached to the neck; and this was the reason why Kivoi had fixed on the hot season for his journey, in order to cross the Dana when its water was low; for in the rainy season the Wakamba cross the river on rafts. Its course, so far as I could see, is serpentine, running towards the east; but I do not doubt that it makes great detours before it arrives at the Indian Ocean. If its source in the lake at Kirenia is 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, it must certainly take a very circuitous course, or we must suppose it to form lofty cataracts before it reaches the level of the sea. Important results might be attained if Europeans would explore this river more fully, and discover whether it is navigable, and if so, to what distance. In the Mberre land on the other side of the river I saw a lofty mountain, which I named Mount Albert, in honour of the audience accorded to me by the Prince Consort at Windsor, in 1850.

Revived by the water of the Dana, I began again to think of my return-journey, and as it was still day it did not appear advisable to proceed any further at

present, so I concealed myself behind the bushes and waited for nightfall; and then, as may be supposed, I could not see the path in the deep darkness, but followed as much as possible the course of the wind; for as it was in our backs when we came, I judged rightly that returning I should always have it in my face. I wended on my way through thick and thin, often tumbling into little pits, or over stones and trunks of trees; but the thorns and the tall grass impeded me most of all, and I was troubled, too, by thoughts of the many wild beasts known to be in the neighbourhood of the Dana. I was so impeded and wearied by the tall grass that I determined to lie down and sleep, even if I were to die here in the wilderness; for it seemed as if I never should reach the coast again; but then I thought, straightway, that in no situation should man despair, but do the utmost for self-preservation and put his trust in God as to the issue. I called to mind Mungo Park, who had been in a similar strait in Western Africa, so, taking courage, I marched forward again as quickly as I could, and in due course emerged from the jungle and reached the great plain in which Kivoi had set fire to the grass. I now felt in better spirits, as I could proceed more quickly and with fewer obstructions. About midnight I came to a mountain which we had noticed in the course of our journey hither. As it had no name I called it Mount William, in memory of the audience granted me in 1850, by his Majesty Frederick William IV. of Prussia. This mountain commands a view of the whole region of the Dana, and serves as a landmark for the caravans which journey towards Ukambani, or towards Kikuyu and Mberre. Believing myself on the right track, I lay down behind a bush; for I was so wearied out that I could scarcely keep my feet, and for protection against the keen wind which blew over the plain, I cut some dry grass and spread it over and under my body. Awaking after a few hours I saw to the east a hill, as it were on fire, the flames lighting up the whole country round. It occurred to me immediately to bend my steps towards that hill, fearing at daybreak to be met or noticed in the plain by the robbers, while I hoped to pursue my course unobserved in the mountain-jungle, which I should be sure to find there. The result proved that I was in the right; for the robbers kept up the pursuit of the flying Wakamba during the ensuing day.

After I had started again, I felt the pangs of hunger and thirst; the water in my telescope case had run out, and that in the barrels of my gun which I had not drunk, had been lost on my way to Mount William, as the bushes had torn out the grass stoppers, and so I lost a portion of the invaluable fluid which, in spite of the gunpowder-flavour imparted to it by the barrels, thirst had rendered delicious. My hunger was so great that I tried to chew even leaves and roots to stay it, and as soon as day broke to break my fast on ants. The roar of a lion would have been music in my ears, trusting he would provide me with a meal. A little before daybreak I did hear a lion roar, and immediately afterwards the cry of an animal, which, however, soon ceased; for, no doubt, the lion had seized his prey; but the direction from which the cry came was too distant for me to risk leaving my route and to descend into the plain. For some time I marched along the barrier formed by the burning grass. It was a grand sight, and the warmth was very acceptable in the coolness of the night.

August 28.—When day dawned I saw that I was a good way from the Dana. I thanked God for his preservation of me during the night just gone by, and commended myself to his protection for the coming day. I found that I was taking the right direction, although not on the same track which we had travelled when coming hither. Indeed, it often seemed as if an invisible hand guided my steps; for I had invariably a strong sensation that I was going wrong, whenever, by chance, I deviated from the right direction. Soon after daybreak I saw four immense rhinoceroses feeding behind some bushes ahead; they stared at me but did not move, and I naturally made no attempt to disturb them. On the whole I was no longer afraid of wild beasts, and the only thought that occupied me was how to reach Kitui as soon as possible. Coming to a sand-pit with a somewhat moistish surface, like a hart panting for the waterbrooks, I anticipated the existence of the precious fluid, and dug in the sand for it, but only to meet with disappointment; so I put some of the moist sand into my mouth, but this only increased my thirst. About ten o'clock A.M. I quite lost sight of the Dana district, and began to descend the mountain, reaching a deep valley about noon, when I came upon the dry and sandy bed of the river, which we must have crossed more to the south-west a few days before. Scarcely had I entered its bed, when I heard the chattering of monkeys, a most joyful sound, for I knew that there must be water wherever monkeys appear in a low-lying place. I followed the course of the bed and soon came to a pit dug by monkeys in the sand, in which I found the priceless water. I thanked God for this great gift, and having quenched my thirst I first filled my powder-horn, tying up the powder in my handkerchief, and then my telescope case, and the barrels of my gun. To still the pangs of hunger I took a handful of powder and ate it with some young shoots of a tree, which grew near the water; but they were bitter, and I soon felt severe pain in my stomach. After climbing the mountain for some way, all of a sudden I observed a man and woman standing on a rock which projected from it, and tried to conceal myself behind a bush, but they had seen me and came towards me. By aid of my telescope I discovered that these people were Wakamba. They called me by my name, and I came out of my hiding-place and went towards them, recognising Ngumbau and his wife, who had been accused of witchcraft by the Atua, and doomed to death. Both had been afraid to remain behind during Kivoi's absence, and on that account had accompanied us to the Dana; but, on the onslaught of the robbers, they had fled, and, like myself, been journeying through the night. We were heartily glad to see each other, and they inquired anxiously about Kivoi and our caravan, but I could only tell them what had befallen myself. The woman who saw at once that I was famished, gave me a small bit of dried cassave. To escape observation, we journeyed as much as possible over ground covered with trees or bush, and about three in the afternoon we reached the foot of the Data, where we took shelter in the bush to avoid crossing the open plain by daylight. I soon fell asleep, and when I awoke the Wakamba wanted to start again; but I thought it too early, and wished first to search for water in the sandy bed of the river, so we waited till the approach of night, when after the search of half an hour without finding water, we continued our journey over the plain. Every now and then the

views of the Wakamba were opposed to mine, so that I often wished to be alone again and allowed to follow my own judgment. I wanted to go more to the south, while they insisted on taking an easterly direction; they wished to sleep by night and to travel by day, while I preferred the very contrary. After we had journeyed till midnight, I felt so tired out that I implored the Wakamba to rest for a while, and we slept for a few hours; but when I wished to start, they said the wind was so cold that they could not bear it, so I entreated them to leave me to go on alone, but they would not separate from me. About eight in the morning we saw in the distant open and bushless plain some people in a south-easterly direction. Taking them for robbers we laid down on the ground and concealed ourselves in the grass; but seeing that they did not come towards us we proceeded onward. My Wakamba ran on so fast that I could not keep pace with them. The pangs of hunger and thirst returned, and my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth so that I could not articulate. How great was the relief when at last, about noon, we came to a brook, where we found deliciously cool water! After a few hours we reached the brook on the bank of which we had bivouacked on the first day of our journey with Kivoi; so now, for the first time, we cheered up and considered ourselves safe. After a short march we met two men of Ulu, who told us they had heard that Kivoi and the Musungu, as they called me, had been killed. In the evening we reached the plantations of the Wakamba, and with nightfall arrived at the village of Umana, a relation of Kivoi's. I was now so weary, that after I had eaten a few bananas I fell asleep immediately in spite of the cold, which was here more penetrating than in the wilderness; as for covering I had nothing but the tattered clothes I wore. From Umama we heard that many fugitives had already returned, but that four Wakamba, with Kivoi and one of his wives, had been killed. I heard, too, that my Mnika servant had returned in safety.

August 30.—The Wakamba have been extremely cold in their demeanour towards me. One or two bananas and a few beans were all that they gave me for breakfast, although I was very hungry; and some of them visited Umana, and said openly, "The Musungu is a Munde Muduku" (The European is a wicked man), for not having protected Kivoi and his caravan, whilst several were of opinion that I ought to be punished by death. Knowing the superstitious and capricious character of the people, I had little doubt of some homicidal attempt, and therefore resolved to escape the following night.

August 31.—In the afternoon two Wakamba made their appearance, and carried me off to the village of Kitetu, before mentioned, and on the way I was forced to halt in the middle of a village because the whole population wanted to stare at me.

September 1.—The people kept coming the live-long day to look at me; my little English New Testament, my paper, pencil, and telescope, were all regarded as connected with sorcery. When I heard that my Mnika servant was in the neighbourhood, I sent for him; but he would not come, fearing lest the Wakamba should kill both of us.

September 2.—Kitetu would not allow me to start either for Yata or for Kivoi's village, and I heard from some Wakamba that Kivoi's relations intended to kill me, asking why I had gone to the Dana, since, as a magician, for which they took me, I ought to have known that the robbers were there. In any case, they said, I ought to have died along with Kivoi; so it was now clear to me why Kitetu detained me so long in his house.

September 4.—I was yesterday convinced of the murderous designs harboured against me by Kivoi's relatives, and resolved to escape by night from Kitetu's house.

Remembering that I let slip the best time for flight, when in 1842 I was amused from day to day by Adara Bille, the Wollo-Galla chief, I resolved to put my purpose in execution without a moment's delay. Designing to escape this very night, before I lay down in the evening I put some food and a calabash with water all ready for my flight. After midnight, about two in the morning, I rose from my hard couch and not without a beating of the heart opened the door of the hut. It consisted of heavy billets of wood, the Wakamba having no regular doors, but piling up logs above each other in the aperture of the habitation. Kitetu and his family did not hear the noise necessarily made by the displacement of this primitive door, and after I had made an opening in it sufficient to creep out I gained the exterior of the hut and hung the cowhide, on which I had been sleeping, over the aperture, lest the cold wind, blowing into the hut, should awaken its inmates before the usual hour, and fortunately there were no dogs in the inclosure. After leaving Kitetu's hut behind me I had to pass another in which a woman was nursing her child before a fire; but she did not notice me. I came then to two thorn-hedges, over which I jumped with difficulty. Meanwhile the moon was disappearing behind the mountains of Kikuyu, as I now bent my steps in a south-westerly direction towards a village which I had noticed the day before; as for several days previously I had been inquiring after the route preparatory to my flight to Yata. When I had reached the village in question I saw a fire in an inclosure, and heard the people talking and the dogs barking, upon which I struck immediately aside into the fields and ran on as fast as I could along the grassy plain. When day dawned I sought concealment upon the slope of a hill, which was covered with grass and bushes, and though my hiding-place was not far from a village, for I could hear the Wakamba talking, I lay the whole day hidden in the grass.

September 5.—At nightfall I quitted my hiding-place and continued my journey towards Yata. I had an additional reason to reach it as quickly as possible, in the fear that my people might have seized upon my property, on hearing, as was very probable, that I had been killed. The tall grass and the thorns sadly obstructed my path, and made my progress slower than I could have wished. Often in the darkness I fell into pits or over stones, and the thorns, those relentless tyrants of the wilderness, made sad havoc with my clothes. Wishing to husband my little stock of provisions, I plucked, as I passed through the plantation of the Wakamba, green Mbellasi, a kind of bean, and thrust them into my pockets. About midnight I stumbled on the sandy bed of a forest brook, and became hopeful of finding water, so I followed its course, and was overjoyed to meet with it in a sandpit, which, no doubt, had been dug by wild beasts. Thanking God for this mercy, I drank plentifully, and then filled my calabash. On leaving the bed of the brook I re-entered thorny and

grassy land, full of holes which the grass prevented me from seeing, and so, wearied out by my exhausting night-journey, I laid me down under a tree and slept for about an hour. On waking I ran on, forgetting to take my gun with me; but after some time I noticed my oversight, and returned; though in the darkness I could not discover the place where I had slept, so I did not care to waste precious time in further search, especially as the weapon was broken, and might have been only a burden to me on the journey; and continued my onward course. My treasure of food and water was of more importance than the gun. After a while I came to marshy ground, where I noticed a quantity of sugar-cane, a most welcome discovery. I immediately cut off a number of canes, and, after peeling them, chewed some of them, taking the remainder with me. The horizon began soon to blush with the crimson of morning, and warned me to look out again for a hiding-place; so as I saw at a little distance a huge tree, the large branches of which drooped till they touched the grassy ground beneath, I concealed myself under it at daybreak. When it was quite day I climbed the tree to ascertain my whereabouts; and great was my astonishment to find myself so near Mount Kidimui; so that there were yet thirty-six leagues to be traversed before I could reach Yata.

Towards noon I was very nearly discovered by some women who were gathering wood only thirty paces from my hiding-place; for one of them was making straight for the tree under which I was lying, when her child which she had put on the ground some sixty paces off of it, began to cry bitterly, which made her retrace her steps to quiet it. After I had been kept in suspense for an hour, oscillating between fear and hope, the women took their loads of wood upon their backs and made haste to their village.

September 6.—Hearing throughout the day the croak of frogs, I anticipated the vicinity of water. With nightfall I recommenced my journey, and soon came to a bog where I procured water, and at a little distance from it I came again upon sugar-cane, which I relished with a gusto which only such an outcast as I then was can understand. But as I proceeded I found myself so entangled in the high grass, and obstructed by thorns, pits, and brushwood, that I began to despair of ever reaching the goal of my journey. Throughout the night I kept losing my course, having to go out of my way to avoid bogs and holes, and the darkness made my compass of no avail. About midnight, I came to a tolerable path, which seemed to run in a south-westerly direction, and followed it until I came to a ravine, round which I had to wind. After I had hurried round it I came upon a large plantation, where I suddenly saw a fire only a few paces in front of me, upon which I immediately retreated, and had scarcely concealed myself in the bush when the Wakamba set up a loud cry, thinking, no doubt, that a wild hog had broken into the plantation. I waited till all was quiet, and then leaving the plantation behind me, I got upon a good path, which I followed as quickly as I could, fearing to be shot down by the watchers of the plantation, who might suppose that I was a wild hog, with felonious designs on the cassave and other crops. The path conducted me to a flowing brook, out of which I drank and filled my calabash; but having crossed it, found on the other side so many footpaths, that I was fairly puzzled which to follow, and so went straight on. At last I felt so utterly weary that I lay down under a tree, and slept till about three in the morning, when I awoke and recommenced my journey, finding myself anew in the meshes of the forest jungle. The day dawned, and I was still uncertain as to my course, and seeing the rock Nsambani some three or four leagues to the east of the place where I was, I felt at once the impossibility of reaching Yata by night marches; for in the course of three nights of hard walking I had scarcely gone six leagues forward; and so thought it best, at any risk, to surrender myself to Kivoi's kinsfolk, and place myself at their mercy. I did not, however, choose to return to Kitetu, but selected as my destination Kivoi's village where I had left some of my things. Early in the morning I met a Mkamba, who knew of my flight from Kitetu's hut, and I asked him to show me the way to Kivoi's village, which he did at once.

On my way thither it occurred to me to visit and to inform Kaduku, an influential Mkamba whose son had settled in the district of Rabbai on the coast, of my position. Thus, I thought, if Kivoi's kinsfolk put me to death the news would at last reach Rabbai, that I had not been murdered by the robbers at the Dana, but that I had returned in safety to Ukambani, and then and there been slain by Kivoi's relations. Kaduku gave me a friendly reception, and told me that my servant, Muambawa, had arrived in the neighbourhood, and intended to journey to Rabbai with a small caravan of Wanika, intelligence which was truly gratifying. Kaduku's wife gave me something to eat, upon which I proceeded in the company of a Mkamba to the village where my servant was reported to be. On my way a Mkamba accosted me, and strove to hinder me from going any further, because, he said, I intended to fly out of the country. My companion, however, pleaded energetically in my behalf, and I was allowed to proceed. On reaching the village we were told that my servant and the Wanika had left, and when I wished to return again to Kaduku, the Wakamba refused permission, so there was no alternative but to proceed to Kivoi's village, which was close at hand. I was obliged to wait before the gate until Kivoi's brother was informed of my arrival; but he soon came out to meet me, in the company of Kivoi's chief wife, who, like all his deceased brother's wives, now belonged to him, and he showed much apparent compassion for the disaster which had befallen me at the Dana. I then told him the whole story from the beginning, and mentioned my flight from Kitetu's house, a step taken, I said, because I had been prevented from going straight to Kivoi's village. I felt in a very feverish state, and was glad to get a cowhide on which I could lay down and enjoy a few hours' repose, although the unfeeling Wakamba at first allowed me no rest by surrounding me, and tormenting me with their inquisitiveness. Kivoi's chief wife gave me some milk, which refreshed me so greatly that I fell asleep, when it induced a perspiration, so that upon my awaking, the feverishness was gone. I was now in a painful plight; one, so to speak, rejected of men, and forced to be content if I escaped with my life, and had to ask for everything like a mendicant. Nobody would procure me any food, or even fetch me water, or kindle me a fire. When I asked for the things which I had left behind on setting out for the Dana, only my shoes, my air-bed, and a little rice, were restored to me; all the more important

articles were kept back; and when I inquired after the thief, Kivoi's wives bade them tell me, that if I laid any stress on the discovery of the author of the robbery they would have me murdered; and so I thought it best to say no more on the subject.

September 7.—This morning I felt again feverish; and suffered much from my left foot, which had been injured in one of my night-journeys by my falling over the trunk of a tree, and from a wound in the middle finger of my right hand, which had been almost torn off by the thorns in the darkness. The Wakamba watched all my movements, and this roused my suspicions anew.

September 8.—I felt very weak from the consequences of my last flight, and still more from want of proper nourishment, and therefore asked Muinda very pressingly for an escort to Yata, threatening him with secret flight if he prevented my departure. He said that to-morrow he and Kitetu would go with me and take some of their people to fetch the articles which I had promised to Kivoi.

September 9.—Kitetu having arrived, I was allowed to set forth. Muinda himself did not go with us; but sent some of his people, who, however, took with them but a scanty stock of food for the journey.

September 10-11.—I suffered much from thirst, as the Wakamba were too lazy to carry water in their calabashes, and at several stations the reservoirs were dried up; Kitetu, too, had given me nothing to eat but some hard grains of Indian corn, which I could not masticate. When I complained, the Wakamba only laughed at me, and spoke of my property at Yata, with which I could there purchase food for myself.

September 13.—We reached Yata in safety, and the whole population of the village was in a state of excitement, and came forth to see and greet me; some Wakamba, who had come from Kitui having spread the news that I had been killed along with Kivoi.

Entering my hut I found my servant Muambawa busy opening a bag containing beads, which he intended for the purchase of food for himself and the eleven Wanika who had been plundered. He did not seem rejoiced at my safe return to Yata, having thought me slain and himself the inheritor of my property. Kitetu now saw that I had not without reason, pressed for a speedy return to Yata to prevent the misappropriation of my goods.

September 14.—To-day, I handed over to Kivoi's kinsmen a portion of my things, as a reward for their escort of me to Yata; but they were not content, and would have liked to have had the whole, though, in the end, they were obliged to depart with what they had got, as they could not use force in a district not their own.

September 16.—As both my servants insisted on returning with the Wanika to Rabbai, and I could not trust the Wakamba either as servants or burden-bearers on a journey, no choice was left me but to return in the company of the Wanika, if I did not desire to place myself entirely in the hands of the capricious and uncertain Wakamba.

The people of Yata, and especially Mtangi wa Nsuki made objections at first to my return, wishing, as they did, that I should remain among them longer. At length, however, they gave in, and let me depart not only in peace, but with honour, the head men of Yata presenting me with a goat as a symbol of their friendly feeling towards me. From Mtangi and his family, too, I parted in friendship and peace, and they promised to take good care of the things which I had left behind until my return.

17th September.—I quitted Yata with painful feelings. It grieved me not to have been privileged to make a longer missionary experiment in Ukambani, as I could not feel satisfied that a mission in this country would not succeed, as the people of Yata had behaved with friendliness towards me; yet, situated as I was, my further stay was impossible.

Crossing the River Adi, at the foot of Yata, I found its volume of water much smaller than in July, it being now the rainy season neither in Kikuyu nor in Ukambani.

19th September.—We encamped in the inclosure of Ndunda, a chief in Kikumbuliu, in whose village we purchased provisions for the journey. The people kept asking me if I did not know whether it was going to rain, and if I could not make the rain fall. I replied, that if I had that power I should not buy calabashes for the transport of water on the journey; but their questioning gave me the opportunity to speak to them of the Creator of all things, whose will it was to bestow on us through His Son Jesus Christ the most precious of gifts for time and for eternity.

20th September.—To-day, we left Kikumbuliu, and on the way met some children from Mount Ngolia carrying the flesh of giraffes, which their parents had hunted down. We procured a quantity of it in exchange for salt, which is valuable in Ukambani. The children took us at first for robbers, and were running away after throwing down their loads; so I made them a present of some salt to give them confidence. At night we encamped in Mdido wa Andei.

21st September.—Onward for several hours through a well-wooded country; then as we were resting at noon under a tree we were joined by three Wakamba carrying a huge elephant's tusk, who reached us just at the right time, as we had resolved to pursue our journey through the forest to avoid the robbers of Kilima-Kibomu, and as my people did not know the way well the Wakamba served us as guides.

22nd September.—Onwards again through the dense and thorny wood, and as our stock of water was consumed, and the great heat had made us very thirsty, we exerted ourselves to the utmost to reach the River Tzavo. At noon, we came to the red hills which separate the Galla-land from the wilderness, and which are a continuation of the Ndungani range. After crossing the Tzavo we entered a still larger wood, where my people would have lost their way completely had they not climbed tall trees, from which they could discern the summits of the Kilima-Kibomu and Ndara.

23rd September.—As we were journeying this morning through a somewhat open wood my people all at once threw down their loads and fled in all directions, without telling me the cause of their hasty flight; so I speeded after them, thinking they might have seen robbers, for I could not suppose that they would run away from wild beasts. After they had got about 300 paces a Mnika stopped and said, "Stop! they must be gone now." I asked, "Who must be gone?" and he replied, "The elephants." "How absurd and silly!" I said, "to run away for such a cause; had I but known what it was I should not have troubled myself to run after you." In running I lost the bullets for my gun

and my pocket-knife; my water-jug, too, fell from my hand, and the calabash of my servant Muambawa was broken. I recovered the bullets, but the knife was not to be found; it was the loss of the water, however, which vexed me most. The Wakamba were much more courageous than the cowardly Wanika; for the former merely went on one side and allowed the animals to pass by. I did not see the elephants at all. In running a sharp piece of wood pierced through the soles of my shoe, and entered my foot, giving me great pain and forcing me to limp as I proceeded. At night we reared a thorn-fence round our encampment, and having cooked our suppers, put out the fire to avoid being noticed by robbers. We were then about five leagues distant from Kilima-Kibomu, but quite close to the Galla-land.

24th September.—Our path lay this morning over a rich black soil only slightly clothed with trees and shrubs, so that we might have been easily seen by robbers, the consciousness of which made us march in the greatest haste. About ten, we entered the large forest which surrounds the River Woi; and finding no water in the sandy bed of the river, we resolved to send a party to Mbuyuni, at the foot of the mountain Ndara, where there is water all the year round; but it was first necessary for us to discover the beaten track (so to speak) to Ukambani. After we had found the track and drawn water, we continued our journey in the hope of reaching Mount Kamlingo before nightfall, which, however, was impossible. Towards four in the afternoon the sky was covered by dark clouds, and soon afterwards rain fell heavily, forcing us to encamp for the night, when, fortunately, we found a large dschengo, thorn-inclosure, close by, which must have been recently formed by a caravan.

27th September.—Hunger and thirst drove us forward on our journey at a very early hour. When day had fairly dawned my people saw a buffalo, which so terrified them that they hastily threw down their loads and climbed up trees; but this time I did not allow myself to be hurried away by their idle panic, and merely went on one side of the path. For a long time after the buffalo had disappeared the people remained in the trees, and would not descend until I went forward by myself, on which they followed me; the cowardice of the Wanika on any sudden alarm is astonishing. About eleven we reached the water-station, Nsekano, where we cooked our forenoon meal, which consisted of a kind of bean. The district round about Nsekano was fresh with verdure, as rain had fallen some time before; but the rains from the coast extend only to Nsekano, or at furthest to Maungu and Ndara. In the evening we reached Ndunguni, where we bivouacked. I was now so exhausted and ill from the forced marches, that, in truth, I must have succumbed had the journey lasted a few days more. The Wakamba quitted us here, fearing to be robbed of their elephant's tusk if they went openly through the Duruma district.

28th September.—We broke up early from Ndunguni and journeyed eastward through a part of the Duruma country which hitherto no missionary had trodden. It is a noble district, formerly cultivated by the Duruma tribe, but afterwards abandoned by them. We crossed a brook the water of which was as salt as that of the sea, and whence the Wanika could furnish themselves with salt without being obliged to buy it from the Araba. At ten, we reached Mufumba, the first inhabited village which we had seen since we quitted Kikumbuliu; when the chief of the place gave me a large calabash of milk, and a porridge, made of water and Indian corn-flour; and as I partook rather too heartily of these dainties, my stomach suffered in consequence.

In the evening, weary and worn, I reached my hut in Rabbai Mpia where I found my friends well with the exception of Kaiser and Metzler, who were still ill with fever, as I had left them in July. It had long been given out on the coast that I was dead, so the joy of my friends, as well as of the Wanika, was proportionately great when they saw me arrive alive.

The facts and results of this journey to Ukambani, in its relation to the missionaries and their operations, may be summed up as follows:—As the route to Ukambani is an extremely dangerous one, partly on account of the Gallas and partly and chiefly on account of the robbers of Kilima-Kibomu, and as the gross superstition, and, still more, the lawlessness and anarchy, the faithlessness, capriciousness, and greed, of the Wakamba are very great, a permanent residence among them must be a very unsafe and doubtful enterprise. Further, as the distance from the coast to Yata is at least 110 leagues, and thus the keeping up a communication with Rabbai in the absence of an intermediate station would be rather difficult, it seems that an intermediate station should be established in Kadiaro or in Ndara, or on Mount Buru, before a Ukambani mission is undertaken. This mission, so long at least as there are not more missionaries in Rabbai, ought to be postponed, but not given up; since the Wakamba are connected with very many tribes in the interior, who are only to be come at through Ukambani. It is true that there is no direct route from Ukambani to Uniamesi as I had formerly thought there was, but Ukambani opens to us the route to many other tribes, and, it seems probable, precisely to those which inhabit the regions about the sources of the Nile. There appears to be a possibility, too, in Kikuyu, whither the route through Ukambani leads, of coming into contact with the Wakuafi, as in many localities in that region the Kikuyuans appear to live in companionship with the Wakuafi. No doubt, a journey to Ukambani and still more a residence in it, involve painful and trying self denial on the part of a missionary; but let us bear in mind the great daring of the Wakamba, and the dangers to which they expose themselves on their journeys and hunting expeditions, merely for the sake of earthly gain. Shall their love of lucre be allowed to put to shame the zeal of a missionary who has the highest of all objects at heart—the greatest of all gain—the regeneration of the heathen! I would add that he should be able to take with him into the interior trusty servants from the coast, and, if possible, some native Christian catechists, and if the latter could be found in Rabbai, so much the better. If they are to be trained, however, for their functions at Bombay or at the Mauritius, among the many East Africans to be found there, use must be made of their instrumentality, should the other alternative fail.

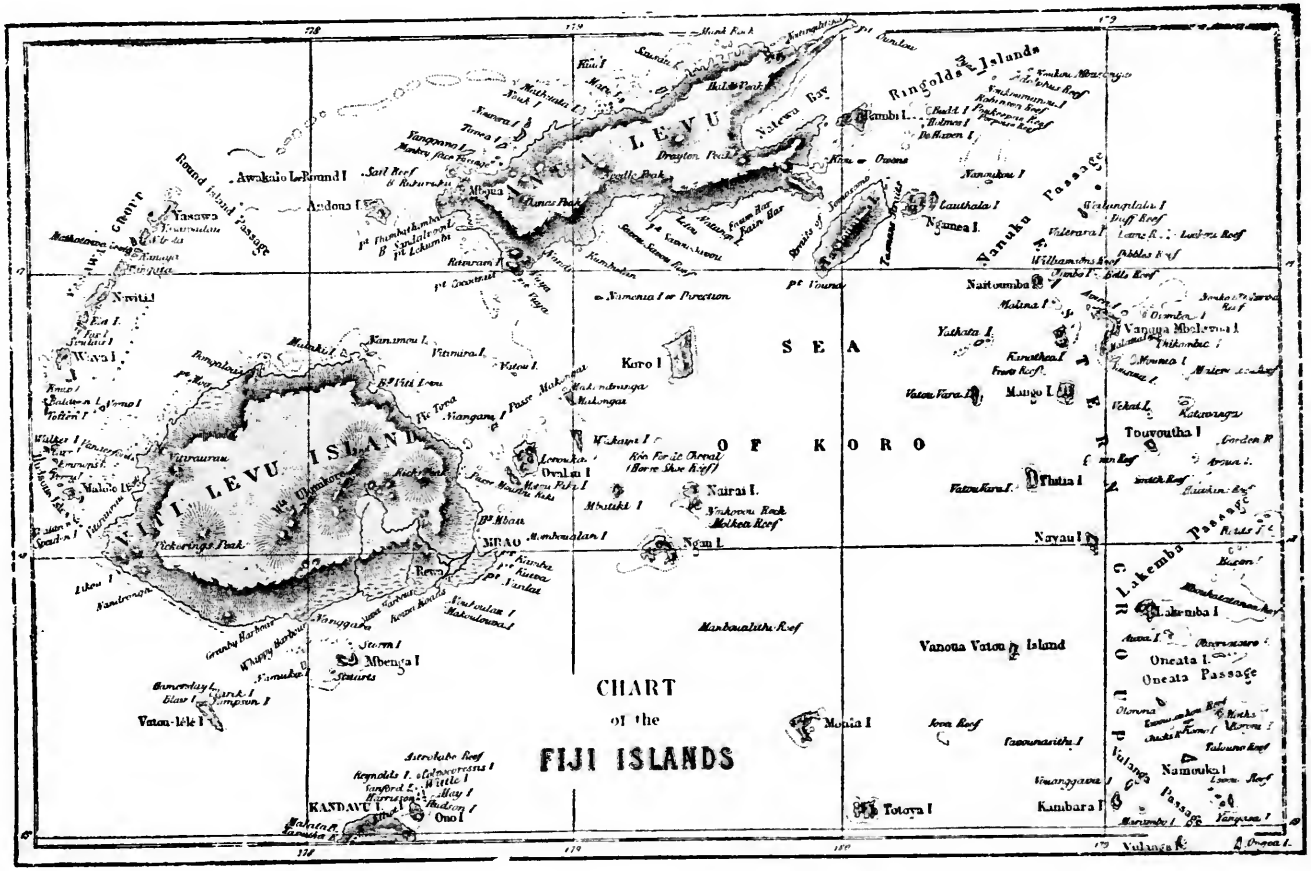
CHART
of the
FIJI ISLANDS
VITI LEVU ISLAND
SEA OF KORO
Round Island Passage
Ringolds Islands
Nanuku Passage
Lakemba Passage
Oneata Passage
Vanoua Voton Island
Vulanga Passage
Kandavu Group
Kandavu I
Mbengi I
Mbau
Rewa
Naitoumba
Vanua Mbalavu I
Mango I
Thitia I
Nayau I
Ngau I
Nairai I
Koro I
Ngamea I
Lauthala I
Mbau I
Totoya I
Kambara I
Namouka I
Oneata I
Lakemba I
Mbengga I
Vatoa-lele I
Ono I
Nasawa
Nawiti I
Round I
Awakaio I
Mbengga
Naiteva Bay
Drayton Peak
Walk Peak
Rekeringa Peak
Mt Ukimbokoro
Nuku Peak
Greenly Harbour
Whippy Harbour
Astrolabe Reef
Manbaualithi Reef
Iova Reef
Vulanga R.
Oneata I.

THE FIJI ISLANDS AND THE FIJIANS.

I.

THE FIJI GROUP—EARLY HISTORY—VOLCANIC AND CORAL ISLANDS—GENERAL ASPECT—DETAILS OF ISLANDS—CORAL FORMATIONS—NATURAL HAVANS—CLIMATE—DIVISIONS OF THE GROUP.

THE Fiji Islands constitute one of the most important groups of the Coral Islands of the Central South Pacific Ocean, or which, with Society Islands, Navigator's Islands, Marquesas and others, all destined possibly one day to cement into a common continent, comprise what is designated as Polynesia. This particular group, including as it does the islands lying between the latitudes of 15° 30′ and 20° 30′ S., and the longitude of 117° E. and 178° W., comprises among others what were named, by Tasman, Prince William's Islands and Heeniskirk's Shoals, and extends over about 40,000 square miles of ocean. The name is written Viti by the French, Fiji by the English: both would appear to be correct. Fiji being the name in the windward, and Fiti or Viti in the leeward parts of the group.

The natives have hitherto been considered as forming a connecting link between the Malayan and the Papuan branch of the Austral Negroes, or Alforians, as Prichard called them, from the Arabo-Portuguese Alfors, the people without, *i.e.*, the jurisdiction of the Portuguese. Mr. Crawford, a high authority in these matters, however, considers them to be a distinct race. (See *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. I., part ii., p. 377.)

More than two hundred years have elapsed since the discovery of these islands by Abel Jansen Tasman, the Dutch navigator, after whose voyage, in 1643, they remained unvisited until Captain Cook lay-to c.. an island in the windward group, naming it "Turtle Island." In 1789, Captain Bligh, in the *Bounty's* launch saw a portion of the group, and passed through other parts of it when commanding the *Providence* in 1792. In 1796 the *Duff*, under the command of Captain Wilson, seems to have followed the same course as Tasman, and was nearly lost, just touching the reef of Tavuini. About the year 1806 Fiji began to be visited by traders for the purpose of procuring sandal-wood to burn before Chinese idols, or biché di mar, to gratify the palate of Chinese epicures. It was only from the men engaged in this traffic that anything was heard about the islands or their inhabitants, until the establishment of the missionaries there in 1835, and the subsequent elaborate surveys made of the group by the United States Exploring Expedition and by Her Majesty's ship *Herald*, under the command of Captain Denham. So striking, sudden and rapid has been the transition from indifference, neglect, and ignorance, to interest, attention, and anxious inquiry, that a French writer has not hesitated to say that England proposes to itself to extend a protectorate over these islands, the way for which has been long since prepared by the half-religious, half-political measures of its missionaries. Considering how lately the French have established protectorates over New Caledonia, the Society Islands, and the Marquesas, in the same neighbourhood, the thing is not at all unlikely.

The early history of Fiji is necessarily obscure. Whether the first stranger who gazed upon its extent and beauty was a Tongan or European is doubtful. If it can be admitted that up to the time of Captain Cook's visit to the Friendly Islanders, in 1772, they were unused to war, and were then only beginning to practise its horrors as learned by them in Fiji, the probability is in favour of the latter. But whether these islanders, age after age, enjoyed the peace implied in the above supposition is more than questionable The evil passions, "whence come wars and fightings," are, in Tongan nature, of ruling power; and to suppose these at rest in a thousand heathen bosoms for a single year, is extremely difficult—a difficulty which grows as we increase either the number of persons or the length of time. Tongan intercourse with Fiji dates far back, and originated, undoubtedly, in their canoes being driven among the windward islands by strong easterly winds. More than a hundred years ago the recollection of the first of such voyages was lost, which seems to put back its occurrence even beyond Tasman's visit in 1643.

About the year 1804 a number of convicts escaped from New South Wales and settled among the islands Most of these desperadoes lived either at Mbau or Rewa, the chiefs of which allowed them whatever they chose to demand, receiving, in return, their aid in carrying on war. The new settlers made themselves dreaded by the natives, who were awed by the murderous effect of their fire-arms. The hostile chiefs, seeing their bravest warriors fall in battle without an apparent cause, believed their enemies to be more than human, against whom no force of theirs availed, whose victory was always sure, while their progress invariably spread terror and death. No thought of improving and consolidating the power thus won seems to have been entertained by the whites. Had such a desire possessed them, the absolute government of the entire group lay within their reach; but their ambition never rose beyond a life of indolence, and an unrestrained gratification of the vilest passions. Some of them were men of the most desperate wickedness, being regarded as monsters even by the ferocious cannibals with whom they associated. These lawless men were twenty-seven in number on their arrival, but in a few years the greater part had ended their career, having fallen in the native wars, or in deadly quarrels among themselves. A Swede, named Savage, who had some redeeming traits in his character, and was acknowledged as head man by the whites, was drowned, and eaten by the natives, at Weilea, in 1813. In 1824 only two, and in 1840 but one, of his companions survived. This last was an Irishman named Connor, who stood in the same relation to the King of Rewa as Savage had done to the King of Mbau. His influence among the natives was so great, that all his desires, some of which were of the most inhuman kind, were gratified. The King of Rewa would always avenge,

1.—PREPARING KAWA, THE NATIONAL DRINK.

2.—A NATIVE UMBRELLA

3.—A WAR DANCE.

4.—NATIVE HOUSE: PRESENTATION OF FOOD TO A CHIEF.

5.—A FIJIAN PRINCE.

SKETCHES OF FIJIAN LIFE.

and sometimes in the most cruel manner, the real or fancied wrongs of this man. If he desired the death of any native, the chief would send for the doomed man, and direct him to make and heat an oven, into which, when red-hot, the victim was cast, having been murdered by another man sent for the purpose.

Soon after the death of his patron, Paddy Connor left Rewa. He was thoroughly Fijianised, and of such depraved character that the white residents who had since settled in the island drove him from among them, being afraid of so dangerous a neighbour. At the close of life his thoughts seemed only occupied about rearing pigs and fowls, and increasing the number of his children from forty eight to fifty.

These men are mentioned because of their close connection with the rise of Mbau and Rewa, which two places owe their present superiority to their influence, the former having long been the most powerful state in Fiji.

The entire group comprises not fewer than two hundred and twenty-five islands and islets, about eighty of which are inhabited. Among these, every variety of outline can be found, from the simple form of the coral isle to the rugged and often majestic grandeur of volcanic structure.

The islands in the eastern part of the Archipelago are small, and have a general resemblance to each other; towards the west they are large and diversified. The two largest are superior to any found in the vast ocean-field stretching thence to the Sandwich Islands; while the ever-changing beauties of scenery enable the voyager, as he threads the intricate navigation among reefs and islands, to share the feelings thus expressed by Commodore Wilkes: "So beautiful was their aspect, that I could scarcely bring my mind to the realising sense of the well-known fact, that they were the abode of a savage, ferocious, and treacherous race of cannibals."

When each island of so large a group has a claim to be noticed, selection is difficult, and the temptation to detail strong. It must not, however, be yielded to—a few examples sufficing to give a general idea of the whole.

Yathata and Vatuvara are placed by geologists in a class that has long been in high favour as the fairy-lands of the South Seas. They are composed of sand and coral *débris*, covered with a deep soil of vegetable mould. Yathata is hilly and fertile. Of this class there are few in Fiji. They are from two to six miles in circumference, having the usual belt of white sand, and the circlet of cocoa-nuts with their foliage of "pristine vigour and perennial green." Such islands have generally one village, inhabited by fifty or one hundred oppressed natives.

The other islands to windward are of volcanic formation, their shore only having a coral base. Vulanga is one of this class, and appears as though its centre had been blown out by violent explosions, leaving only a circumferent rim, which to the west and south is broad, and covered with rocks of black scoria rising to a height of nearly two hundred feet; but to the north-east is narrow and broken. This rim encircles an extensive sheet of water of a dark blue colour, studded with scoriaceous islets, enamelled with green, and worn away between the extremes of high and low water until they resemble huge trees of a mushroom form; thus giving a most picturesque effect to this sheltered haven of unbroken calm.

My first entrance, says the Rev. Thomas Williams, to this lagoon was made at the risk of life; and the attempt would be vain to tell how welcome were its quiet waters after the stormy peril outside. A mountainous surf opposed the strong current which forced its way through the intricate passage, causing a most terrific whirl and commotion, in the midst of which the large canoe was tossed about like a splinter. The excitement of the time was intense, and the impressions then made were indelible. The manly voice of Tubou Toutai, issuing his commands amid the thunder of the breakers, and the shrieks of affrighted women; the labouring of the canoe in its heaving bed of foam; the strained exertions of the men at the steer-oar; the anxiety which showed itself on every face; were all in broad contrast with the felt security, the easy progress, and undisturbed repose which were attained the moment the interior of the basin was reached. Vulanga, although having its own beauty, is so barren that little except hardy timber is found growing upon it. Its gullies are bare of earth, so that neither the yam nor the banana repays culture. Smaller roots, with fish, which abound here, and yavato—a large wood-maggot—give food to the inhabitants of four villages.

Mothe, lying to the N.E. of Vulanga, is very fruitful, having an undulating surface much more free from wood than the islands to the south. A fortress occupies its highest elevation, in walking to which the traveller finds himself surrounded by scenery of the richest loveliness. A sandy beach of seven miles nearly surrounds it. There are many islands of this size in the group, each containing from 200 to 400 inhabitants.

Lakemba, the largest of the eastern islands, is nearly round, having a diameter of five or six miles, and a population of about 2,000 souls.

Totoya, Moala, Nairai, Koro, Ngau, Mbengga, exhibit on a larger scale the beauties of those islands already named, having, in addition, the imposing charms of volcanic irregularities. Among their attractions are high mountains, abrupt precipices, conical hills, fantastic turrets and crags of rock frowning down like olden battlements, vast domes, peaks shattered into strange forms; native towns on eyrie cliffs, apparently inaccessible; and deep ravines, down which some mountain stream, after long murmurings in its stony bed, falls headlong, glittering as a silver line on a block of jet, or spreading, like a sheet of glass, over bare rocks which refuse it a channel. Here also are found the softer features of rich vales, cocoa-nut groves, clumps of dark chestnuts, stately palms and bread-fruit, patches of graceful bananas, or well tilled taro-beds, mingling in unchecked luxuriance, and forming, with the wild reef-scenery of the girdling shore, its beating surf, and far-stretching ocean behind, pictures of surpassing beauty.

Matuku is eminent for loveliness where all are lovely. These islands are from fifteen to thirty miles in circumference, having populations of from 1,000 to 7,000 each.

Mbau is a small island, scarcely a mile long, joined to the main—Viti Levu—by a long flat of coral, which at low water is nearly dry, and at high water fordable. The town, bearing the same name as the island, is one of the most striking in appearance of any in Fiji, covering, as it does, a great part of the island with irregularly placed houses of all sizes, and tall temples with projecting ridge-poles, interspersed with unsightly

canoe sheds. Here is concentrated the chief political power of Fiji. Its inhabitants comprise natives of Mbau and the Lasakau and Soso tribes.

Taviuni, commonly called Somosomo, from its town of that name being the residence of the ruling chiefs, is too fine an island to be overlooked. It is about twenty-five miles long, with a coast of sixty miles, and consists of one vast mountain, gradually rising to a central ridge of 2,100 feet elevation. Fleecy clouds generally hide its summit, where stretches a considerable lake, pouring through an outlet to the west a stream which, after tumbling and dashing along its narrow bed, glides quietly through the chief town, furnishing it with a good supply of fresh water. A smaller outlet to the east discharges enough water to form a small beautiful cascade. This lake is supposed to have as its bed the crater of an extinct volcano, an idea supported by the quantity of volcanic matter found on the island. However wild and terrible the appearance of the island once, it is now covered with luxuriance and beauty beyond the conception of the most glowing imagination. Perhaps every characteristic of Fijian scenery is found on Somosomo, while all the tropical vegetables are produced here in perfection. It has only a land-reef, which is often very narrow, and in many places entirely wanting, breaking, towards Tasman's Straits, into detached patches.

Kandavu is another large and mountainous island, twenty-five miles long, by six or eight wide. It has a very irregular shore, abounds in valuable timber, and has a population of from 10,000 to 13,000.

A good idea of the general appearance of these islands is obtained by regarding them as the elevated portions of submerged continents. The interior is, in many instances, a single hill or mountain, and, in many others, a range, the slopes of which, with the plains mostly found at their feet, constitute the island.

There yet remain to be noticed the two large islands, which, when compared with those stretching away to the east, assume the importance of continents.

Vanua Levu (Great Land) is more than one hundred miles long, having an average breadth of twenty-five miles. Its western extremity is notable as being the only part of Fiji in which sandal-wood can be produced. The opposite point of the island is deeply indented by the Natawa Bay, which is forty miles long, and named by the natives, "the Dead Sea." The population of Vanua Levu is estimated at 31,000. Its scenery much resembles that of Na Viti Levu (the Great Fiji) which measures ninety miles from east to west, and fifty from north to south. (*See* p. 169.) A great variety of landscape is found in navigating the shores of great Fiji. To the S.E. there is tolerably level ground for thirty-six miles inland, edged, in places, by cliffs of sandstone five hundred feet high. The luxuriant and cheerful beauty of the lowland then gives place to the gloomy grandeur and unbroken solitude of the mountains. To the S.W. are low shores with patches of brown, barren land; then succeed narrow vales, beyond which rise hills, whose wooded tops are in fine contrast with the bold bare front at their base. Behind these are the highest mountains in the group, bleak and sterile, with an altitude of 4,000 or 5,000 feet. Westward and to the east, high land is close to the shore, with only narrow strips of level ground separating it from the sea. Proceeding northwards, some of the finest scenery in Fiji is opened out. The lower level, skirted by a velvety border of mangrove bushes, and enriched with tropical shrubs, is backed, to the depth of four or five miles, by hilly ground, gradually reaching an elevation of from 400 to 700 feet, with the lofty blue mountains seen, through deep ravines, in the distance. Great Fiji has a continuous land or shore reef, with a broken sea-reef extending from the west to the north. The Great Land also, has in most parts a shore-reef, with a broken sea-reef stretching from its N.E. point the whole length of the island, and beyond it in a westerly direction. Great Fiji is supposed to contain at least 40,000 inhabitants.

Scanty and imperfect as is this notice of some of its chief islands, enough has been said to show the superiority of Fiji over most other groups in the Pacific, both in extent of surface, and amount of population. This superiority will be made clearer by the following statement of their relative importance:

The islands comprising Viti-i-loma (Middle Fiji) are equal to the fine and populous island of Tongatabu together with the Hervey Islands.

The Yasawas are equal to Vavau.

The eastern group is equal to the Hapai Islands.

The Somosomo group equals the Dangerous Archipelago and the Austral Islands.

The Great Land is equal to the Marquesas, Tahiti, and Society Islands.

Great Fiji alone surpasses the Samoan group; while there still remains over the Kandavu group, with a population of about 12,000.

The volcanic formation of these islands has already been intimated, and the indications of craters alluded to; but as no lava in a stream has been found, the very remote construction of the group seems almost certain. Volcanic action has not, however, entirely ceased; violent shocks of earthquake are at times felt, and at Waizunu and Na Savusavu, on Vanua Levu, and also on the island of Ngau, there is enough volcanic heat to produce warm and boiling springs. The high peaks and needles on the large islands are mostly basaltic. Volcanic conglomerate, tufaceous stones, porous and compact basalts, are found of every texture, of many colours, and in various stages of decomposition. In several places I have seen very perfect and distinct columns of basalt some feet in length.

The soil is in some places gravelly and barren; occasionally a stratum of reddish clay and sandstone is found; but a dark red or yellowish loam is most common: this is often deep and very rich, containing, as it does, much decayed vegetable matter. Decomposed volcanic matter forms a very productive soil, especially in those vales where such debris mingles with deposits of vegetable mould. Portions of the large flats, covered with rank grass, treacherously hiding the soft, adhesive mud beneath, would baffle the skill of the British husbandman, although much prized by the natives, who find in them just the soil and moisture needed for the cultivation of their most valued esculent, the taro. These swamps would perhaps answer well, under efficient management, for the cultivation of rice.

The lee-side of a mountain generally presents a barren contrast to that which is to windward, receiving as this does on summit and slopes the intercepted clouds, thus securing regular showers and abundant fertility, while to leeward the unwatered vegetation is dying down to the gray hues of the boulders among which it struggles for life. To this however, there are some marked exceptions.

In some places a surface of loose rubble is found. It is stated on good authority that, about thirty years since, a town within a few miles of Mbau was buried by a land-slip, when so much of the mountain face slid down as to overwhelm the whole town, and several of its inhabitants.

From the shore we step to the reefs. These are gray barriers of rock, either continuous or broken, and of all varieties of outline, their upper surface ranging from a few yards to miles in width. The seaward edge, over which the breakers curve, while worn smoother, stands higher than the surface a few feet within, where the waves pitch with a ceaseless and heavy fall. Inclosed by the reef is the lagoon, like a calm lake, underneath the waters of which spread those beautiful subaqueous gardens which fill the beholder with delighted wonder

Shore or attached reefs, sea or barrier reefs, beds, patches, or knolls of reef, with sunken rocks and sand-banks, so abound in Fiji and its neighbourhood as to make it an ocean labyrinth of unusual intricacy, and difficult of navigation.

The Rev. Thomas Williams is a sturdy opponent of Darwin's theory of the formation of coral islands. Commodore Wilkes, whom he quotes in favour of his views, may be considered to a certain extent as a man of observation; but neither his opinions nor those of Mr. Williams, can weigh for a moment against the opinions entertained by such competent and philosophical observers as Quoy and Gaimard, Darwin, and other professed naturalists: all whose observations tend the same way. It will be interesting, however, to give the reader the adverse view of the subject.

The coral formation, says Mr. Williams, found here to so vast an extent, has long furnished an interesting subject for scientific research, and proved a plentiful source of ingenious conjecture; while the notion has found general favour, that these vast reefs and islands owe their structure chiefly to a microscopic zoophyte—the coral insect. Whether by the accumulated deposit of their exuviæ, or by the lime-secretion of their gelatinous bodies, or the decomposition of those bodies when dead, these minute polyps, we are told, are the actual builders of islands and reefs; the lapse of ages being required to raise the edifice to the level of the highest tide; after which, the formation of a soil by drifting substances, the planting of the island with seeds borne by birds, or washed up by the waves, and, lastly, the arrival of inhabitants, are all set forth in due order, with the exactness of a formula based upon the simplest observation. A theory so pretty as this could not fail to become popular, while men of note have strengthened it by the authority of their names. Close and constant inspection, however, on the part of those who have had the fullest opportunity for research, is altogether opposed to this pleasingly interesting and plausible scheme. Wasting and not growth, ruin and not building up, characterise the lands and rock-beds of the southern seas. Neither does the ingenious hypothesis of Darwin, that equal gain and loss—rising in one part, and depression in another—are taking place, seem to be supported by the best ascertained facts; for the annular configuration of reef which this theory pre-supposes, is by no means the most general. "In all the reefs and islands of coral I have examined," writes Commodore Wilkes, "there are unequivocal signs that they are undergoing dissolution;" a conclusion in which my own observation leads me entirely to concur. The operation of the polyps is undoubtedly seen in the beautiful madrepores, brain-corals, and other similar structures which, still living, cover and adorn the surface; "but a few inches beneath, the reef is invariably a collection of loose materials, and shows no regular coralline structure, as would have been the case if it had been the work of the lithophyte." These corals rarely reach the height of three feet, while many never exceed so many inches. The theory stated above assumes that the polyps work up to the height of a full tide. Such is not the case. I am myself acquainted with reefs to the extent of several thousands of miles, all of which are regularly overflowed by the tide twice in twenty-four hours, and, at high water, are from four to six feet below the surface; all being a few inches above low-water mark, but none reaching to the high-tide level.

But whatever may be the origin of the reefs, their great utility is certain. The danger caused by their existence will diminish in proportion as their position and outline become better known by more accurate and minute survey than has yet been made. To the navigator possessing such exact information, these far-stretching ridges of rock become vast breakwaters, within the shelter of which he is sure to find a safe harbour, the calm of which is in strange, because so sudden, contrast with the stormy sea outside. In many cases a perfect dock is thus found; in some large enough to accommodate several vessels, with a depth of from three to twelve fathoms of water. Besides these, a number of bays, indenting the coast of the large islands, afford good anchorage, and vary in depth from two to thirty miles. Into these the mountain-streams disembogue, depositing the mud-flats found in some of them, and rendering the entrance to the river shallow. Still the rivers, furnishing a ready supply of fresh water, increase the value of the bays as harbours for shipping. By these Fiji invites commerce to her shores; and in these a beneficent Creator is seen providing, for the prospective wants of the group, ready built ports for the shelter of those "who go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters." To such persons the winds are a subject of prime interests. During eight months—from April to November—the prevailing winds blow from the E.N.E. to the S.E., when there is often a fresh trade-wind for many successive days, mitigating, to some extent, the tropical heat. These winds, however, are not so uniform as elsewhere. During the rest of the year there is much variation, the wind often blowing from the north, from which quarter it is most unwelcome. This—the tokalu—is a hot wind, by which the air becomes so rarefied as to render respiration difficult. The months most to be feared by seamen are February and March. Heavy gales sometimes blow in January; hence these three are often called "the hurricane months." The morning land-breezes serve to modify the strong winds in the neighbourhood of the large islands.

Considering the nearness of these islands to the equator, their climate is neither so hot nor so sickly as might be expected, the fierceness of the sun's heat being tempered by the cool breezes from the wide surface of the ocean around. The swamps are too limited to produce much miasma; and fever, in its several forms, is scarcely known. Other diseases are not so numerous or malignant as in other climes, especially such as lie between the tropics. The air is generally

clear, and in spring and autumn months the climate is delightful. In December, January, and February, the heat is oppressive: the least exertion is followed by profuse perspiration, and no ordinary physical energy can resist the enervating influence of the season, begetting a fear lest Hamlet's wish should be realised, that—

> "Solid flesh would melt—
> Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew."

The temperature is nearly uniform; the greatest extremes of heat and cold being experienced inland. My meteorological journal, kept at Lakemba in 1841, and ten years later at Vanua Levu, shows 62° as the lowest, and 121° as the highest, temperature noted. The low temperature here recorded I ascribe, in part, to a river running close by my house. The mean temperature of the group throughout may be stated at 80°. Very hot days are sometimes preceded by very cold nights.

No resident in Fiji having ever possessed a rain-gauge, it is impossible to speak with accuracy about the quantity of water which falls. I find the following entry in my journal: "1850, March 14th. We have had forty-five days in succession rainy, more or less. These were preceded by four or five dry days: before these again we had twenty-four rainy ones. On many of these days only a single shower fell, and that but slight; so that the real depth of rain might not be unusual."

Against the number of rainy days here given, must be placed the long duration of uninterrupted dry weather, often extending over two or three months. At times the burdened clouds discharge themselves in torrents. The approach of a heavy shower, while yet far away, is announced by its loud beating on the broad-leaved vegetation; and when arrived, it resembles the bursting of some atmospheric lake.

This glance at the discovery and general aspect of the Fiji Islands may be fitly closed by a few remarks on their division and classification, as described on some maps and globes of modern date.

The division of the group, as laid down in the account of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, viz., into seven districts, under as many principal chiefs, is objectionable, as disregarding the divisions made by nature, and those recognised by the natives, while it excludes Lakemba and its dependencies, which form a district very much more important than either Mathuata or Mbau.

The peculiar character and relative rank of the several authorities in Fiji render an accurate political division impossible.

The natives use terms equivalent to Upper, Lower, and Central Fiji, excluding the two large islands; thus making five sections, which, though well enough for general use, are far from having fixed boundaries. More minute distinctions are therefore made by the people, to enable them to refer with precision to the several parts of the group. I would submit six divisions; or eight, if the eastward islands are viewed as composing three sections, which certainly ought to be the case. They are virtually thus divided by the United States surveyors, who give a distinct name to those forming the north end (Ringgold's Isles), but exclude Ono—the extreme south—from their chart of Fiji.

A division of the group into eight compartments would—following the course of the sun—be as under:

The Ono Group; comprising Ono, Ndoi, Mana, Undui, Yanuya, Tuvana-i-tholo, and Tuvana-i-ra.

The Lakemba Group; beginning with Vatoa, and ending with Tuvutha and Thithia: thirty-three islands and islets.

The Exploring Isles, with Mango, Kanathea, Naltaumba, Vatura, Yathata, and a number of islets form the third group.

Middle Fiji; containing Matuku, Totoya, Moala, Ngau, Nairai, Koro, Ovalau, and a few smaller islands.

Vanua Levu and Taviuni, with their contiguous islands—about fifty—form the fifth group in order, and the second in importance.

Great Fiji, with the fifty islands on its coasts, is the sixth and most important division.

The Kandavu Group numbers thirteen islands, several of them small.

The Yasawas form the eighth group, and include more than thirty small islands.

This mode of division embraces every island properly belonging to Fiji, while it facilitates a reference to each individually.

Modern geographers class Fiji with the Tonga group, entitling them all, "The Friendly Islands." There is no good reason for such a classification; but there are several which show it to be erroneous, and demand its discontinuance. Geologically considered, the groups are different. The inhabitants also belong to two distinct types, having between them as much difference as between a Red Indian and an Englishman. Their mythologies and languages are also widely diverse. These facts protest against the confounding of the two groups in one.

II.

Configuration of the Fijians—Government—Kings of Mbau—Arbitrary Power—Distinctions of Royalty—Punishments—Fijian Society—Practices of Etiquette—Follow in Falling—Tax-paying among the Fijians.

Differences of colour, physical conformation, and language combine to form a separating line between the East and West Polynesians sufficiently clear, until we reach Fiji, where the distinguishing peculiarities are no longer met with, but a new race makes its appearance. (For illustration of the types and physical configuration of the Fijians, *See* p. 152.) If at the east end of the group the Asiatic peculiarities are found marked, these die away as we go westward, giving place to such as are decidedly Australian, but not Negro. Excepting the Tongans, the Fijian is equal in physical development to the islanders eastward, yet distinct from them in colour, in which particular he approaches the pure Papuan negro; to whom, in form and feature, he is, however, vastly superior. Many of his customs distinguish him from his neighbours, although he is by language united to them all.

Directed by such facts, there can be little doubt of the Fijian's peculiarity of race from the Polynesians, Australians, and other dark races of the Pacific, and of the East Indian Archipelago. His ancestors may be regarded as the original proprietors of his native soil; while the race has been preserved pure from the direct admixture of Malayan blood, by the hitherto strict observance of their custom to slaughter all shipwrecked or distressed foreigners who may have been cast on their inhospitable coasts. The light mulatto skin and well-developed muscles seen to windward are chiefly the result of long intercourse

with the Tongan race. These evidences of mixture are, however, feeble, compared with those marks which indicate a long isolation from other varieties of mankind.

Murray, in his *Encyclopædia of Geography*, speaks incorrectly of the invasion and subjugation of this people by the Friendly Islanders, and seems to have copied the mistake from the account of the voyage of the *Duff*. The Fijians have never acknowledged any power but such as exists among themselves.

The government of Fiji, before the last hundred years, was probably patriarchal, or consisted of many independent states, having little intercourse, and many of them no political connection, with each other; mutual dread tending to detach the various tribes and keep them asunder. The great variety of dialects spoken, the comparative ignorance of some of the present kingdoms about each other, and the existence until now of a kind of independence in several of the smaller divisions of the same state, countenance the above supposition. At this day there is a close resemblance between the political state of Fiji and the old feudal system of the north. There are many independent kings who have been constantly at war with each other; and intestine broils make up, for the most part, the past history of Fiji. Still, though to a much less extent, civil dissensions abound, and it is not uncommon for several garrisons on the same island to be fighting against each other. The chiefs have been warring among themselves, though the advantage of the victor is but precarious, often involving his own destruction.

The chiefs of Mbengga were formerly of high rank and still style themselves Qali-cuva-ki-lagi, which means, "Subject only to Heaven." They do not now stand high, being subject to Rewa. On the matter of supremacy nothing is known further back than 1800, at which time, it is certain, Verata took the lead. A part of Great Fiji and several islands of importance owned its sway. At this date Na-Ulivou ruled in Mbau. He succeeded Mbanuvi, his father, and the father also of Tanoa. Na-Ulivou was an energetic chief, and distinguished himself in a war with the sons of Savou, numbering, it is said, thirty, who contended with him the right of succession. He overcame his enemies, and was honoured with the name of Na Vuni-valu, that is, "The Root of War," a title which his successors have since borne. Aided by the white men, and employing the new power supplied by fire-arms, this chief made war on Verata, took possession of its dependencies, and left its sovereign little more to rule over than his own town. Na-Ulivou died in 1829, and was succeeded by his brother Tanoa. He died at an advanced age, a heathen and cannibal, December 8th, 1852. His reign of twenty-three years was not happy or peaceful. Rebellious subjects and rebellious sons filled it with anxiety. Once he had to fly his chief city; and for a number of years his fear of Raivalita—one of his sons—kept him a close prisoner. Several years before his death, old age disqualified Tanoa for the discharge of the active duties of his position, which were attended to by one of his sons acting in the capacity of regent. Tanoa was a proud man: when gray and wrinkled, he tried to hide these marks of old age by a plentiful application of black powder. He was also cruel and implacable. Mothelotu, one of his cousins, was so unhappy as to offend him, and sought with tears and entreaties for forgiveness; but the purpose of the cruel chief was fixed, that Mothelotu should die. Report says, that, after having kissed his relative, Tanoa cut off his arm at the elbow, and drank the blood as it flowed warm from the several veins. The arm, still quivering with life, he threw upon a fire, and, when sufficiently cooked, ate it in presence of its proper owner, who was then dismembered, limb by limb while the savage murderer looked with pitiless brutality on the dying agonies of his victim. At a later period, Tanoa sentenced his youngest son to die by the club. The blow given by the brother who was appointed as his executioner, was not fatal. The father, being told of his entreaty for mercy, shouted angrily, "Kill him! kill him!" and the horrible act was completed. Nearly the last words spoken by this man of blood were formed into the question, "How many will follow me?" meaning, "How many women do you intend to strangle at my death?" Being assured that five of his wives would then be sacrificed, he died with satisfaction. The name of the tribe from which the kings of Mbau are taken is Tui Kamba. The four chief personages or families in this state are the Roko Tui Mbau, the Tu-ni-tonga, the Vusarandavi, and the Tui Kamba.

Mbau, as has been already intimated, is the present centre of political power in Fiji. Its supremacy is acknowledged in nearly all parts of the group. The kingdoms named as subject to it are so but nominally, rendering it homage rather than servitude. The other leading powers are Rewa, Somosomo, Verata, Lakemba, Nairasiri, Mathuata, and Mbau.

Two kinds of subjection are recognised and distinguished in Fiji, called qali and bati. Qali represents a province or town that is subject and tributary to a chief town. Bati denotes those which are not so directly subject: they are less oppressed, but less respected, than the Qali. Hence arises an awkwardly delicate point among the Fijian powers, who have often to acknowledge inferiority when they feel none. The chiefs sometimes lay the blame of this annoyance on some one of their gods.

The character of the rule exercised by the chief powers mentioned above is purely despotic. The will of the king is, in most cases, law, and hence the nature of the government varies according to his personal character. The people have no voice in the state; nevertheless, the utmost respect is paid to ancient divisions of landed property, of family rank, and official rights. "There exists," says Captain Erskine, "a carefully defined and (by the Fijians themselves) well-understood system of polity, which dictates the position the different districts hold with respect to each other, as well as the degree of submission which each dependent owes to his principal." Men of rank and official importance are generally about the person of the sovereign, forming his council, and serving to check the exercise of his power. When these persons meet to consult on any grave subject, few speak, for few are qualified. In the councils, birth and rank by themselves are unable to command influence, but a man is commended according to his wisdom. A crude suggestion or unsound argument from a chief of importance would at once be ridiculed, to his confusion. Assemblies of this kind are often marked by a respectable amount of diplomatic skill. In deliberations of great consequence, secrecy is aimed at, but not easily secured, the houses of the people being too open to insure privacy.[1]

[1] When the stone Missina-house at Viwa was finished, it became the wonder of the day, and was visited, by most of the Mbau

No actual provision is made for the security of the life and possessions of the subject, who is regarded merely as property, and his welfare but seldom considered. Acts of oppression are common. The views of the chiefs do not accord with those of the wise Son of Sirach; for they are not "ashamed to take away a portion or a gift;" but will not only seize the presents made to an inferior, but, in some cases, appropriate what a plebeian has received in payment for work done. So far from this being condemned as mean and shameful, it is considered chief-like.

The head of the government is the tui or turaga levu, a king of absolute power, who is, however, not unfrequently surrounded by those who exert an actual influence higher than his own, and whom, consequently, he is most careful not to offend.

Royalty has other distinctions beside the name. In Somosomo, as in eastern countries, the king only is allowed to use the sun shade: the two high priests, however, share the privilege by favour. In Lakamba none but the king may wear the gauze-like turban of the Fijian gentleman during the day-time. In Mbau, he only may wear his masi with a train. A particular kind of staff—matana-ki lagi (point-to-the-sky)—used to be a mark of royalty. Certain ornaments for the neck and breast are said to become kings alone. Invariably his majesty has two or three attendants about his person, who feed him and perform more than servile offices on his behalf. A thumb-nail an inch longer than is allowed to grow on plebeian digits, is a mark of dignity. An attendant priest or two, and a number of wives, complete the accompaniments of Fijian

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royalty. Instances of stoutness of person in these dignitaries are very rare. The use of a throne is unknown: the king and his humblest subjects sit on the same level—on the ground. There was one exception in the case of Tuithakau, who used a chair.

The chiefs profess to derive their arbitrary power from the gods; especially at Veratu, Rewa, and Somosomo. Their influence is also greatly increased by that peculiar institution found so generally among the Polynesian tribes—the tabu, which will be further noticed hereafter. The following examples, to which many more might be added, will serve to show how really despotic is Fijian government.

A Rewa chief desired and asked for a hoe belonging to a man, and, on being refused, took the man's wife.

The king of Somosomo wished to collect the people belonging to the town in which he lived, that they might be directly under his eye. The officer to whom the order to that effect was instructed, was commissioned to *bake* any one who refused compliance.

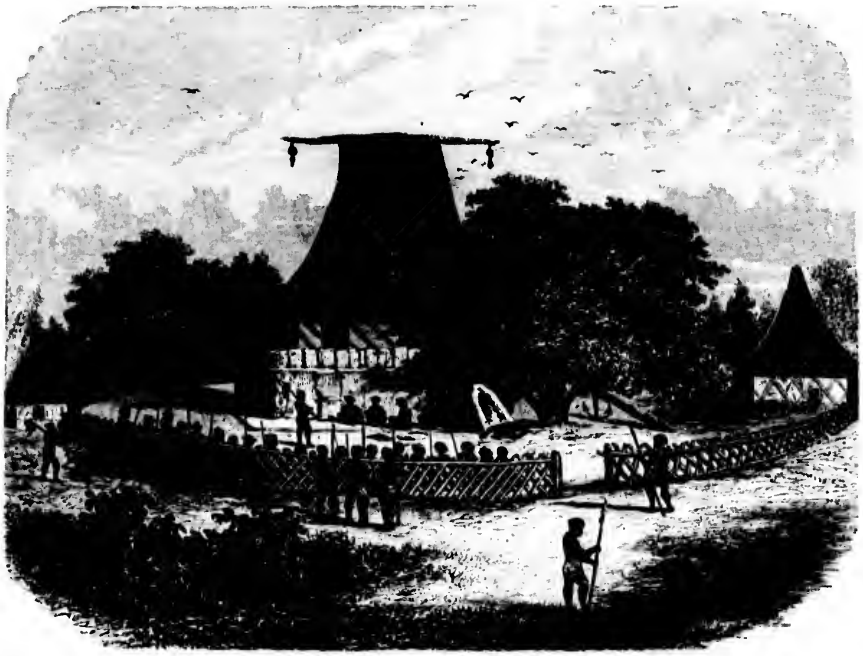
Justice is known by name to the Fijian powers, and

chiefs. It comprised a ground-floor of three rooms, a first-floor, and an attic. This was the first house in Fiji that had been carried so high, and elicited great admiration from the delighted chiefs. They gazed round at the even walls, and above at the flat ceiling, and exclaimed, "Vekaveka! Vekaveka!" increasing the emphasis as they ascended the stairs, until they trod the attic floor, when their delight was expressed by a long-repeated "Wo, wo, wo," very strongly accented, and having a *tremolo* effect caused by striking the finger across the lips in Arab fashion. The uppermost thought in their minds was evident; this chamber was so high and so private, that they all envied its possessor, "because it was such an excellent place for secret meetings and for concocting plots."

its form sometimes adopted; yet in very many criminal cases the evidence is partial and imperfect, the sentence precipitate and regardless of proportion, and its execution sudden and brutal. The injured parties, headed by the nearest chief, form the "bench" to decide the case. If the defendant's rank is higher than their own, an appeal is made to the king as chief magistrate, and this is final.

Offences, in Fijian estimation, are light or grave according to the rank of the offender. Murder by a chief is less heinous than a petty larceny committed by a man of low rank. Only a few crimes are regarded as serious; *e.g.*, theft, adultery, abduction, witchcraft, infringement of a tabu, disrespect to a chief, incendiarism and treason.

Punishment is inflicted variously. Theft is punished by fine, repayment in kind, loss of a finger, or clubbing. Either fine or loss of a finger, ear or nose, is inflicted on the disrespectful. The other crimes are punished with death, the instrument being the club, the noose, or the musket. Adultery taxes vindicate ingenuity the most. For this offence, the criminals may be shot, clubbed or strangled; the man may lose his wife, who is seized on behalf of the aggrieved party by his friends, he may be deprived of his land, have his house burnt, his canoe taken away, or his plantations destroyed.



FIJIAN TEMPLE AND SCENE OF CANNIBALISM

Young men are deputed to inflict the appointed punishment, and are often messengers of death. Their movements are sudden and destructive, like a tropical squall. The protracted solemnity of public executions in civilised countries is here unknown. A man is often judged in his absence, and executed before he is aware that sentence has been passed against him. Sometimes a little form is observed, as in the case of the vasu to vuna. This man conspired against the life of Tuikilakila; but the plot was discovered, and the vasu brought to meet death at Somosomo. His friends prepared him according to the custom of Fiji, by folding a large new masi about his loins, and oiling and blacking his body as if for war. A necklace and a profusion of ornaments at his elbows and knees completed the attire. He was then placed standing, to be shot by a man suitably equipped. The shot failed, when the musket was exchanged for a club, which the executioner broke on the vasu's head; but neither this blow, nor a second from a more ponderous weapon, succeeded in bringing the young man to the ground. The victim now ran towards the spot where the king sat, perhaps with the hope of reprieve; but was felled by a death-blow from the club of a powerful man standing by. The slain body was cooked and eaten. One of the naked thighs the king sent to his brother, who was principal in the plot, that he might "taste how sweet his accomplice was, and eat of the fruit of his doings." This is a fair sample of a Fijian public execution. Those who are doomed to die are never, so far as I know, bound in

any way. A Fijian is implicitly submissive to the will of his chief. The executioner states his errand; to which the victim replies, "Whatever the king says, must be done."

Injured persons often take the law into their own hands; an arrangement in which the authorised powers gladly concur. In such cases, justice yields to passion, and the most unlicensed cruelty follows. For a trifling offence a man has been tied to a log, so that he could not move a limb, and then placed in the sun, with his face fully exposed to its fierce heat for several hours.

One who had removed an article which he believed to be his own, was cruelly pelted with large stones. In another case, a man threw at a duck, supposing it to be wild: it proved, however, to be tame, and the property of a petty chief, who regarded the act as done to himself. A messenger was accordingly sent to the chief of the offender to demand an explanation, which was forthwith given, together with the fingers of four persons, to appease the angry chieftain. He however, not being yet satisfied, caused the delinquent to be shut up in a house with the lame duck, informing him that his life depended upon that of the injured bird. If he restored the use of the limb, he was to live; but to die if the duck died.

Some offences are punished by stripping the house of the culprit: in slight cases, much humour is displayed by the spoilers. The *sang froid* of the sufferer is an enigma to the Englishman.

The virtue of vicarious suffering is recognised, and by its means the ends of justice are often frustrated. On the island of Nayau the following tragedy took place. A warrior left his charged musket so carelessly that it went off, killing two persons, and wounding two more! whereupon the man fled and hid himself in the bush. His case was adjudged worthy of death by the chiefs of his tribe; but he was absent, and, moreover, a very serviceable individual. Hence it was thought best, in point of expedition as well as economy, to exact the penalty from the offender's aged father, who was accordingly seized and strangled. Still later, a white man was killed on the Island of Nukulau. The commander of the United States' ship *Falmouth* inquired into the case, and sentence of death was passed by him on an accused native, who, when he understood his position, proposed that the American should hang his father in his stead.

Fijian society is divided into six recognised classes, in the distinctions of which there is much that resembles the system of caste.

1. Kings and queens.
2. Chiefs of large islands or districts.
3. Chiefs of towns, priests, and mata-ni-vanua.
4. Distinguished warriors of low birth, chiefs of the carpenters, and chiefs of the fishers for turtle.
5. Common people.
6. Slaves by war.

Rank is hereditary, descending through the female; an arrangement which arises from the great number of wives allowed to a leading chief, among whom is found the widest difference of grade. The dignity of a chief is estimated by the number of his wives, which is frequently considerable, varying from ten to fifty or a hundred. It is not to be supposed that all these are found in his domestic establishment at the same time; for rarely more than a half or fourth are there together. Some have been dismissed on account of old age, others have returned to their parents to become mothers, others again are but infants themselves.

No people can be more tenacious of distinction than are these Fijians, and few fonder of exaggerating it. When on their guard, and acting with the duplicity so strongly marked in the native character, they will depreciate themselves, as well as when surprised into a feeling of inferiority by unexpected contrast with some refined nation; but only let something occur to throw them off their guard, and they instantly become swollen with an imaginary importance which is not a little amusing. Lofty aspirings and great meanness are often found united in the same chief, who will be haughtily demanding, one moment, why the monarch of some great nation does not send a ship of war or large steamer to gratify *his* curiosity, and the next be begging tobacco of a shoeless seaman.

Tribes, chief families, the houses of chiefs, and the wives of kings, have distinctive appellations, to which great importance is attached, and by means of which the pride of the owner is gratified and the jealousy of neighbours aroused. Before the death of the king Tanoa, the whites residing in Fiji wrote to General Miller, H. B. M. Consul-General at the Sandwich Islands, complaining of their ill-treatment by Thakombau (*See* p. 170), the young chief of Mbau and heir of Tanoa, who already exercised virtually the kingly power. General Miller sent a letter about the matter to the chief, addressing it, "To the king of Fiji." When this letter arrived, a Tonga chief, who had visited Sydney and could read English, was staying with Thakombau, to whom he interpreted the Consul's dispatch, translating the address, "Tui Viti." This title, till then unknown, thus became fixed, and proved of great use to the young chief during his regency, though a cause of bitter jealousy to other chiefs, some of whom I heard comforting themselves by saying, "It is without authority: foreigners give it to him." At the death of the aged king, however, this proud appellation was laid aside, and Thakombau received the high hereditary title of Vu-ni-valu, though frequently addressed still as Tui Viti—a name to which his widely spread ascendancy gives him some claim. An old chief on Na Viti Levu, known to few, boasts that the chiefs of Mbau and Rewa are his children, thus putting them far below himself. Common men, though esteemed for superior prowess, and rewarded with an honourable name, do not rise in rank, their original grade being always remembered. There are many inferior chiefs, but they have little authority. Observing that the land-breeze blows most strongly in the bays, the natives have thence made a proverb, alluding to the fact just stated, Sa dui eagi ni toba, "Every one is a wind in his own bay."

Equally characteristic are many of the actions prescribed by Fijian etiquette. An armed man lowers his arms, takes the outside of the path, and crouches down until the chief has passed by. When a person has given anything, say a cigar, to a chief, he claps his hands respectfully. The same form is observed after touching a chief's head, or when taking anything from a place over his head; on receiving any trifle from him; always at the close of his meals, and sometimes to applaud what he has said. In some parts the men do not crouch, but rub the upper part of the left arm with the right hand. Some take hold of their beards and look to the earth: this is very common when conversing with a chief, or begging; hence great beggars

are called "beard-scratchers." The speaker also interspersesses his address with respectful expletives, of which they have many. If anyone would cross the path of a chief, or the place where he is sitting or standing, he must pass before, and never behind, his superior. Standing in the presence of a chief is not allowed: all who move about the house in which he is, creep, or, if on their feet, advance bent, as in an act of obeisance. As in some other countries where the government is despotic, no one is permitted to address the chief otherwise than in a sitting posture. Seamen are cautious not to sail by a chief's canoe on the outrigger side, which would be considered worse than a person on land passing behind the back of his sovereign.

Most singular among these customs is the bale muri, "follow in falling," the attendant falling because his master has fallen. This is to prevent shame from resting on the chief, who, as he ought, has to pay for the respect. One day I came to a long bridge formed of a single cocoa-nut tree, which was thrown across a rapid stream, the opposite bank of which was two or three feet lower, so that the declivity was too steep to be comfortable. The pole was also wet and slippery, and thus my crossing safely was very doubtful. Just as I commenced the experiment, a heathen said, with much animation, "To-day I shall have a musket!" I had, however, just then to heed my steps more than his words, and so succeeded in reaching the other side safely. When I asked him why he spoke of a musket, the man replied, "I felt certain you would fall in attempting to go over, and I should have fallen after you;" (that is, appeared to be equally clumsy) "and as the bridge is high, the water rapid, and you a gentleman, you would not have thought of giving me less than a musket."

The following amusing incident, related by Captain F. Aylmer, is illustrative of the same practice.

At the Fiji Islands a chief was entertained on board the ship; and the strangers learned from him that, when a Fiji gentleman stumbles, his servants must stumble also.

"It so happened, one day, when he was dining with us, we had champagne; our friend took to it kindly, imbibing glass after glass with a gusto it did one's heart good to see. The result may be imagined; he got very much excited, volunteered a dance, &c., and finally, when a party of us who were going ashore landed him, he would hear of nothing but our accompanying him home. Nothing loth to see the end, three of us went, and I certainly never regretted it, or laughed so much in my life. We had not gone two hundred yards when his highness capsized and came down with a run head foremost. What was our astonishment when down went the two followers also in precisely the same manner! Then up staggered the chief—ditto his servants. A few steps further on, up went the old fellow's toes, and this time he lit upon his beam-end. By Jove, it was ditto with the followers too; and we, after assisting the dignitary to rise, kept half an eye behind, watching the movements going on, expecting the Jacks had been plying the servants with rum; but no, they rose with the greatest gravity, and marching on as steady as grenadiers, only going down as often as their master came to grief."

The best produce of the gardens, the seines, and the ties in Fiji, goes to the chiefs, together with compliments the most extravagant and oriental in their form. Warrior chiefs often owe their escape in battle to their inferiors—even when enemies—dreading to strike them. This fear partly arises from chiefs being confounded with deities, and partly from the certainty of their death being avenged on the man who slew them. Women of rank often escape strangling at the death of their lord, because there are not at hand men of equal rank to act as executioners. Such an excess of homage must of course be maintained by a most rigorous infliction of punishment for any breach of its observance; and a vast number of fingers, missing from the hands of men and women, have gone as the fine for disrespectful or awkward conduct.

In Fiji, subjects do not pay rent for their land, but a kind of tax on all their produce, besides giving their labour occasionally in peace, and their service, when needed, in war, for the benefit of the king or their own chief. Tax-paying in Fiji, unlike that in Britain, is associated with all that the people love. The time of its taking place is a high day; a day for the best attire, the pleasantest looks, and the kindest words; a day for display: whales' teeth and cowrie necklaces, orange-cowrie and pearl-shell breast ornaments, the scarlet frontlet the newest style of neck-band, white armlets, bossed knee and ancle bands, tortoise-shell hair pins (eighteen inches long), cocks' tail feathers, the whitest masi, the most graceful turban, powder of jet black, and rouge of the deepest red, are all in requisition on that festive day. The coiffure that has been in the process for months is now shown in perfection; the beard, long nursed, receives extra attention and the finishing touch; the body is anointed with the most fragrant oil, and decorated with the gayest flowers and most elegant vines. The weapons, also—clubs, spears, and muskets—are all highly polished and unusually gay. The Fijian carries his tribute with every demonstration of joyful excitement, of which all the tribe concerned fully partake. Crowds of spectators are assembled, and the king and his suite are there to receive the impost, which is paid in with a song and a dance, and received with smiles and applause. From this scene the tax-payers retire to partake of a feast provided by their king. Surely the policy that can thus make the paying of taxes "a thing of joy" is not contemptible.

Whales' teeth always form a part of the property paid in. Those which are smooth and red with age and turmeric are most valued; and the greater the quantity of them, the more respectable is the soleyu (tribute). Canoes, bales of plain and printed cloth (tapa), each bale fifteen or twenty feet long, with as many men to carry it, musquito curtains, balls and rolls of sinnet,[1] floor-mats, sail-masts, fishing nets, baskets, spears, clubs, guns, scarfs or turbans, likus (women's dresses or girdles) pearl shell breast-plates, turtles, and women, may be classed under the head of tribute. In some of the smaller states, pigs, yams, taro, arrow-root, turmeric, yaqona, sandal-wood, salt, tobacco, and black powder, are principal articles.

The presentation of a canoe, if new and large, is a distinct affair. Tui Nayau, King of Lakemba, gave one to Thakombau in the following manner. Preliminaries being finished, Tui Nayau approached the Mbau chief, and knelt before him. From the folds of his huge dress

[1] Braid or flat string made with cocoa-nut fibre, and in general use for every kind of fastening. An average roll of sinnet, wound with beautiful neatness, is three feet six inches high, and five feet in circumference.

he took a whale's tooth, and then began his speech. The introduction was an expression of the pleasure which Thakombau's visit gave to Tui Nayau and his people. As he warmed, the speaker proceeded: "Before we were subject to Mbau, our land was empty, and no cocoa-nuts grew on its shore; but since you have been our chiefs, the land is full of people, and nuts and food abound. Our fathers were subject to Mbau, and desired so to be; and my desire, and that of my friends and my subjects, is towards Mbau, and it is very intense." The sentences here strung together were picked out from among a great number of petitions, praying that "Tui Nayau and his people might live." Neither was this omitted in the peroration: "Therefore let us live, that we may chop out canoes for you; and that we may live, I present this earnest" (the whale's tooth) "of the Ta ivei" (the name of the canoe) "as our soro, and the soro of our friends." On receiving the tooth, Thakombau expressed a wish, almost like an imperial permission, that all might live; whereupon all present clapped their hands.

All love to make as much display as possible on these occasions; food is provided in abundance, and on all hands is seen a liberality approaching to a community of goods: but where there exists anything like equality between those who give and those who receive, the return of similar gifts and entertainment is anxiously expected and calculated carefully beforehand.

Sometimes the property or tribute is taken to the king; sometimes he chooses to fetch it. In the latter case, he makes those he visits a small present, the time of so doing being made the opportunity for his public reception, after which he and his attendants dance When the tribute is carried to the king, those who take it—varying in number from fifty to three hundred—are detained several weeks, well fed the first few days, and, in some parts, left to live as they can the remainder. By means of them and their canoes the king verifies the native proverb, "Work is easily done when strangers help." The strangers voyage and garden for the chiefs of the place, receive a present, and are then sent home.

Chiefs of power exact largely and give liberally, only a small portion of what they receive remaining in their own hands; which fact will help to explain the following speech of a mata on the occasion of one of these presentations of property: "We have a wish for eternal friendship: see this in our labours to procure cloth for you: we are wearied: we have left ourselves without clothing, that you might have it all. We have a chief who loves peace: we also love it. War is an evil: let us not fight, but labour. Do not let difficulties or jealousies arise out of sharing this property. Our minds regard you equally. You are all our friends. Any difference in the quantity shared to each tribe is to be referred to the proportion of service rendered by the tribe. There has been no partiality."

III.

Warlike Character of the Fijians—Propitiation of the Gods—Military Union—Preliminary Reviews—Incentives to Bravery—Fastnesses and Fortresses—Stratagems and Treachery—The Chieftain's Leap—A Pitched Battle—Cruelty to Captives—Horrible Scenes—True Bravery rare.

One of the most strongly marked features in the political aspect of Fiji is war. The well-intentioned missionary, Mr Williams, to whom we are so much indebted for a first detailed account of these islands and of their inhabitants, argues, however, that the Fijian only arms himself defensively.

It is said of the Fijians, as of most savage nations, that they are warlike: and they have been pictured as fierce, ferocious, and eager for bloodshed and battle. But this is a caricature, resulting from a too hasty and superficial estimate of the native character. When on his feet, the Fijian is always armed; when working in his garden, or lying on his mat, his arms are always at hand. This, however, is not to be attributed to his bold or choleric temper, but to suspicion and dread. Fear arms the Fijian. His own heart tells him that no one could trust him and be safe, whence he infers that his own security consists in universal mistrust of others. The club or spear is the companion of all his walks; but it is only for defence. This is proved by every man you meet: in the distance you see him with his weapon shouldered; getting nearer, he lowers it to his knee, gives you the path, and passes on. This is invariable, except when the people meet purposely to fight, or when two enemies come unexpectedly together. Such conduct surely is the opposite to offensive, being rather a show of inferiority, a mere point of etiquette.

There is a good deal of truth in this, but it is not perfectly logical. The same thing, if admitted with regard to the Fijians, would apply to most savage and even semi-civilised nations, as the Turks, Arabs, and Persians, who always go armed. The wearing of arms is indicative of insecurity of life and property, and that some, at all events, must wear such for bad purposes, or there would be no necessity to be always on the defensive. At the same time there is no doubt that a very large portion among all armed communities wear arms for defensive purposes only, or as mere matter of custom or ornament. Certain it is that Fiji is rarely free from war and its attendant evils. Several causes exist for this, such as the pride and jealousy of the chiefs, and the fact of there being so many independent governments, each of which seeks aggrandisement at the expense of the rest. Any misgiving as to the probability of success proves the most powerful motive for peace; and superstition asserts the cackling of hens at night to be a sure prognostic of fighting. The appearance of restless haste for war is often assumed, when no corresponding anxiety is felt. When war is decided upon between two powers, a formal message to that effect is interchanged, and informal messages in abundance, warning each other to strengthen their fences and carry them up to the sky. Councils are held, in which future action is planned. Before going to war with men, they study to be right with the gods. Ruined temples are rebuilt, some half buried in weeds are brought to light, and new ones erected. Costly offerings are brought to the gods, and prayers presented for the utter destruction of the enemy; and every bowl of yaqona is quaffed with an expression of the same wish. Kanakanai yarua, to eat with both contending parties, is very tabu, and punished when discovered with death. On one occasion I saw offered to the god of war, forty whales' teeth (fifty pounds of ivory), ten thousand yams, thirty turtles, forty roots of yaqona—some very large—many hundreds of native puddings (two tons), one hundred and fifty giant oysters, fifteen water melons, cocoa-nuts, a large number of violet land-crabs, taro, and ripe bananas. Much confidence is placed in the gods' help thus purchased. On remarking to a small party on their way

to war, "You are few," they promptly replied, "Our allies are the gods."

Frequently the men separate themselves from their wives at such times, but sometimes the wives accompany them to the war. Orders are sent by the chief to all under his rule to be in readiness, and application is made to friendly powers for help. A flat refusal to comply with the summons of the chief, by any place on which he had a claim, would, sooner or later, be visited by the destruction of the offenders. Efforts are made to neutralise each other's influence. A sends a whale's tooth to B, entreating his aid against C, who, hearing of this, sends a larger tooth to B, to bika—"press down"—the present from A; and thus B joins neither party. Sometimes two hostile chiefs will each make a superior chief the stay of their hopes; he, for his own interest, trims between the two, and often aids the weaker party, that he may damage the stronger, yet professing all the time a deep interest in his welfare.

When many warriors are expected to help in an expedition, slight houses are built for their accommodation. Tongans who may be visiting the chief at the time are expected to assist him; to which they rarely object, their services being repaid in canoes, arms, mats, &c. In some rare cases, Tongan chiefs have had small islands ceded to them.

When an appeal for help to a superior chief is favourably received, a club or spear is sent to the applicant, with words such as these: "I have sent my club; by and bye I will follow." This form of earnest, I understand, is modern: the old fashion was to return a spear with a floating streamer, which the successful petitioner planted conspicuously, to indicate his fair prospects.

The military in Fiji do not form a distinct class, but are selected from every rank, irrespective of age or size: any who can raise a club or hurl a spear are eligible. At the close of the war, all who survive return to their ordinary pursuits. During active service, a faithful follower owns no tie but that which binds him to his tribe, and the command of the Vu ni-vahi—General—is his only law.

Instances of persons devoting themselves specially to deeds of arms are not uncommon. The manner in which they do this is singular, and wears the appearance of a marriage contract; and the two men entering into it are spoken of as man and wife, to indicate the closeness of their military union. By this mutual bond the two men pledge themselves to oneness of purpose and effort, to stand by each other in every danger, defending each other to the death, and, if needful, to die together. In the case of one of the parties wishing to become married, in the ordinary style, to one of the other sex, the former contract is duly declared void. Between Mbetelambandai and Mbombo of Vatukarakara such a union existed. The former was slain in war. Mbombo, on hearing that his friend was in danger, ran to the rescue; but, arriving too late, died avenging his comrade's death.

Forces are gathered by the taqa, a kind of review. Of these there is a series,—one at every place where the army stops on its way to the scene of action. If any part of Fijian warfare has interest, it is this; and to the parties engaged, it is doubtless glorious. They defy an enemy that is far away, and boast of what they will do on a day which has not yet come; and all this in the midst of their friends. The boasting is distinct from, though associated with, the taqa, which means, "ready, or on the move," namely, for challenging. The challenging is called bolebole; and the ceremony, when complete, is as follows. If the head of the party of allies just arrived is a great chief, his approach is hailed with a general shout. Taking the lead, he conducts his followers to a large open space, where the chief, to whose help he comes, waits with his men. Forthwith shouts of respect are exchanged by the two companies. Presently a man, who is supposed to represent the enemy, stands forth and cries out, "Cut up! cut up! The temple receives;" intimating, probably, that the enemy will certainly be cut up, cooked, and offered to the gods. Then follow those who bole, or challenge. First comes the leader, and then others, singly at the beginning, but afterwards in companies of six, or ten, or twenty. It is impossible to tell all that is said when many are speaking at once; but there is no lack of bragging, if single challengers may be taken as specimens. One man runs up to the chief, brandishes his club, and exclaims, "Sir, do you know me? Your enemies soon will!" Another, darting forward, says, "See this hatchet, how clean! To-morrow it will be bathed in blood!" One cries out, "This is my club, the club that never yet was false!" The next, "This army moves to-morrow; then you shall eat dead men till you are surfeited!" A man, striking ground violently with his club, boasts, "I cause the earth to tremble: it is I who meet the enemy to-morrow!" "See" exclaims another, "I hold a musket and a battle axe! If the musket miss fire, the hatchet will not!" A fine young man stepped quietly towards a king, holding a pole used as an anchor for a canoe, and said, "See, sire, the anchor of Natewa! I will do thus with it!" And he broke the pole across his knee. A man, swinging a ponderous club, said, "This club is a defence, a shade from the heat of the sun, and the cold of the rain." Glancing at the chief, he added, "You may come under it." A fiery youth ran up, as though breathless, crying out, "I long to be gone! I am impatient!" One of the same kind said, "Ah, ah! these boasters are deceivers! I only am a true man: in the battle you shall find me so." These "great swelling words" are listened to with mingled laughter and applause. Although the speeches of the warriors are marked with great earnestness, there is nothing of the horrifying grimace to which the New Zealander indulges on similar occasions. The fighting men have their bodies covered with black powder; some, however, confine this to the upper part only. An athletic warrior thus powdered, so as to make his skin wear a velvet-like blackness, has a truly formidable appearance, his eyes and teeth gleaming with very effective whiteness.

Fijians make a show of war at the taqa, but do no mischief, and incur no danger: and this is just what they like. The challenging is their delight; beyond it their ambition does not reach, and glory is without charms.

Notwithstanding the boasts of the braves, the chief will sometimes playfully taunt them; intimating that, from their appearance, he should judge them to be better acquainted with spades than clubs, and fitter to use the digging-stick than the musket.

Incentives to bravery are not withheld. Young women, and women of rank, are promised to such as shall, by their prowess, render themselves deserving. A woman given as a reward for valour is called "The

cable of the land;" and the chief who gives her is esteemed a benefactor, his people testifying their gratitude by giving him a feast and presents. Promises of such rewards are made in a short speech, the substance of which is the same in all cases: "Be faithful to my cause; do not listen to those who call you to desert me. Your reward will be princely"

The forces collected for war rarely exceed in number a thousand men. An army of four or five thousand is only assembled by an immense effort. Sometimes flags are used, but they are only paltry affairs.

When all is ready, the army is led probably against some mountain fastness, or a town fortified with an earth rampart, about six feet thick, faced with large stones, surmounted by a reed fence or cocoa-nut trunks, and surrounded by a muddy moat. Some of their fastnesses well deserve the name. One was visited by myself, where ten men might defy a host. After wearily climbing up a rugged path, hidden and encumbered with rank vegetation, I reached the verge of a precipice. This was the end of the path, and beyond it, at the distance of several yards, in the face of the cliff, was the entrance to the fortress. To get to this opening it was necessary to insert my toes in the natural crevices of the perpendicular rock, laying hold with my hands on any irregularity within reach, and thus move sideways until a small landing at the doorway was reached. Some of these strongholds have, in addition to their natural difficulty of access, strong palisades and stone breastworks pierced with loopholes. Sometimes a fortress has only one gateway, with a traverse leading to it; but from four to eight entrances are generally found. At the top of the gateway, on the inside, there is sometimes a raised and covered platform for a look-out. The gates are formed by strong sliding bars inside: without, on either side, are substantial bastions. Visitors capable of judging, give the Fijians credit for skill in arranging these several parts, so as to afford an excellent defence even against musketry. The garrisons are often well provisioned, but ill-watered.

Since the introduction of orange and lemon trees, some fortifications have a row of these in lieu of the wicker like fence, and the naked natives fear these prickly living walls greatly. It is in garrisons that drums are used, and, by various beats, warning is given to friends outside of the approach of danger or an attack. By the same means they defy the foe, as also by banners, and gaudy kite-like things which, when the wind favours, are flown in the direction of the enemy.

If a place, when attacked, is likely to hold out, an encampment is formed and a vigilant guard kept by the besiegers, and by each party the steps of the other seem to be counted. Such a position is not liked; but great advantages and easy conquest best suit the aggressors. An attack being decided upon, a command to that effect is issued by the Vu-ni-valu, who names the order in which the several companies are to advance, and specifies which is to have the honour of the first assault. The assailants then join in a sort of slogan and set off. If the country be favourable, they prefer a stealthy approach, and, when a little beyond gun-shot from the fort, each man acts as though his chief duty were to take care of himself. Not a stone, bush, or tree, but has a man behind it, glad of anything to come between him and the fort, whence a strict watch is kept, until some straggler—perhaps a child—is exposed, and falls a victim. If the defenders of the place remain obstinate, the besiegers repeat the war-cry, to encourage each other and alarm the enemy. Numerous shots are now exchanged; and if those within are many and valorous, they make a sally, each man singling out his antagonist, and so the battle resolves itself into a number of single combats. Should the first detachment shoot and shout themselves tired, without drawing the enemy out, they are relieved by a second, who, if they succeed no better, are followed by a third, and so on. A rush from within generally makes the assaulting party run. This conduct is excused by a native proverb, which, in some shape or other, is to be found in almost every language, and which in Fiji, in the form of a couplet, waits ready on every warrior's lip.

> "'Tis certain death to brave it out;
> And but a jest to join the rout."

Nevertheless, obstinate resistance is sometimes made. Death or victory was declared in a striking way by the chief of Mbau, Ngonesensen, at the beginning of the present century. He and his second in command Ndungawangka—ordered the heads of two stately nut-trees to be cut off, and sent a message to the enemy, the chief of Raviravi, to tell what was done, and defy him to do his worst. Both sides exerted themselves to the utmost, and a bloody battle ensued. The symbolic act of the Mbau chiefs proved ominous of their own fate; for their own heads and hundreds more of their followers (an eye-witness says, a thousand) were cut off and placed in a row, and desolation was spread by the victors over all the western coast of Vanua Levu.

Sharp and irritating remarks are exchanged by hostile parties previous to an engagement. Thus a commander will cry out loudly, so that both sides may hear, "The men of that fort have been dead a long while; those who occupy it now are a set of old women." Another, addressing his followers, says, derisively, "Are they gods who hold yonder guns? Are they not mere men? They are only men. We have nothing then to fear; for we are truly men." Such speeches elicit others of like kind from the enemy. "You are men! But are you so strong that, if speared to day, you will not fall until to-morrow?" "Are you stones, that a bullet will not enter you? Are your skulls iron, that a hatchet will not cleave them?"

Under the excitement of the time, indiscreet men have been known to utter special threats against the leader of the enemy. Shouting his name they declare their intention to cut out his tongue, eat his brains, and make a cup of his skull. Such boasters become at once marked men; orders are given to take them alive, and woful is their lot, if captured. On Vanua Levu, the punishment awaiting such is called drewai sasa, after the manner in which women carry fuel. A large bundle of dry cocoa-nut leaves is bound across the shoulders of the offender, so as to pinion him effectually. The ends of the bundle, which project several feet on either side, are then ignited, and the bearer of the burning mass is turned loose to run wherever his torment may drive him. The exultation of the spectators rises in proportion as the agony of the sufferer becomes more intense.

Wars in Fiji are sometimes bloodless, and result only in the destruction of property; but in cases where

the contest is of a purely civil kind, fruit-trees are often spared until the obstinancy of the enemy exhausts the patience of the rest, and a general destruction takes place. An opinion has frequently been expressed that the natives are sharp enough to dodge the bullets; which means that they watch the flash of the gun, and instantly fall flat on the ground. Of their ability to dodge stones, thrown thickly and with good aim, I am a witness.

Open attack is less esteemed in Fiji than stratagem or surprise, and to these their best men trust for success and fame. Their plots are often most treacherous, and exhibit heartless cruelty, without ingenuity.

A Rakiraki chief named Wangkawai agreed to help the chief of Na Korovatu, who was engaged in war. Of course Wangkawai and his party must bole; and the ceremony was finished joyously. As the earnest for payment was being presented by the Na Korovatu chief, Wangkawai struck him dead with his club; at which preconcerted signal his armed attendants attacked and murdered the friends of the fallen chief—a catastrophe which the treacherous ally had been meditating for years.

Mbau wished to take the town of Naingani, but could not. The Viwa chief, Mamosimalua, being applied to, readily undertook the task. He went to the people of Naingani as their friend, offering to place them out of the reach of Mbau, by removing them to a place under his own power. They assented, and followed him to the seaside, where he helped the Mbau people to murder them. Other similar instances might be related. Relatives within a garrison are often bribed to befriend the besiegers by burning the town or opening the gates. By the use of such means, far more than open fighting, wars are sometimes very destructive. Old natives speak of as many as a thousand being killed in some of the battles when they were young men; but I doubt whether the slain ever amounted to more than half that number. From twenty to a hundred more commonly cover the list of killed. The largest number, within my own knowledge of Fiji, was at Rewa, in 1846, when about four hundred—chiefly women and children—were slain. Horrifying beyond description is the scene when a town is taken, and instances are narrated of the inhabitants seeking deliverance from such horrors by self-destruction. A remarkable shelf of rocks is pointed out on the island of Wakaya, whence a chief, unable to resist his enemies, precipitated himself. Many of his people followed his example. The shelf is called "The Chieftain's Leap." In sacking a place, every man regards what he can pick up as his own. The spoil is generally small; for nearly every town and village has a natural magazine, where they store everything valuable on the slightest alarm. I have several times been myself the cause of towns being thus emptied. The sight of my canoe in the distance suggested the thought of oppressive chiefs or cruel foes, and the wisdom of secreting property. On one occasion, I met a string of laden women thus employed, whose undisguised terror was soon followed by every mark of joy, when assured that we were only friends. Once I saw a chief with seven balls of sinnet, several dogs, and five female slaves, as his share of spoil; but I believe that part of this was pay, and part plunder.

In a pitched battle comparatively little mischief is done. Flesh wounds are inflicted by spears or bullets, until one of the combatants falls, when his friends run away with him, the enemy following for a short distance; when, if the wounded or dead man is not cast away, they return to exaggerate their own prowess, and the numbers of killed and wounded on the other side. Yet, altogether the total loss of life in consequence of war, amounting probably to 1,500 or 2,000 per annum, has hitherto told heavily on the population of Fiji; and perhaps the number here stated does not include the widows who are strangled on the death of their lords. The introduction of fire-arms has tended to diminish war. The fact that bullets are so promiscuous in their work, striking a chief as well as commoner men, makes the people less disposed than ever to come to fighting, while their faith in the diviner qualities of their commanders is much shaken.

Captives are sometimes taken, and are treated with incredible barbarity. Some have been given up to boys of rank, to practise their ingenuity in torture. Some, when stunned, were cast into hot ovens; and when the fierce heat brought them back to consciousness and urged them to fearful struggles to escape, the loud laughter of the spectators bore witness to their joy at the scene. Children have been hung by their feet from the mast-head of a canoe, to be dashed to death, as the rollings of the vessel swung them heavily against the mast.

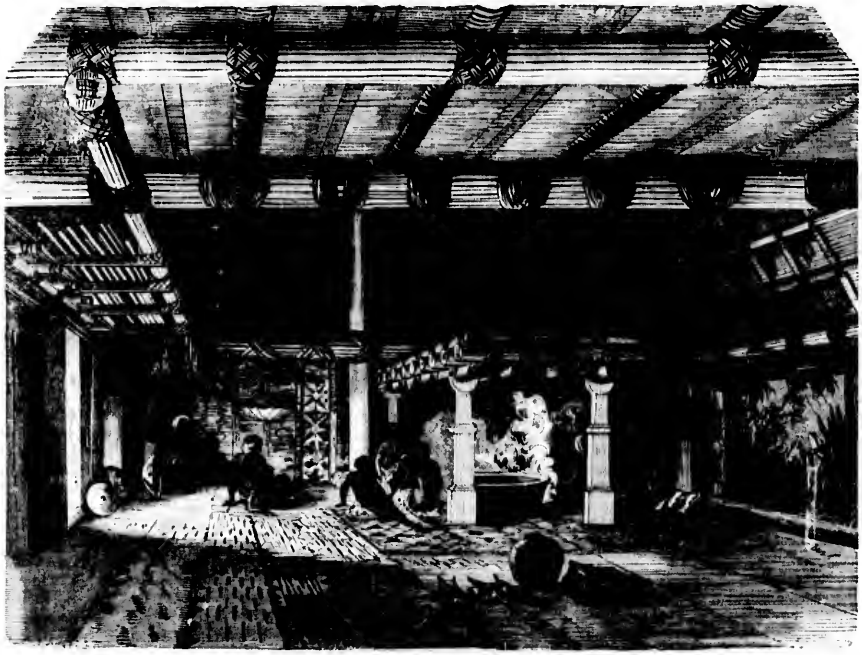
The return of a victorious party is celebrated with the wildest joy; and if they bring the bodies of the slain foes, the excitement of the women, who go out to welcome the returning warriors, is intense. This custom of women greeting the conquerors at once suggests a comparison with eastern, and especially Hebrew, usage. But among the Fijians all that could be admired in the other case is brutalised and abominable. The words of the women's songs may not be translated; nor are the obscene gestures of their dance, in which the young virgins are compelled to take part, or the foul insults offered to the corpses of the slain, fit to be described. And who that has witnessed the scene on the canoes at such a time, can forget it, or help shrinking with horror from the thought of its repetition? Dead men or women are tied to the fore-part of the canoe, while on the main deck their murderers, like triumphant fiends, dance madly among the flourishing of clubs and sun-shades, and confused din. At intervals they bound upon the deck with a shrill and terrible yell, expressive of unchecked rage and deadly hatred. The corpses, when loosed, are dragged with frantic running and shouts to the temple, where they are offered to the god, before being cooked. On these occasions, the ordinary social restrictions are destroyed, and the unbridled and indiscriminate indulgence of every evil lust and passion completes the scene of abomination.

Modes of treating for peace vary. In some instances a woman of rank is dressed in the highest Fijian style, and presented with whales' teeth in her hand, to the hostile chief, to procure peace. More generally an ordinary ambassador is deputed, who offers a whale's tooth or some other soro, in the name of the people. The terms dictated to the conquered are severe, including generally, the destruction of their town and its defences, and the abject servitude of its inhabitants. In the Mbau district, hostilities are closed very appropriately. On a set day, the two parties meet, and throw down their arms at each other's feet. At the time, dread of treachery often makes them fear, as they give up their weapons; but after-

wards a security is felt which nothing else could produce.

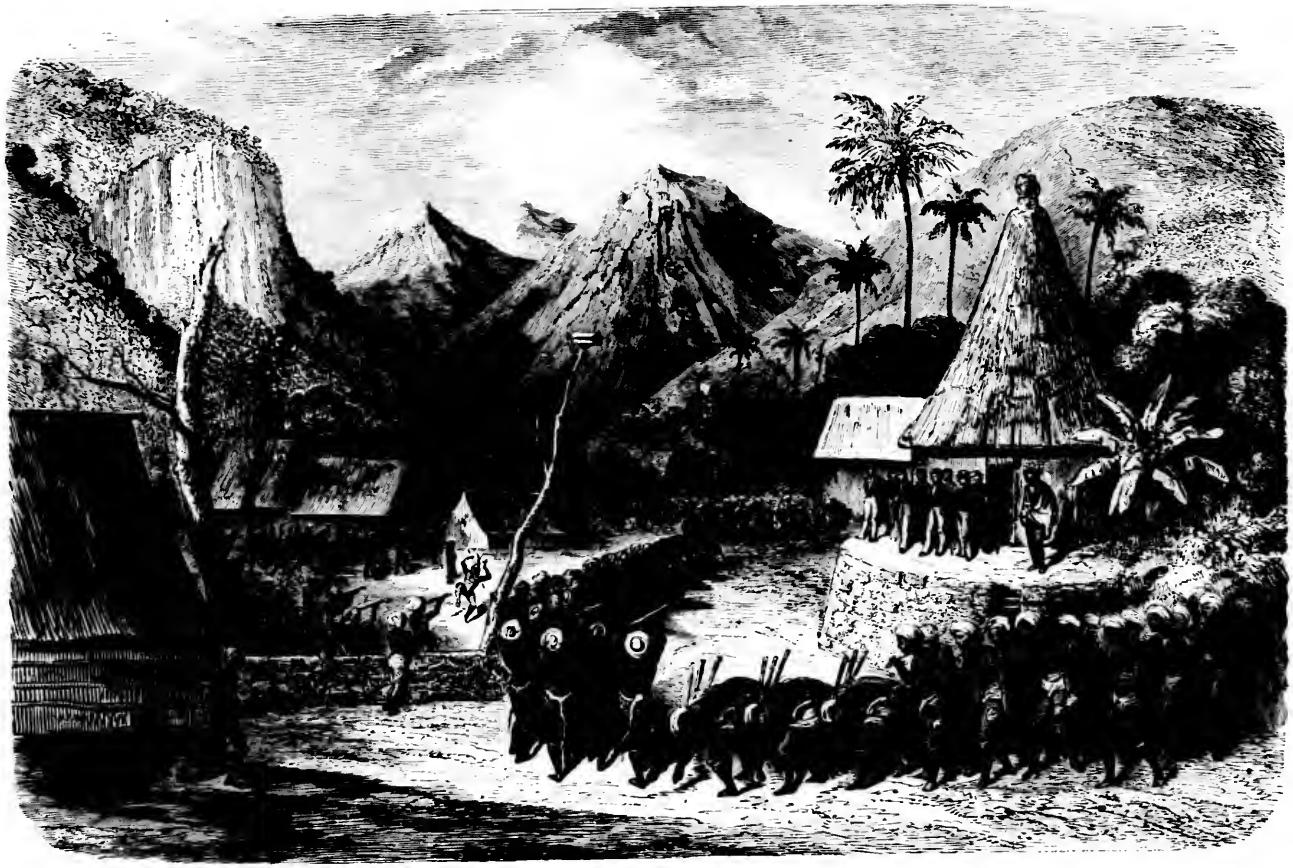
Fijian warfare is very expensive, especially when foreign aid is called in; for the allies have not only to be fed, but enjoy full licence to overrun the territory of their friends, and appropriate whatever they choose, besides committing everywhere acts of the most wanton mischief and destruction. "O!" said an old man to me after the departure of a host of such subsidiaries, "our young men have been to the gardens, but the sight dispirited them, and they have returned home to weep."

It is customary throughout Fiji to give honorary names to such as have clubbed a human being, of any age or either sex, during a war. The new epithet is given with the complimentary prefix, koroi. I once asked a man why he was called koroi. "Because," he replied, "I, with several other men, found some women and children in a cave, drew them out and clubbed them, and then was consecrated." If the man killed has been of distinguished rank, the slayer is allowed to take his name; or he is honoured by being styled the comb, the dog, the canoe, or the fort of some great living chief. Warriors of rank receive proud titles; such as, "the divider of" a district, "the waster of" a coast, "the depopulator of" an island: the name of the place in question being affixed. A practice analogous to this is recorded frequently in both sacred and



STRANGER'S HOUSE OR INN IN FIJI ISLANDS.

classical history. I had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony of consecration, as carried out in the case of a young man of the highest rank in Somosomo The king and leading men having taken their seats in the public square, fourteen mats were brought and spread out, and upon these were placed a bale of cloth and two whales' teeth Near by was laid a sail mat, and on it several men's dresses. The young chief now made his appearance, bearing in one hand a large pineapple club, and in the other a common reed, while his long train of mats dragged on the ground behind him. On his reaching the mats, an old man took the reed out of the hero's hand, and dispatched a youth to deposit it carefully in the temple of the war-god. The king then ordered the young chief to stand upon the bale of cloth; and while he obeyed, a number of women came into the square, bringing small dishes of turmeric mixed with oil, which they placed before the youth, and retired with a song. The masi was now removed by the chief himself, an attendant substituting one much larger in its stead. The king's mata next selected several dishes of coloured oil, and anointed the warrior from the roots of the hair to his heels. At this stage of the proceedings one of the spectators stepped forward and exchanged clubs with the anointed, and soon another did the same; then one left him a gun in place of the club; and many similar changes were effected, under the belief that the weapons thus passing through his hands derived some virtue. The mats were now removed, and a portion of them sent



DANCE OF THE FIJIAN WARRIORS.

to the temple, some of the turmeric being sent after them. The king and old men, followed by the young men, and two men sounding conches, now proceeded to the sea-side, where the anointed one passed through the ancients to the water's edge, and, having wet the soles of his feet, returned, while the king and those with him counted one, two, three, four, five, and then each threw a stone into the sea. The whole company now went back to the town with blasts of the trumpet-shells, and a peculiar hooting of the men. Custom requires that a hut should be built in which the anointed man and his companions may pass the next three nights, during which time the new-named hero must not lie down, but sleep as he sits: he must not change his masi, or remove the turmeric, or enter a house in which there is a woman, until that period has elapsed. In the case now described, the hut has not been built, and the young chief was permitted to use the temple of the god of war instead. During the three days, he was on an incessant march, followed by half a score of lads reddened like himself. After three weeks he paid me a visit, on the first day of his being permitted to enter a house in which there was a female. He informed me that his new name was kuila, "flag."

In some parts of Fiji, after each conflict, the parties tell each other of their losses; but more generally they conceal them. If a valiant man has fallen, his friends place his masi on a pole in sight of the enemy, thereby declaring their intention to be revenged. If an enemy come by sea, he is defied by men running into the water and striking it with their clubs.

Regarding it, says Williams, from any point of view whatever, there is scarcely anything to excite admiration in Fijian warfare; and the deeds of which they boast most proudly, are such as the truly brave would scorn. Nevertheless I own to having felt keenly when taking leave of chiefs who were going direct to war. Although nearly naked, their step was proud, and their carriage truly martial. More than one I have known, who paced haughtily forth like a war-horse to the battle, to be soon after dragged ignobly to the oven. Here and there an instance occurs of manly daring, intelligent activity, and bold enterprise; but such are very few. Of these memorable few was a chief of Wainunu. A short time before I settled in Vanua Levu this man drove from him all his influential friends, by a resolution to destroy a place which they desired to save. An enemy of Tui Wainunu, hearing that he was deserted, deemed this a good opportunity to make a descent upon him, and prepared accordingly. His purpose, however, reached the watchful chief, who determined at once to meet the emergency by acting himself on the offensive. Depending on his own prowess and that of a youthful nephew, he gathered a few old men, whom age, rather than inclination, had kept near him, and proceeded by night to storm his enemy's position. He and his young comrade entered the village about daybreak, and while the old men shouted amain outside, plied their clubs on the panic-struck inhabitants within. Twenty-seven dead bodies were quickly scattered over the place. The club of Tui Wainunu was raised to slay another, when the nephew recognised in the intended victim a playfellow, and saved his life. This deed was soon blazed abroad, and the chief's friends hastened back to him through very fear.

In the greater proportion, however, of the most distinguished cases, perseverance in effecting his purpose, by some means, is all to which the Fijian attains. If it be pleaded on his behalf that his valour has no artificial supports—no helmet or steel breast-plate to shield him from danger, and no fleet horse to carry him from it—that he opposes a naked body to the dangers of the battle, all this is admitted; yet, after all, the low estimate at which he rates life negatives his valour, and robs the mass of the people of all claim to be regarded as acting under the impulse of nobler emotions. In addition to mutual suspicion and distrust, that pride which rules in every savage nature keeps the Fijian at war. He likes to take another's property without asking for it, and to trample the owner under foot with impunity; and hence goes to war. Few of this kind care for glory, and fewer still are susceptible of a noble or really patriotic impulse. They make pretensions to bravery, and speak of strife and battle with the tongues of heroes; yet, with rare exceptions, meet the hardships and dangers of war with effeminate timidity.

IV.

Industrial Produce—Agriculture—Yams—Sugar-Cane—Uncultivated Produce—Cocoa-Nut—Timber—Undeveloped Resources—Manufactures—Native Cloth—Mats—Baskets—Nets—Pottery—Canoes—Arms—Bowls—Wigs—Houses—Sailors—Fishermen—Commerce—Barter—Trade with the Friendly Islands and with Europe.

It is pleasing to turn from the horrible scenes of barbarous war to the gentler and more profitable occupations of peace, of which the tillage of the soil seems always the attractive type. At this point there is observable one of the strange and almost anomalous blendings of opposite traits in the Fijian character. Side by side with the wildest savageism, we find among the natives of this group an attention to agriculture, and a variety of cultivated produce, not to be found among any other of the numerous islands of the Western Pacific. It is observed that the increase of cultivated plants is regular in receding from the Hawaiian group up to Fiji, where roots and fruits are found that are unknown in the more eastern islands. The natives raise large quantities of taro, yams, kawai, banana, kumera, and sugar-cane. Rows of maize and ti-tree, and patches of tobacco, are often seen, and the papua-apple is cultivated.

Dalo is the taro of seafaring men, and the Fijian's staff of life, surpassing all his other esculents in nutritious value. Irrigated taro-beds are generally oblong, and prepared with much labour. Valleys are preferred for these beds, but sometimes they have to be cut on the mountain-slopes, which, when thus terraced with mature taro-patches, present as beautiful a spectacle as any kind of agriculture can furnish. The deep rich green of the broad leaves, which rise three feet or more from their watery beds, contrasts well with the profuse but irregular vegetation of the uncultivated ground.

Of yams there are in Fiji the usual varieties, and, in some parts of the group, two crops are raised in the year. Ordinary tubers of this valuable plant weigh from six to twelve pounds; extraordinary, from thirty to one hundred pounds. They are sometimes nine feet in length. The kawai, or sweet yam, resembles a kidney potato about eight or ten inches long. The tubers of the kumera, or sweet potato, vary in weight

from half-a-pound to five pounds. The ti-tree, kai-or masawi, costs little care. Its slight stem, crowned with a tuft of lanceolate leaves, is sometimes seen in rows on the edge of a yam-bed. The root weighs from ten to forty pounds, and is used, after being baked, as liquorice, or for sweetening made dishes.

The banana and plantain are well known. The beautiful leaf of the former, when young, becomes the mackintosh of Fiji, by being warmed over the fire, and made into waterproof covers for the head. Sugar-cane is grown in large quantities, and thrives well, ripening in twelve or fourteen months The leaves are largely employed for thatch Considerable care is bestowed on the cultivation of the yakona, the cava of voyagers. The root is prized for its narcotic properties, and yields the native grog, and it consequently receives the most care. Another and very important object of agricultural attention in Fiji is the paper-mulberry, which supplies the people with their principal clothing. Many other vegetables, of immense value to the native, yield their produce spontaneously.

Besides the supplies which are reared under the care of the native agriculture, the Fijian has an exhaustless store of food in the uncultivated districts of the larger islands, where, among the wildest and most prolific luxuriance, he may gather refreshing fruits, or dig valuable esculents. Here he finds a large spontaneous supply of arrow-root, which, with cultivation and improvement in its manufacture, he will soon be able to send in large quantities to the home market, so as to compete successfully with the best West Indian samples. The bulou is a wild root, very like an old potato, and weighing from one to eight pounds. The yaka is a creeper, with root very like liquorice, and used in the same way. The ti-root and turmeric grow wild, together with two sorts of yams in abundance. The fruit and bulbous roots of the kaili—a sort of climber—are used in times of scarcity. Two kinds of tomato are found, and eaten by the natives, boiled with yams, &c. The leaves of the bele are used as greens. The nutmeg grows here unnoticed and unprized. Among other resources open to the Fijian, without any trouble but that of gathering, may be mentioned the lagolago and the vutu—two kinds of nuts. Concerning the latter, which tastes like our English earth-nut, the natives believe that if the young leaves are split, the husk of the nut will be tender. There are also gathered in plenty the wi, or Brazilian plum, the wild fig, the kavika, or Malay apple, and the shaddock. The tomitomi, tarawau, and dawa, are different kinds of wild plums. The fruit of the pandanus is also used by the natives. This remarkable tree, with its curious self-grown props or shores, is too familiar to need description. I have met with several instances in which the original root had no longer any connection with the ground, while the tree was supported on a cluster of its supplementary props The trunk is sometimes used in small buildings, but is chiefly valued for handles of garden-tools. The leaf makes good thatch and rough mats; the flower gives scent to oil; and the fruit is sucked, or strung into orange coloured necklaces.

The importance and value of the cocoa-nut is well known, and the uses to which it is put in Fiji are too numerous to detail. A remarkable fact, however, concerning this tree may here be recorded. I am acquainted with two well-authenticated cases of the nut-tree sending out branches. One at Mothe, after reaching a good height, branched off in two directions, and was consequently regarded with great veneration. The second and more remarkable case was found on the Island of Ngau. Having grown about twenty-four feet high, a cocoa-nut tree struck out into five branches. A man told me that when he saw it, one of the branches had been blown off in a gale, and lay on the ground. He climbed up the trunk to the point of separation, but feared to ascend the branches lest they should break beneath his weight. He guessed them to be eighteen feet long, and some struck off obliquely, for a few feet, and then resumed a perpendicular direction. The nuts were never gathered.

A few words are due to the native forest-trees, which yield valuable timber, both hard and soft, in considerable plenty. Among the hard timbers, the vesi—supposed to be the green-heart of India—is important, as giving to the canoes of Fiji their superiority over those of other groups. The wood is very compact and resinous, often resembling good mahogany in colour and curl. My own experience proves it to be little less durable than English oak. The tree is often four feet in diameter, with a white bark, and small scaly leaves.

The bau is about the same size as the former, but more valuable for cabinet work. It is of deep red colour, close and straight grain, sometimes as compact as ebony, and susceptible of a high polish. The dilo—the tamanu of Tahiti—abounds in Fiji, and often reaches a great size, being a durable wood of pretty grain. The damanu is a fine tree, and its timber fit for every department of carpentry. The natives prize it, on account of its toughness, for masts. The nokonoko, or iron-wood, is used chiefly for clubs. The caukurn is equally hard, but has a grain more like wainscot. It is used for the upper parts of houses, but soon perishes in the ground. The gayali, I think, is lance-wood. Cevua, or bastard sandal-wood, is hard, yellow, of rich silky grain like satin-wood, and full of aromatic oil. The most durable wood I have met with in the islands is the buabua, which is very heavy, and resembles box-wood. When being wrought, it gives out a peach-like smell, and works quite fresh after having been cut for years. Yasidravu and mali are two useful woods, the former like cedar in colour, and the latter a little browner. Dakua and dakua salusalu are varieties of the damaria Australis, or pinus kauri: a very useful pine, when kept from the wet. The vaivai is something like the tamarind: its wood is yellowish, and works very smooth; it is as light as pine, but much more lasting, and is the best of all woods for decks, since it will bear exposure to the sun better than any. The white residents greatly value it. There is also the viriviri, which is very light; and the rara, little heavier than cork. All the timbers here mentioned I have either used myself, or had them worked under my direction. Twice the number of useful woods growing in Fiji might be added to this short list.

It will thus be seen that the natives of this group are furnished with a most abundant and diversified supply of all their wants, a supply which, with the addition of proper care, would yield a considerable and remunerative overplus for commerce. Many valuable products of other countries, greatly in demand at home, are already found wild and uncared for in Fiji, or might be introduced with certain success. Arrow-root has already been mentioned. Cotton, of superior quality, grows without attention, and might be culti-

vated to a very large extent. Many parts of the group are peculiarly adapted for coffee; and, throughout, tobacco of the finest kind could be produced. Sugar-canes, with but imperfect attention, already flourish; and rice might, perhaps, be grown in the broad swampy flats of the larger islands. There is good reason to hope that the enlightened enterprise of a better class of white settlers will, ere long, serve to develope the indigenous resources of Fiji, as well as to introduce, on an important scale, other valuable produce. The perils which have hitherto attended a residence among this people, have, in many of the islands, already gone; and, in the rest, are giving way to the better influences of Christianity.

The Fijians are engaged in many branches of industry, besides agriculture. A great part of the manufactured produce comes from the women's hands, but receives some addition from the mechanical skill of the men. Fiji has, indeed, always had a pre-eminence over other groups in respect to its manufactures; a fact which did not escape the observant eye of Captain Cook. Native cloth or masi is skilfully manufactured from the bark of the malo-tree, and as skilfully dyed and printed. The becoming turban worn by Fijian men is a finely prepared masi of only one thickness, and of a gauze-like appearance. Women's dresses—liku—are braided by the women. The bark of the van (a kind of hibiscus), the fibre of a wild root, and some kinds of grass, are used in making liku, as also the stem of a parasite.

Second in importance to the beating of cloth is the making of mats. Of these there are many varieties, and the number used is considerable. Besides the rough mat made of the cocoa nut leaf, the women make floor, sail, sleeping, and nursing mats. The materials used in the manufacture of these useful articles are the leaf of the dwarf pandanus, of the pandanus odoratirsima, and a rush gathered from swamps. Closely connected with the above is the art of basket-making—the baskets being made of the same materials as the matting. "The wicker-work baskets of Fiji," the Rev. W. Lawney declares, "are strong, handsome, and useful, beyond any I have seen at home or abroad." Another branch of braid-work, is fan-making. These things, in Fiji, are marked by variety, neatness, and utility.

The nets are made by the women, of the vine of a kind of creeper, known as the yaka, which, after sundry steepings and scrapings, is twisted into a strong twine, and then netted. The turtle-fishers make their nets of sinnet; or, when this is not to be had, of the bark of the hibiscus. Sinnet is composed of the fibre of the cocoa-nut husk.

The Fijian is also distinguished from all the South Sea Islanders in his potteries, where are produced various utensils of red and brown ware. Many natives find employment in canoe-building. Carpenters in Fiji constitute a caste, having chiefs of their own, for whom and their work they show respect. The well built and excellently designed canoes of the Fijians were for a long time superior to those of any other islanders in the Pacific. Their neighbours, the Friendly Islanders, are more finished carpenters, and bolder sailors, and used to build large canoes, but not equal to those of Fiji. Though considering the Fijians as their inferiors, yet the Tongans have adopted their canoes, and imitate them even in the make of their sails.

Another branch of Fijian manufacture is seen in their various weapons. As may be supposed, this is a matter of most serious attention. One side of the club is formed while the tree is growing, and requires attention for several months. Others are made of young trees torn up by the roots. The handles of some and the entire surface of others, are covered with fine elaborate carving, a few are inlaid with ivory and shell. Few clubs but are the result of days and weeks of patient toil. The variety of spears is very great and shows the best specimens of native carving, many of the fine open patterns being beautifully executed. The bows, which are about seven feet long, are made from the pendant shoots of the mangrove. When the arrows are for killing fish, they have several points, with the barb cut inwards. A spear is also made on the same principle, for the same purpose.

With the artisans employed in the above manufactures, may be classed those who make pillows—fillets of iron-wood suported on two claw-feet—the makers of breast-plates, rings, combs, necklaces, and other ornaments; as also the manufacturers of oil dishes, yakona bowls, and cannibal forks, cut out of very hard wood in a variety of forms.

The art of wig-making, in which the Fijian excels and glories, seems to be unknown to the other islanders. The native perruquier imitates to perfection the hair as worn by chiefs and dandies. The style, however, which he has to copy, is considered admirable in proportion as it becomes more successfully unnatural; and hence his task is made easier. Some wigs, except as to colour, closely resemble the barristers' wigs of our own civilised courts, and some have a complete set of whiskers and moustaches attached.

Most of their different employments are followed by the Fijians only occasionally, and as want may make them necessary. All—even children—can do something at building, and most at canoe-cutting; but there are parts of these trades which are only undertaken by skilled workmen. When free from the claims of necessary employment, a man will rub down a large trochus for an armlet, file out a ring for his finger, or scrape into form the teeth of a comb; and it is thus that such articles are generally made. While each individual, therefore, seems averse to doing more than is absolutely necessary, yet the people generally show a fair advance in useful arts, and do a considerable amount of work. The entire product, however, yields but little beyond the daily consumption; and the people must remain poor until they learn the utility of dividing labour and varying its results, so as to insure an increase of that surplus in which alone their wealth can consist.

Until recently the Fijian mechanic had no iron wherewith to form his tools, which were, of course, few and simple. The axe or adze was a hard stone ground into precise resemblance to the celt of our own forefathers, and tied with surprising firmness to a handle formed of a branch of a tree, having at one end an angle or knee formed by a shoot growing out at that point, the shoot being cut off nearly close. Various modifications of this tool were all the Fijian had with which to hew out his posts and planks, to cut down trees, or make the nicest joints, or, together with shells, to execute most marvellous carving. Fire-sticks and the long spines of echini supplied his boring apparatus. With rat's teeth set in hard wood, he executed his more minute carving or engraving; and for a rasp or file he still uses the mushroom coral, or the shagreen-

like skin of the ray-fish, and pumice-stone for general finishing purposes. With no other aids than these, the workman of Fiji was able to accomplish feats of joinery and carving—the boast of mechanics provided with all the steel tools and other appliances which art can furnish. Now, however, as it has already been intimated, the good blades and chisels of Sheffield, and axes from America, and plane-irons, which the natives still prefer to any other tool, since they can fix and use them after the fashion of the old stone adze, are, with similar articles, fast superseding the primitive implements of Fiji.

The form of the houses in Fiji is so varied, that a description of a building in one of the windward islands would give a very imperfect idea of those to leeward, those of the former being much the better. In one district a village looks like an assemblage of square wicker baskets; in another like so many rustic arbours; a third seems a collection of oblong hayricks with holes in the sides, while in a fourth these ricks are conical. By one tribe, just enough frame-work is built to receive the covering for the walls and roofs, the inside of the house being an open space. Another tribe introduces long centre posts, posts half as long to receive the wall-plates, and others still shorter, as quarterings to strengthen the walls: to these are added tie-beams, to resist the outward pressure of the high-pitched rafters, and along the side is a substantial gallery on which property is stored. The walls or fences of a house are from four to ten feet high; and, in some cases, are hidden on the outside by the thatch being extended to the ground, so as to make the transverse section of the building an equilateral triangle. The walls range in thickness from a single reed to three feet. Those at Lau (windward) have the advantage in appearance; those at Ra (leeward) are the warmest. At Lau the walls of chiefs' houses are three reeds thick, the outer and inner rows of reeds being arranged perpendicularly, and the middle horizontally, so as to regulate the neat sinnet-work with which they are ornamented. At Ra, a covering of grass or leaves is used, and the fastenings are vines cut from the woods; but at Lau sinnet is used for this purpose, and patterns wrought with it upon the reeds in several different colours. A man, master of difficult patterns, is highly valued, and his work certainly produces a beautiful and often artistic effect. Sometimes the reeds within the grass walls are reticulated skilfully with black lines. The door-posts are so finished as to become literally reeded pillars; but some use the naturally carved stem of the palm-fern instead. Fire-places are sunk a foot below the floor, nearly in the centre of the building, and are surrounded by a curb of hard wood. In a large house, the hearth is twelve feet square, and over it is a frame supporting one or two floors, whereon pots and fuel are placed. Sometimes an elevation at one end of the dwelling serves as a divan and sleeping place.

Slight houses are run up in a short time. When at Lakemba, I passed a number of men who had just planted the posts of a house twenty feet long. I was away, engaged with a Tongan chief, for about an hour and a-half, and on my return was amazed to see the house finished, except the completing of the ridge. An ordinary house can be built in a fortnight; the largest require two or three months. A visitor, speaking of Tanoa's house, says, "It surpasses in magnitude and grandeur anything I have seen in these seas. It is 130 feet long, 42 feet wide, with massive columns in the centre, and strong, curious workmanship in every part." Excellent timber being easily procured, houses from 60 to 90 feet long, by 30 feet wide, are built, with a framework which, unless burnt, will last for twenty years. The wood of the bread-fruit tree is seldom used; *vesi*, the green-heart of India, *buabua*, very like box-wood, and *cevua*, bastard sandal-wood, being more durable.

A peculiarity of the Fijian pillar spoils its appearance. Where the capital is looked for, there is a long neck just wide enough to receive the beam it supports. A pillar two feet in diameter is thus cut away at the top to about six inches.

Ordinary grass houses have no eaves; but there is over the doorway a thick semicircular projection of fern and grass, forming a pent. Some houses have openings for windows. The doorways are generally so low as to compel those who enter to stoop. The answer to my inquiry why they were so, often reminded me of Proverbs xvii., 19. Although the Fijian has no mounted Arab to fear, he has often foes equally subtle, to whom a high doorway would give facility for many a murderous visit.

Temples, dwelling-houses, sleeping-houses, kitchens, (lau), inns, or receiving houses for strangers (See p. 160), and yam stores, are the buildings of Fiji.

For thatching, long grass, or leaves of the sugar-cane and stone-palm, are used. The latter are folded in rows over a reed, and sewn together, so as to be used in lengths of four or six feet, and make a very durable covering. The leaves of the sugar-cane are also folded over a reed; but this is done on the roof, and cannot be removed, as the other may, without injury. The grass or reed thatch is laid on in rather thin tiers, and fastened down by long rods, found ready for use in the mangrove forests, and from ten to twenty feet long, and secured by the rafters by split rattans. Some very good houses are covered first with the cane leaves, and then with the grass, forming a double thatch. Sometimes the eaves are made two feet thick with ferns, and have a good effect; but, when thicker, they look heavy, and, by retaining the wet, soon rot.

The ridge of superior buildings receives much attention. The ends of the ridge-pole project for a yard or more beyond the thatch, having the extremities blackened, and increasing with a funnel-shape, and decorated with large white shells. The rest of the ridge is finished as a large roll bound with vines, and on this is fixed a thick, well-twisted grass cable: another similar cable is passed along the under side of the roll, having hung from it a row of large tassels. All foreigners are struck with the tasteful character of this work, and lament that its materials are not more durable. I have seen several houses in which the upper edge of the eaves was finished with a neat braid. The thatchers, contrary to the statement in the *U. S. Exploring Narrative*, always begin at the eaves, and work upwards.

A more animated scene than the thatching of a house in Fiji cannot be conceived. When a sufficient quantity of material has been collected round the house, the roof of which has been previously covered with a net work of reeds, from forty to three hundred men and boys assemble, each being satisfied that he is expected to do some work, and each determined to be very noisy in doing it. The workers within pair

with those outside, each tying what another lays on. When all have taken their places, and are getting warm, the calls for grass, rods, and lashings, and the answers, all coming from two or three hundred excited voices of all keys, intermixed with stamping down the thatch, and shrill cries of exultation from every quarter, make a miniature Babel, in which the Fijian—a notorious proficient in nearly every variety of halloo, whoop, and yell—fairly outdoes himself.

All that is excellent in material or workmanship in the chiefs' houses, is seen to perfection and in unsparing profusion in the bure, or temple. An intelligent voyager observes, "In architecture the Fijians have made no mean progress; and they are the only people I have seen, among those classed by Europeans as 'savages,' who manifested a taste for the fine arts; while, as with the ancient Greeks, this taste was universal."

Sailors—an important part of the Fijian community—are found throughout the group; and not among the men only, for many women are able to discharge the duties of "ordinary seamen." The Levuka and Mbutoni tribes are especially nautical, and, their roving habits inducing irregular practices, their character is not very fair: they are insolent or officious, as self-interest may dictate. As much may be said of the fishermen's caste, to which the others are closely allied. Fijians do not make bold sailors, and none have yet taken their canoes beyond the boundaries of their own group. One old man I knew, who freighted his canoe with pots and masi, sought the help of his god, and sailed away for a land which his fancy, or some equally foolish informant, told him lay to the west of the Exploring Isles, and with which he rejoiced to think he should open a trade. But after an absence of two or three days, Tou-levu (the Great Fowl) returned crest-fallen and disappointed, and his failure was pointed out as a warning to all ambitious navigators. I never heard of but one Fijian chief who had attempted to steer his canoe to Tonga, though the people of that group, having the wind in their favour, pay yearly visits to Fiji.

Though deficient in boldness, the native sailors display great skill in managing their vessels. When ready for sea, the mast, which is "stepped on deck in a chock," stands erect, except that it is hauled to bend towards the outrigger. It is secured by fore and back stays, the latter taking the place of shrouds: when the sail is hoisted, the halyards also become backstays: these ropes, as long as the canoe is under sail, may be called her standing rigging, not being loosed in tacking. The halyards are bent on the yard at less than a third of its length from the upper end, and passed over the top of the mast, which has generally a crescent form. The great sail is allowed to swing a few feet from the deck, or to lie upon it, until orders are given to get under way. The yard is now hoisted hard up to the mast-head; but, as the length of the yard from the halyards to the tack is longer than the mast, the latter is slacked off so as to incline to that end of the canoe to which the tack is fixed, thus forming with the lower length of the yard a triangle, of which the line of deck is the base. The ends of the deck-beams on the cama side serve for belaying pins on which a turn of the halyards is taken, the loose ends being passed round the "dog," or belaying pole. The steersman, holding a long oar, stands nearly on a line with the tack on the far edge of the main-deck, while in the opposite corner is the man who tends the sheet. The sheet is bent on the boom about two-thirds up, and, by giving it a couple of turns on a beam, one man can hold it, even in a breeze. Like the felucca of the Mediterranean, the helm is used at either end, and, on tacking, is put up instead of down, that the outrigger may be kept to windward: the wind being brought aft, the tack is carried to the other end, which is thus changed from stern to bow, the mast being slacked back again to suit the change; the helmsman and sheetholder change places, and the canoe starts on her new tack. Unless the outrigger be kept to the weather side, the canoe must be swamped; for, so soon as it gets to leeward, the wind drives the sail against the mast, and the cama is forced under water. If the man at the sheet does not slack away promptly, when a gust of wind strikes the sail, the cama is raised into the air, and the canoe capsizes. These crafts are easily overturned by carelessness; but, when properly managed, will carry sail in a brisk breeze. The weight of the sail with the force of the wind being imposed on one end, strains the canoe.

A steer-oar for a large canoe is twenty feet long, with an eight-feet blade sixteen inches wide. Being made of heavy wood, the great difficulty of handling it is eased by a rope which is passed through the top of the blade, and the other end of which is made fast to the middle beam of the deck. "Rudder-bands," too, are attached to the handle of the oar, and carried towards the cama; yet two and sometimes three men are needed to keep the canoe on her course. Violent blows on the side are often received from the helm, and I have known them cause a man's death.

In a calm, the canoe is propelled by vertical sculling. Four, six, or eight sculls, according to the size of the canoe, are used. The men who work them throw their weight on the upright oar from side to side, moving together, and raising their feet alternately, so as to give, at a distance, the appearance of walking over the water.

In smooth weather, canoe-sailing is pleasant enough; but in a sea and heavy wind, the deck inclines at a most uncomfortable angle to the water. When running with the small end foremost, a beautiful jet of water, ever changing its form, is thrown up in front to the height of a yard; or, sometimes, the body of the canoe is driven along beneath the surface, and only seen occasionally—a dark outline in a bed of foam. When this is the case, a landsman is safest sitting still, but the native sailors move about with surprising security.

Canoe-sailing is not silent work. The sail is hoisted and the canoe put about with merry shouts; a brisk interchange of jest and raillery is kept up while poling over shoal reefs, and the heavier task of sculling is lightened by mutual encouragement to exertion, and loud thanks to the scullers, as each set is relieved at intervals of five or ten minutes. A dead calm is enlivened by playful invitations addressed to the wind most wanted, the slightest breath being greeted with cries of, "Welcome! welcome on board!" and when, with full sail, the canoe bounds along—

> "The merry seamen laugh to see
> Their fragile bark so lustily
> Furrow the green sea-foam."

If there should be drums on board, their clatter is

added to the general noise. The announcement to the helmsman of each approaching wave, with the order to lavi—keep her away— and the accompanying "one, two, and another to come," by which the measured advance of the waves is counted, with passing comments on their good or ill demeanour, keep all alive and all in good humour. If the canoe is sound, nothing but bad weather can spoil the enjoyment of such voyaging. The duties of the ship are not attended to in the perfunctory style of a hired crew, but in just the same spirit as actuates friends on a pleasure-trip, where each feels his own happiness involved in the happiness of all.

Generally my crews were careful to avoid the dangers of the deep: but sailors are allowed occasional freaks, and mine had theirs. On more trips than one they broke off their course, and, forgetful of the primary object of the voyage, engaged in an absorbing chase after a shark, or sting-ray, or turtle, apparently willing to wreck the canoe, rather than lose the fish.

The heathen sailors are very superstitious. Certain parts of the ocean, through fear of the spirits of the deep, they pass over in silence, with uncovered heads, and careful that no fragment of food or part of their dress shall fall into the water. The common tropic-bird is the shrine of one of their gods, and the shark of another; and should the one fly over their heads, or the other swim past, those who were turbans would doff them, and all utter the word of respect. A shark lying athwart their course is an omen which fills them with fear. A basket of bitter oranges put on a vesi canoe is believed to diminish its speed. On one of their canoes it is tabu to eat food in the hold; on another, in the house-on deck; on another, on the platform over the house. Canoes have been lost because the crew, instead of exerting themselves in a storm, have quitted their posts to sore to their god, and throw yaqona and whales' teeth at the waves to propitiate them.

The fishermen, though associated with the sailors, move about still nearer home. They take great quantities of fish; and the chief work of some is catching of turtle. The principal fishing-tribes are those of Lusakau and Malaki; but nearly every influential chief has a company of fishermen at command. Various means are employed for taking fish, including nets and a sort of weir formed like the creels and crab-pots used along the British coasts, and baited and secured in the same way. Another kind has two apertures; a third contrivance is an intricate fence, either fixed or portable. Stone pens, hooks, and fish-spears, are in use throughout Fiji. Some drowsy fish of the shark family are taken by passing a noose over their heads, and a vegetable poison from a climbing glycine is employed to stupify smaller kinds. In some parts the rau is used, which is a fringe formed by winding split cocoa nut leaves round a number of vines, to the length of hundreds or even of thousands of feet. This being stretched in a straight line, the canoes to which the ends are attached approach until they meet, thus making a vast inclosure within which the fish are then speared or netted. One kind of net is used in the same way. The native seines are like our own, and are well made.

Turtle-fishers generally act under orders from the chief of whose establishment they form a part, and often receive presents of food and property on their return from a successful trip. At times they engage themselves to other people, when it is understood that they are to fish ten times. When they take nothing, they receive no payment; but each time they bring in one or more turtles, food and property are given them, and the employer must make them a handsome present on the completion of the engagement. For this work nets are used, made of sinnet, and very inferior ones of vau. They should not be less than sixty yards long; the best are two hundred. Sixteen meshes, each seven or eight inches square, give a depth of about ten feet. The floats are of light wood, about two feet long, and five feet apart: pebbles or large trochus shells are used to weigh the lower edge. This net is carried out on a canoe into deep water, and let down just outside the reef: both ends are next brought close to the reef, or, should there be water enough, a little way upon it: thus there is formed a semi-circular fence, which intercepts the turtle on its way back from feeding. If the animal turns from the net, it is frightened back by the fishermen, who shout, strike the water with poles, and stamp furiously on the deck of the canoe, until their prey becomes entangled by its attempts to pass through the net. A plan, not generally known, is practised at night by some of the Malakis. The net is then said to be nursed: that is, several persons, stationed at intervals along the net, which is fully stretched out, hold it gathered up in their arms. The approach of the turtle is then listened for, and the man towards whom it comes drops the net, and the animal is secured. But the most difficult part of the business—that of getting actual possession—yet remains. The men have to dive and seize their captive in an element where he is more at home than they. The struggle is sometimes violent, and the turtle, if large, requires the exertions of four or five men. The first diver aims to secure the extremity of the fore fin, it being thought that by depressing the fore-part of its body the turtle is made more eager to ascend: to lay hold of the body-joint of the fin would endanger a man's hand. If their captive is very troublesome, the men try to insert a finger and thumb in the sockets of the eyes, so as to insure a firmer hold. Finding resistance vain, the creature moves upward, and his enemies rise too, glad enough to leave the unnatural element which has been the scene of conflict. On their appearance above water, the men on the canoe help to drag the prize on board, where it is turned on its back, its flat buckler preventing its regaining its natural position. Loud blasts on the conch-shell announce the triumph of the fishermen.

The heathen fishers of Mbau take with them a consecrated club, which, when a turtle is caught, is dipped by a priest into the sea, and so held by him that the water may drip off it into the animal's mouth: during this ceremony he offers prayers, beseeching the god to be mindful of his votaries, and give them a successful season.

Turtle-fishing is not without danger, and lives are sometimes lost in it by deep openings in the reef, or the savage attacks of the shark. Sometimes the sail of the canoe is made to cast its shadow behind the swimming turtle, which is thus frightened and pursued until exhausted, when it is easily captured. The people on land sometimes take the female when she comes ashore to deposit her eggs. But man is not the turtle's only enemy. Sharks, as well as aldermen, have a *penchant* for green fat, and, selecting the finest

specimen, surround the harmless creature and tear it in pieces. I have often seen turtles which have been mangled in these attacks. I once weighed a pound and a-half of turtle-shell, which was found in a shark's stomach, in fragments so large as to enable me to decide to what part of the buckler they belonged, and to justify the conclusion that the whole "head" must have weighed between three and four pounds. The entire weight of the turtle could not have been less than two hundred-weight. The head, fins, and most of the body were found in an undigested state in this one shark, which paid for its gluttony dearly, for it was found dead. An old fisherman of my acquaintance, whose word I have no reason to doubt, assured me that only four moons previously he took a turtle whole, and weighing about one hundred-weight, from the stomach of a shark, in which receptable he also found a common parrot. Yet sharks, in these waters, are rarely more than twelve feet in length, and very seldom as large.

The fishermen of Fiji might supply the naturalist with many interesting facts, did not their superstition urge them to avoid, as quickly as possible, the presence of anything extraordinary, believing it to be supernatural, and fearing lest they should be guilty of unpardonable temerity in remaining in its presence.

After successful fishing the canoes return in nearly the same order, and with as much noise, as when they

VIEW ON THE COAST OF VANUA LEVU.

come home from war laden with their slain foes. The women meet them with dancing and songs, which, I remember, in one instance they finished by a smart volley of bitter oranges, which the men returned by driving the women from the beach. The turtle caught are kept in stone or paled pens. Three or four may be taken in a day, but many days are quite without success. Fifty or a hundred turtle caught in a season constitute very good fishing. According to Fijian fishermen, only the female yields the tortoise-shell of commerce. Traders name the thirteen plates which cover the back, "a head." A head of shell weighs from one to four pounds; the latter is not common. One or two heads have been taken weighing five pounds, and one seven pounds. Fishermen make offering to their gods, and obtain promise of success before leaving home. Tuikilakila once thought fit to accompany his men. The priestess promised five turtles, and the party set out in high spirits. Some days after we saw them returning, but in profound silence: an unwelcome omen for the poor priestess, who forthwith fled and hid herself in the forest, and thus prevented the enraged king from cooking her instead of a turtle.

The commercial transactions of the Fijian, though dating far back, have been on a small scale, consisting of a barter trade, which is chiefly in the hands of the Levuka, Mbutoni, and Malaki people, who regard the sea as their home, and are known as "the inhabitants of the water." Although wanderers, they have settle-

ments on Lakemba, Somosomo, Great Fiji, and other places. They exchange pottery for masi, mats, and yams. On one island the men fish, and the women make pots, for barter with the people on the main. Their mode of exchange is very irregular. The islanders send to inform those on the mainland that they will meet them on such a day at the trading-place—a square near the coast paved for the purpose. The people of the continent bring yams, taro, bread, &c., to exchange for fish. The trade is often left to the women, among whom a few transactions take place quietly, when some misunderstanding arises, causing exciting language, and ending in a scuffle. This is the signal for a general scramble, when all parties seize on all they can, and run off with their booty amidst the shouts and execrations of the less successful. The inland tribes of the Great Fiji take yaqona to the coast, receiving in exchange mats, masi, and fine salt.

For nearly one hundred years past the Friendly Islanders have traded with Fiji. The scarlet feathers of a beautiful paroquet were a leading attraction.

The inhabitants of the Friendly Islands still depend on Fiji for their canoes spars, sail-mats, pottery, and mosquito curtains. They also consume large quantities of Fijian sinnet and food, bringing in exchange whales'

THAKOMBAU, KING OF THE FIJI ISLANDS.

teeth, the same made into necklaces, inlaid clubs, small white cowries, Tonga cloth, axes, and muskets, together with the loan of their canoes and crews, and, too often, their services in war. This kind of intercourse has greatly increased of late years, and its injurious effects on the morals of the Tongans and the advance of Christianity in Fiji, are incalculable. A plan for so regulating this commerce, as to secure to the Tongans its advantages, and to the Fijians a protection from its evils, is yet needed

Commercial intercourse between Europeans and the people of Fiji was commenced at the year 1806, probably by vessels of the East India Company visiting the north-east part of Vanua Levu to procure sandal-wood for the Chinese market. The payments in exchange were made with iron hoops, spikes, beads, red paint and similar trifles On the failure of sandal-wood, biche de mar—the trepang of old books—began to be collected, and the natives were encouraged to preserve the turtle-shell. Traffic in these articles has been, and is still, chiefly in the hands of Americans from the port of Salem. Biche-de-mar, to the value of about 30,000 dollars, is picked annually from the reefs, principally on the north coast of Vanua Levu and the north-west of Viti Levu.

Quite recently small lots of arrow-root, cocoa-nut oil, and sawn timber have been taken from the islands. The supply of oil is not likely to be so far in advance of the home demand as to yield any great quantity for exportation, although proper attention and an improved process of manufacture may effect a considerable alteration in this particular. At present the biche-de-mar is the great inducement to speculation. It is yet found in great quantities on the reefs just named, especially on such as have a mixture of sand and coral. There are several kinds, all of the holothuria family. The native name is dri, all kinds of which are occasionally eaten in Fiji. There are six valuable species, of which the black sort is the most esteemed. These mollusks, especially one prickly kind, are unsightly objects, being great slugs from nine inches to a foot in length. They are somewhat hard to the touch, and in drying are reduced two-thirds in size. When cured, they are like pieces of half-baked clay, from two inches to a foot long, of a dull black or dirty gray colour, occasionally mixed with sandy red.

The section of the solid part look. like light india-rubber. After long soaking in water, the Chinese cooks cut them up, and use them in making rich soups.

Those who visit these parts for a cargo of biche-de-mar, complain of the tricks played upon them by the natives, forgetting that they themselves have set the example, and that the hard dealings of the islanders may be regarded as retributive.

Driving a hard bargain is one of the first arts of civilised life which the savage acquires, and the records of voyagers show it to be the first taught. Many have noticed that these people, and others in like position, have shown an utter ignorance of the relative value of articles; and the most amusing instances have come under my own notice of their offering goods in exchange for some desired object, with an utter disregard of any proportion whatever.

There are some other resources of the inhabitants of Fiji which yet demand notice. In addition to the black and brown dyes already mentioned, the natives are acquainted with others of various colours, chiefly of vegetable origin, and the knowledge of which is almost confined to the women. To them, also, is intrusted the management of the pits in which the native bread—madrai—is fermented. These pits are round holes three feet deep, thickly lined at the bottom and sides with layers of banana leaves, and into them are put about two bushels of either taro, kawai, arrow-root, bread-fruit, or bananas stripped of their skins. Inferior kinds of bread are made from the fruit of the mangrove, a large arum, and the stones of the dawa and kaveka. The last two, with bora or palaka bread, are used only in certain districts. The root of the carrion-flower and some wild nuts are employed to bring the mass into a proper state of fermentation. Banana bread is the best, and when fit for use, is very like hard milk curds; but the sour, fetid smell of the pits is most offensive to a European. After the fruit is put in, the pit is covered by turning down over each other the projecting leaves used for lining the sides, and thus keeping out the rain. Large stones are then placed on the top to press all down. When ready for use, quantity is taken out, mashed, and mixed with either scraped cocoa-nut, papuan apple, or ripe banana, and then folded in leaves in small balls or rolls, when it is either boiled or baked. The unpleasant odour is greatly dissipated by cooking; but the taste remains sa[illegible] though not unpleasantly, sour. Opinions di[illegible] the amount of nutriment contained in this food [illegible] certainly very useful to the natives, though many of them suffer from its too constant use. The inhabitants of rocky and unproductive islands receive effectual aid, in the form of baskets of native bread. Destructive gales sometimes sweep over the cultivated grounds, cutting off the ripening fruits, which, however, in their green state are fit for bread-making; and thus in another way the madrai, which disgusts strangers, serves to keep off famine, otherwise inevitable.

V.

POPULATION—PHYSICAL CHARACTER—THAKOMBAU, KING OF THE FIJIANS—MENTAL CHARACTER—TACT—MECHANICAL SKILL—CRUELTY—STORY OF A WONDERFUL BIRD—BURNS IN TEMPLES—PRIESTESSES—OFFERINGS—CONSULTING A GOD—DEDICATION—PRIESTHOOD—DIVINATION SEERS AND DIVINERS—SACRED OBSERVANCES.

THE population of the Fiji Islands has been stated by some authorities at 300,000, and by Commodore Wilkes, of the United States' Exploring Expedition, at 133,500; but Mr. Williams considers 150,000 to be a truer estimate. My opinion, he says, of Wilkes's computation is based upon the following considerations. Several islands, which he states to be uninhabited, have a small population; and he is wrong in giving sixty-five as the number of inhabited islands, eighty being the real number. Speaking of the larger islands, he correctly remarks that the climate of the mountains is unsuited to the taste and habits of the natives; but he is not so correct in confining the production of their food to the low ground. The cocoa-nut only is restricted to the coast; yams, taro, and other esculents, flourish several hundred feet above sea-level; and the dwellers on the heights purchase fish of those on the coast, or supply its lack with fowls and pork. His deduction, therefore, does not hold good, that the interior of the large islands is thinly populated; and that there are not, for instance, more than 5,000 inhabitants in the inland districts of Great Fiji. Adding, therefore, to the above considerations, my own personal observation and inquiry, I must regard Wilkes's number as too low, and am persuaded that, whatever necessity had to do originally with the selection of the inland districts, the tribes dwelling there remain now from choice.

Native tales about the great size and ferocity of the mountaineers, and of their going naked, deserve no credit; the chief difference between them and the rest of the people being that they bestow less care on their persons, and are more rustic in their manners. On visiting these highlanders, I always found them friendly, nor do I remember that they ever used me unkindly, though their opportunities of doing so were many.

Both on the coast and inland, the population has diminished, within the last fifty years, probably one-third, and in some districts as much as one-half. The chiefs do not migrate, as it is said was formerly the custom with the Hawaiians; so that every town ruined in war is a proof of a minished population. Another strong evidence is the large quantity of waste ground which was once under cultivation—more than can be accounted for on the principle of native agriculture. Except where the smaller islands have been entirely depopulated, the larger ones show the clearest signs of decrease in the number of inhabitants—a decrease which has been very great within the memory of men now living, and the causes of which, beyond doubt, have been war and the murderous customs of heathenism. Those who have thus passed away, if we may judge from their posterity, were, physically, a fine race of men. Some familiarity is needed to picture a Fijian justly; for strangers cannot look on him without prejudice. They know that the history of his race is a scandal to humanity, and their first contact with him is certainly startling. Fresh from highly civilised society, and accustomed to the well-clad companions of his voyage, the visitor experiences a strange and not easily described feeling, when first he sees a dark, stout, athletic, and almost naked cannibal, the weird influence of whose penetrating glance many have acknowledged. To sensitive minds the Fijian is an object of disgust; but as this feeling arises from his abominable practices only, personal intercourse with him seldom fails to produce at last a more favourable impression.

The natives of the group are generally above the middle height, well made, and of great variety of figure. They exceed the white race in average stature, but are below the Tongans. Men above six feet are often seen,

but rarely so tall as six feet six inches. I know only one reliable case of a Fijian giant. Corpulent persons are not common, but large, powerful, muscular men abound. Their mould is decidedly European, and their lower extremities of the proportion generally found among white people, though sometimes narrower across the loins. Most of them have broad chests and strong, sinewy arms, and the prevailing stontness of limb and shortness of neck is at once conspicuous. The head is often covered by a mass of black hair, long, frizzled and bushy, sometimes encroaching on the forehead, and joined by whiskers to a thick, round or pointed beard, to which moustaches are often added (*See* p. 152). The outline of the face is a good oval; the mouth large, with white and regular teeth; the nose well-shaped, with full nostrils, yet distinct from the Negro type; the eyes are black, quick, and restlessly observant. Dr. Pickering, of the United States Exploring Expedition, observes concerning the Fijian countenance, that it was "often grave and peculiarly impressive." He further remarks, "the profile in general appeared to be as verticle, if not more so, than in the white race; but this, I find, is not confirmed by the facial angle of the skull, and it may possibly be accounted for by some difference in the carriage of the head. The Fijian skulls brought home by the expedition will not readily be mistaken for Malayan; they bear rather the Negro outline; but they are much compressed, and differ materially from all other skulls that I have seen." The peculiar harshness of skin, said to be characteristic of the Papuan race, is more observable among the wilder inland tribes of Fiji, where less attention is paid to the constant bathing and oiling of the body. The complexion of the people varies, but the pure Fijian seems to stand between the black and the copper coloured races. Dr. Pickering thought that he noticed "a purplish tinge in the Fijian complexion, particularly when contrasted in the sunlight with green foliage;" and adds, "the epithet of 'purple men' might be given to this race, if that of 'red men' be retained for the Malayan." The nearest approach to the negro is found on the Island of Kandavu. An intermixture of the Tongan and Fijian blood has produced a variety called "Tonga-Fiji," some members of which are good-looking, but bear a much stronger resemblance to the Fijians than the Friendly Islanders.

Thakombau (*See* p. 170), the chief known as "King of Fiji," is thus described by an American gentleman: "He is extremely good-looking, being tall, well-made, and athletic. He exhibits much intelligence both in his expression of countenance and manners. His features and figure resemble those of a European, and he is graceful and easy in his carriage." This opinion agrees with Captain Erskine's description of the same chief. He says, "It was impossible not to admire the appearance of the chief: of large, almost gigantic, size, his limbs were beautifully formed and proportioned; his countenance, with far less of the negro cast than among the lower orders, agreeable and intelligent; while his immense head of hair, covered and concealed with gauze, smoke-dried and slightly tinged with brown, gave him altogether the appearance of an eastern sultan. No garments confined his magnificent chest and neck, or concealed the natural colour of the skin, a clear but decided black; and in spite of this paucity of attire—the evident wealth which surrounded him showing that it was a matter of choice and not of necessity—he looked 'every inch a king.'" These descriptions will apply to many of the Fijian dignitaries; and the difference between chiefs and people is not so marked as in some groups: the lower ranks have neither the sleek skin nor portly mien of their superiors, yet supply a fair ratio of fine men, supple in joint, strong in limb, and full of activity.

The aspect of the Fijian, considered with reference to his mental character, so far from supporting the decision which would thrust him almost outside of mankind, presents many points of great interest, showing that, if an ordinary amount of attention were bestowed on him, he would take no mean rank in the great human family, to which, hitherto, he has been a disgrace. Dull, barren stupidity forms no part of his character. His feelings are acute, but not lasting; his emotions easily roused but transient; he can love truly, and hate deeply; he can sympathise with thorough sincerity, and feign with consummate skill; his fidelity and loyalty are strong and enduring, while his revenge never dies, but waits to avail itself of circumstances, or of the blackest treachery to accomplish its purpose. His senses are keen, and so well employed, that he often [illegible] the white man in ordinary things. Tact has [illegible]ed "ready cash," and of this the native of Fiji [illegible] full share, enabling him to surmount at once many difficulties, and accomplish many tasks, that would have "fixed" an Englishman. Tools, cord, or packing materials, he finds directly, where the white man would be at a loss for either; and nature seems to him but a general store for his use, where the article he wants is always within reach.

In social diplomacy the Fijian is very cautious and clever. That he ever paid a visit merely *en passant*, is hard to be believed. If no request leaves his lips, he has brought the desire, and only awaits for a good chance to present it now, or prepare the way for its favourable reception at some other time. His face and voice are all pleasantness, and he has the rare skill of finding out just the subject on which you most like to talk, or sees at once whether you desire silence. Rarely will he fail to read your countenance; and the case must be urgent indeed, which obliges him to ask a favour when he sees a frown. The more important he feels the business, the more earnestly he protests that he has none at all: and the subject uppermost in his thoughts comes last to his lips, or is not even named; for he will make a second or even a third visit, rather than risk a failure through precipitancy. He seems to read other men by intuition, especially where selfishness or lust are prominent traits. If it serves his purpose, he will study difficult and peculiar characters, reserving the results for future use: if, afterwards, he wish to please them, he will know how; and if to annoy them, it will be done most exactly.

His sense of hearing is acute, and by a stroke of his nail he judges of the ripeness of fruits, or soundness of various substances.

The people have more than average conversational powers, and chattering groups while away the early night by retailing local news, or olden legends. In sarcasm, mimicry, jest, and "chaff," they greatly excel, and will keep each other on the broad grin for hours together. A Mr. Hadley, of Wenham, cited by Dr. Pickering, says, "In the course of much experience the Fijians were the only 'savage people' he had ever met with who could give reasons, and with whom it was possible to hold a connected conversation."

That considerable mechanical skill exists among the

Fijians will have been already evident, and their cleverness in design is manifest in the carved and stained patterns which they produce. Imitative art is rarely found, except in rude attempts to represent, on clubs or cloth, men, turtles, fishes, guns, &c. Almost all their lines are straight or zigzag; the curve being scarcely ever found in ornamental work, except in outlines.

Of admiring emotion, produced by the contemplation of beauty, these people seem incapable; while they remain unmoved by the glorious loveliness with which they are everywhere surrounded.

But the savagedom of the Fijian has a more terrible badge, and one whereby he is principally distinguished by all the world—his cruelty is relentless and bloody. That innate depravity which he shares in common with other men, has, in his case, been fostered into peculiar brutality by the character of his religion, and all his early training and associations. Shedding of blood to him is no crime, but a glory. Whoever may be the victim—whether noble or vulgar, old or young, man, woman, or child—whether slain in war, or butchered by treachery—to be somehow an acknowledged murderer is the object of the Fijian's restless ambition.

The following story, which is the basis of a very popular poem, will give some idea of the general character of such compositions, and also illustrate Fijian customs. Nai Thombothombo, it is said, is a land of gods, among whom a few human beings are allowed, by privilege, to reside. One of the gods, Rokoua, gave his sister in marriage to another divinity, named Okova. The match was one of unusual happiness; but, in confirmation of the adage, "the course of true love never did run smooth," Okova had shortly to mourn the loss of his wife, and that under circumstances of peculiar distress. The lady had accompanied her lord to the reef on a fishing excursion, when she was seized by a vast bird, surpassing the rok of the Arabian tale, and carried away under its wing. The bird which thus took Tutuwathiwathi, is known to some as Ngani-vatu, "Duck of the rock," and to others as Ngutulei. Okova hastened, in an agony of distress, to his brother-in-law Rokoua, and, presenting a root of yaqona, besought his assistance. They set off in a large canoe in pursuit of the lady, and, on their way, came to an island inhabited by goddesses, where, says the song, "there existed no man, but they while away their time in sports." Rokoua thought to make this their journey's end, saying to Okova, "Let us not sail further in search of Tutuwathiwathi: here is a land of superior ladies, and abounding in precious cowries." But these had no charms for the faithful and disconsolate husband, who replied, "Nay, Rokoua, not so; let us seek Tutuwathiwathi only." Arriving at Yasawas, the brothers inquired where the Duck-of the rock could be found, and were directed to Sawailau, but did not find the bird in its cave. On looking round, they perceived one of Tutuwathiwathi's little fingers, which Okova took as a precious relic, rightly concluding that his wife had been devoured. Having rested awhile, the two gods saw the devourer approaching; "for his fog-like shade shut out the face of the sun." In his beak he carried five large turtles, and in his talons ten porpoises, which, on reaching the cave, he began to eat, without regarding the intruders. Rokoua proposed to spear the monster, but Okova entreated him to pause while he prayed to three other gods to aid them by causing the wind to blow. The prayer was heard, and a wind blowing into the cave spread out the bird's tail: Rokoua seized the opportunity, and struck its spear through its vitals. The spear, though very long, was entirely hidden in the body of the bird. It was now proposed to make a new sail of one of the wing-feathers; but as its weight would have endangered the canoe, a smaller feather was selected, by means of which they sailed safely home. Before starting, however, they cast the dead bird into the sea, thereby causing such a surge as to "flood the foundation of the sky."

Nearly every town or village has one or more bures, or "temples;" some have many, which are well built, no pains being spared in their erection and finish. The quantity of sinnet used in the decoration of some of these is immense; for every timber is covered with it, in various patterns of black and red. Reeds wrapped with the same material are used for lining door and window openings, and between the rafters and other spars. Sinnet-work is seen in every part, and hangs in large cords from the eaves. Spears are often used for laths in thatching temples, as well as for fastening the thatch of the ridge-pole, on the projecting ends of which white cowries are fixed, or hang in long strings to the ground (*See* p. 153).

The spot on which a chief has been killed, is sometimes relected as the site of the bure, which is generally placed upon a raised foundation, thrown up to the height of from three to twenty feet, and faced with dry rubble-work of stone. The ascent is by a thick plank, having its upper face cut into notched steps.

On setting up the pillars of a temple, and again when the building is complete, men are killed and eaten. On Vanua Levu, trumpet shells are blown, at intervals of one or two hours, during the whole progress of the erection.

The bure is a very useful place. It is the council-chamber, and town-hall; small parties of strangers are often entertained in it, and the head persons in the village even use it as a sleeping place. Though built expressly for the purpose of religion, it is less devoted to them than any others. Around it, plantains and bread-fruit trees are often found, and yaqona is grown at the foot of the terrace, the produce of each being reserved for the priests and old men. Several spears set in the ground, or one transfixing an earthen pot, as well as one or more blanched human skulls, are not uncommonly arranged in the sacred precincts.

Votive offerings, comprising a streamer or two, with a few clubs and spears, decorate the interior, while a long piece of white masi, fixed to the top, and carried down the angle of the roof so as to hang before the corner-post and to lie on the floor, forms the path down which the god passes to enter the priest, and marks the holy place which few but he dare approach. If the priest is also a doctor in good practice, a number of hand-clubs, turbans, necklaces of flowers, and other trifles paid as fees, are accumulated in the temple. A few pieces of withered sugar-cane are often seen resting over the wall-plate. Mr. Williams says that, in one bure, he saw a huge roll of sinnet; and in another, a model of a temple, made of the same material. In one at Mbau, parts of victims slain in war are often seen hung up in clusters. From some temples, the ashes may not be thrown out, however they may accumulate, until the end of the year. The clearing out takes place in November, and a feast is made on the occasion.

There are priestesses in Fiji; but few of sufficient

importance to have a temple; and in the case of these, it merely serves as a place for sleeping, and the storing of offerings.

Bures are often unoccupied for months, and allowed to fall into ruin, until the chief wants to make some request to the god, when the necessary repairs are first carried out. Nothing like regular worship or habitual reverence is found, and a principle of fear seems the only motive to religious observances; and this is fully practised upon by the priests, through whom alone the people have access to the gods, when they wish to present petitions affecting their social or individual interest. When matters of importance are involved, the soro or offering consists of large quantities of food, together with whales' teeth. In smaller affairs, a tooth, club, mat, or spear, is enough. On one occasion, when Tuikilakila asked the help of the Somosomo gods in war, he built the war god a large new temple, and presented a great quantity of cooked food, with sixty turtles, besides whales' teeth.

Part of the offering—the sigana—is set apart for the deity, the rest forming a feast of which all may partake. The portion devoted to the god is eaten by his priest, and by old men; but to youths and women it is tabu.

The priests exercise a powerful influence over the people, an influence which the chiefs employ for the strengthening of their own, by securing the divine sanction for their plans. The sacerdotal caste has for some time been rapidly declining; but it still retains, in some parts, much of its old power.

The priesthood is generally, but not invariably, hereditary. A man who can shake well, and speculate shrewdly, may turn his abilities to account by becoming a priest. He must weigh probabilities with judgment, and take care that his maiden effort at divination is not too glaring a blunder. The rank of a priest is regulated by that of the god to whom he is a minister. When the chieftancy and priesthood meet in the same person, both are of low order. Each god has a distinct order of priests, but not confined to one family. A bete can only officiate in the temple of the god whom he serves; and a worshipper of a particular god can have no access to him where he has neither temple nor priest. The sacred insignia are a long-toothed comb, and a long oval frontlet of scarlet feathers.

Wishing to hear from one of the fraternity, Mr. Williams relates an account of their inspiration by the god, and suspecting that any inquiries of my own would be evaded, I got the well-known Tonga chief, Tubou Toutai, to call into my house a famous Lakemba priest who was passing by, and question him in my hearing. The following dialogue took place:—

"Langgu, did you shake yesterday?"

"Yes."

"Did you think beforehand what to say?"

"No."

"Then you just say what you happen to think at the time, do you?"

"No. I do not know what I say. My own mind departs from me, and then, when it is truly gone, my god speaks by me."

This man had the most stubborn confidence in his deity, although his mistakes were such as to shake any ordinary trust. His inspired tremblings were of the most violent kind, bordering on fury. Gods are supposed to enter into some men while asleep, and their visit is made known by a peculiar snore.

There are various methods of divination used in Fiji. One is by a bunch of cocoa-nuts, pretty well dried. Having given the message of the god, the priest continues, "I shall shake these nuts; if all fall off, the child will recover; but if any remain on, it will die." He then shakes and jerks the nuts, generally with all his might. An easier mode is by spinning a nut on its side, and watching in which direction the eye points when again at rest. This method is not confined to priests. Some priests, when consulted, sit on the ground, with their legs stretched out, and a short club placed between them. They then watch to see which leg trembles first: if the right, the omen is good; if the left, it is evil. A chief, wishing to ascertain how many of a certain number of towns would espouse his cause, consulted the *bete*, who took as many short reeds as there were places named, and gave each a name. When they were set in the ground he held his right foot over each, and every one above which his foot trembled was declared disloyal, and all the rest true. Some chew a certain leaf, and let the fact of it tasting bitter or sweet determine the question at issue. Some pour a few drops of water on the front of the right arm, near the shoulder, and, the arm being gently inclined, the course of the water is watched; and if it find its way down to the wrist, the answer is favourable; but otherwise, if it run off, and fall on the floor. Some begin at the wrist, and let the water run towards the shoulder. Others decide by simply biting a leaf in two. The leaf is placed between the front teeth, and if cut clean through at once, all is well; but the reverse, if it still hang together. Some take an omen from the fact of a man's sneezing out of the right or left nostril while he holds a certain stick in his hand.

The seer also is known in Fiji. He sits listening to the applicant's wishes, and then, closing his eyes on earthly things, describes to the inquirer the scenes of the future which pass before his vision. These generally consist of burning houses, fleeing warriors, bloody plains, or death-stricken sick ones, as the case may require. A similar personage is the taro, "ask," who sits with his knee up and his foot resting on the heel, with a stick placed in a line with the middle of it. Without being told the object of the visit, he states whether his presentiment is good or evil, and then is informed of the matter inquired after, and proceeds to apply his impressions about it in detail. There is also the dautadra, or professional dreamer, who receives a present on communicating his revelations to the parties concerned, whether they tell of good or evil, and who seldom happens to dream about any one who cannot pay well. Some believe that a good present often averts the evil of a bad dream.

The worship of the gods of Fiji is not a regular and constant service, but merely suggested by circumstances, or dictated by emergency or fear. There are, however, certain superstitious ceremonies which are duly observed; such as the sevu—presenting the first-fruits of yams; tadravu—an offering made at the close of the year; the keeping of silence when crossing sacred places; the observance of tabus, and reverencing of shrines.

The people formed no idea of any voluntary kindness on the part of their gods, except the planting of wild yams, and the wrecking of strange canoes and foreign vessels on their coast. After successful fishing for turtle, or remarkable deliverance from danger in

war or at sea, or recovery from sickness, a madrali—a kind of thank-offering—was sometimes presented. Clubs, spears, and other valuable articles are thus consecrated to the gods.

Of the great offerings of food, native belief apportions merely the soul thereof to the gods, who are described as being enormous eaters; the substance is consumed by the worshippers.

Cannibalism is a part of the Fijian religion, and the gods are described as delighting in human flesh. Tuithakau once asked, in a fit of anger, "Is Jehovah the god of bodies killed to be eaten?" intimating that as Na Tavasara was so, he must be the superior deity. To maintain the exaltation of these false gods, the abominable practice referred to is continued, and pity for any age or sex has no influence with those who may have to prepare the offering.

VI.

Practice of Cannibalism—Dreadful Triumph—Instances of Cannibalism—Torture—Famous Anthropophagists.

It is to be remarked in connection with the practice of cannibalism, as here attested in connection with religion, that until recently there were many who refused to believe in the existence of so horrible and revolting a practice among the Fijians, but such incredulity has been forced to yield to indisputable and repeated evidence, of which Fiji alone can supply enough to convince a universe, that man can fall so low as habitually to feed upon his fellow-men. Cannibalism among this people is one of their institutions; it is interwoven in the elements of society; it forms one of their pursuits, and is regarded by the mass as a refinement.

Human bodies are sometimes eaten in connection with the building of a temple or canoe; or on launching a large canoe; or on taking down the mast of one which has brought some chief on a visit; or for the feasting of such as take tribute to a principal place. A chief has been known to kill several men for rollers, to facilitate the launching of his canoes, the "rollers" being afterwards cooked and eaten. Formerly a chief would kill a man or men on laying down a keel for a new canoe, and try to add one for each fresh plank. These were always eaten as "food for the carpenters." I believe, says Mr. Williams, that this is never done now; neither is it now common to murder men in order to wash the deck of a new canoe with blood. This is sometimes the case, and would, without doubt, have been done on a large scale when a first-rate canoe was completed at Somosomo, had it not been for the exertions of the Missionaries then stationed there. Vexed that the noble vessel had reached Mbau unstained with blood, the Mbau chiefs attacked a town, and killed fourteen or fifteen men to eat on taking down the mast for the first time. It was owing to Christian influence that men were not killed at every place where the canoe called for the first time. If a chief should not lower his mast within a day or two of his arrival at a place, some poor creature is killed and taken to him, as the "lowering of the mast." In every case an enemy is preferred; but when this is impracticable, the first common man at hand is taken. It is not unusual to find "black-list" men on every island, and these are taken first. Names of villages or islands are sometimes placed on the black list. Vaukambua, chief of Mba, thus doomed Tavua, and gave a whale's tooth to the Nggara chief, that he might, at a fitting time, punish that place. Years passed away and a reconciliation took place between Mba and Tavua. Unhappily the Mba chief failed to neutralise the engagement made with Nggara. A day came when human bodies were wanted, and the thoughts of those who held the tooth were turned towards Tavua. They invited the people of that place to a friendly exchange of food, and slew twenty-three of their unsuspecting victims. When the treacherous Nggarans had gratified their own appetites by pieces of the flesh cut off and roasted on the spot, the bodies were taken to Vakambua, who was greatly astonished, expressed much regret that such a slaughter should have grown out of his carelessness, and then shared the bodies to be eaten.

Captives are sometimes reserved for special occasions. Mr. Williams says he has never been able, either by inquiry or observation, to find any truth in the assertion that in some parts of the group no bodies are buried, but all eaten. Those who die a natural death are always interred. Those slain in war are not invariably eaten; for persons of high rank are sometimes spared this ignominy. Occasionally, however, as once at Mbouma, the supply is too great to be all consumed. The bodies of the slain were piled up between two cocoa-nut trees, and the cutting up and cooking occupied two days. The "valekarusa," or trunk of the bodies, was thrown away. This native word is a creation of cannibalism, and alludes to the practice of eating the trunk first, as it will not keep.

When the slain are few, and fall into the hands of the victors, it is the rule to eat them. Late in 1851, fifty bodies were cooked at one time on the Namena. In such cases of plenty, the head, hands, and intestines are thrown away; but when a large party can get but one or two bodies, as at Natewa in 1845, every part is consumed. Native warriors carry their revenge beyond death, so that bodies slain in battle are often mutilated in a frightful manner, a treatment which is considered neither mean nor brutal.

Revenge is undoubtedly the main cause of cannibalism in Fiji, but by no means invariably so. Cases occur in which such a motive could not have been present. Sometimes, however, this principle is horribly manifested.

A woman taken from a town besieged by Ra Undreundre, and where one of his friends had been killed, was placed in a large wooden dish and cut up alive, that none of the blood might be lost. In 1850, Tukilakila inflicted a severe blow on his old enemies the Natewans, when nearly one hundred of them were slain, among whom was found the body of Ratu Rakesa, the king's own cousin. The chiefs of the victorious side endeavoured to obtain permission to bury him, since he held the high rank of rakesa, and because there was such a great abundance of bakolo. "Bring him here," said Tukilakila, "that I may see him." He looked on the corpse with unfeigned delight. "This," said he, "is a most fitting offering to Na Tavasara (the war-god). Present it to him: let it then be cooked, and reserved for my own consumption. None shall share with me. Had I fallen into his hands, he would have eaten me; now that he has fallen into my hands I will eat him." And it is said that he fulfilled his word in a few days, the body being lightly baked at first, and then preserved by repeated cooking.

Mr. Williams relates that when he knew Lotl he was living at Na Ruwai. A few years before he killed his only wife and ate her. She accompanied him to plant taro, and when the work was done, he sent her to fetch wood, with which he made a fire, while she, at his bidding, collected leaves and grass to line the oven, and procured a bamboo to cut up what was to be cooked. When she had cheerfully obeyed his commands, the monster seized his wife, deliberately dismembered her, and cooked and ate her, calling some to help him in consuming the unnatural feast. The woman was his equal, one with whom he lived comfortably; he had no quarrel with her or cause of complaint. Twice he might have defended his conduct to me, had he been so disposed, but he merely assented to the truth of what I here record. His only motives could have been a fondness for human flesh, and a hope that he should be spoken of and pointed out as a terrific fellow.

Those who escape from shipwreck are supposed to be saved that they may be eaten, and very rarely are they allowed to live. Recently, at Wakaya, fourteen or sixteen persons, who lost their canoe at sea, were cooked and eaten.

Mr. Williams says that, as far as he could learn, this abominable food is never eaten raw, although the victim is often presented in full life and vigour. Thus young women have been placed alive beside a pile of food given by the Kandavuans to the chiefs of Rewa. He also heard of a man being taken alive to a chief on Vanua Levu, and given him to eat. In such cases they would be killed first.

Cannibalism does not confine its selection to one sex, or a particular age. I have seen, says Mr. Williams, the gray-headed and children of both sexes devoted to the oven. I have laboured to make the murderers of females ashamed of themselves, and have heard their cowardly cruelty defended by the assertion that such victims were doubly good—because they ate well, and because of the distress it caused their husbands and friends. The heart, the thigh, and the arm above the elbow are considered the greatest dainties. The head is the least esteemed, so that the favourite wife of Tuikilakila used to say it was "the portion for the priests of religion."

Women seldom eat of bakolo, and it is forbidden to some of the priests. On the Island of Moala, graves were not unfrequently opened for the purpose of obtaining the occupant for food. Chiefs say that this has also been done on Vanua Levu. Part of an unburied body was stolen and eaten in 1852. When there are several bodies, the chief sends one or more to his friends; when only one, it is shared among those nearest to him; and if this one has been a man of distinction, and much hated, parts of him are sent to other chiefs fifty or a hundred miles off. It is most certainly true that, while the Fijian turns with disgust from pork, or his favourite fish, if at all tainted, he will eat bakolo when fast approaching putrescence.

Human bodies are generally cooked alone. Generally, ovens and pots in which human flesh is cooked, and dishes or forks used in eating it, are strictly tabu for any other purpose. The cannibal fork seems to be used for taking up morsels of the flesh when cooked as a hash, in which form the old people prefer it.

Rare cases are known in which a chief has wished to have part of the skull of an enemy for a soup-dish or drinking-cup, when orders are accordingly given to his followers not to strike that man on the head. The shin-bones of all bakolos are valued, as sail-needles are made from them. If these bones are short, and not claimed by a chief, there is a scramble for them among the inferiors, who sometimes almost quarrel about them.

Would that this horrible record could be finished here! but the vakatotoga, the "torture," must be noticed. Nothing short of the most fiendish cruelty could dictate some of these forms of torment, the worst of which consists in cutting off parts and even limbs of the victim while still alive, and cooking and eating them before his eyes, sometimes finishing the brutality by offering him his own cooked flesh to eat.

The names of Tampakanthoro Tano, Tuiveikoso, Tuikilakila, and others, are famous in Fiji for the quantity of human flesh which they have individually eaten. But these are but insignificant cannibals in comparison with Ra Undreundre of Rakiraki. Even Fijians name him with wonder. Bodies procured for his consumption were designated lowe ui bi. The bi is a circular fence or pond made to receive turtles when caught, which then becomes its lewena, "contents." Ra Undreundre was compared to such a receptacle, standing ever ready to receive human flesh. The fork used by this monster was honoured with a distinctive epithet. It was named Undroundro; a word used to denote a small person or thing carrying a great burden. This fork was given by his son, Ra Vatu, to the Rev. R. B. Lyth, in 1849. Ra Vatu then spoke freely of his father's propensity, and took Mr. Lyth nearly a mile beyond the precincts of the town, and showed him the stones by which his father registered the number of bodies he had eaten "after his family had begun to grow up." Mr. Lyth found the line of stones to measure two hundred and thirty-two paces. A teacher, who accompanied him counted the stones—eight hundred and seventy-two. If those which had been removed were replaced, the whole would certainly have amounted to nine hundred. Ra Vatu asserted that his father ate all these persons himself, permitting no one to share them with him. A similar row of stones placed to mark the bodies eaten by Nanugavuli contained forty-eight, when his becoming a christian prevented any further addition. The whole family were cannibals extraordinary; but Ra Vatu wished to exempt himself.

It is somewhat remarkable that the only instance of cannibalism in Fiji witnessed by any gentleman of the United States Exploring Expedition, was the eating of a human eye—a thing which those who have seen many bodies eaten never witnessed, the head, as has been stated already, being generally thrown away.

One who had been but a very short time in Fiji wrote thus: "I have been to Mbau thrice, and have witnessed something of Fijian horrors each time. First visit, I saw them opening an oven, and taking a cooked human body out of it: second visit, limbs of body preparing for being baked: third visit, a woman of rank who had just had her nose cut off." Visitors, however, generally manifest considerable incredulity on this subject; though it would not require a long stay actually among the people, to place the matter beyond doubt. An English lieutenant manifested a good deal of unbelief, until he found his head in pretty close contact with parts of several men which hung from a tree near the oven, where, a few days before, their bodies had been cooked.

Whatever may have been the origin of man-eating in Fiji—whether famine or superstition—there is not the slightest excuse for its continuance. Food of every kind abounds, and, with a little effort, might be vastly increased. The land gives large supply spontaneously, and, undoubtedly, is capable of supporting a hundred times the number of its present inhabitants.

In August, 1849, the missionaries greatly enjoyed the visit of H.M.S. *Havannah*, under the command of Captain Erskine. In visiting the Windward Islands first, the officers had been struck by the beneficial results of Christianity, and the generally well-to-do appearance of the people; so that, when they reached the other side of the group, their faith was more than shaken in the horrible accounts they had heard of the customs of the natives, and a delicate hint was given to the missionaries about exaggerated statements.

The next day, however, the missionaries took their visitors to Mbau, to the large temple, and showed them the stone, all bloody with recent use, where the heads of multitudes of victims had been dashed, when presented to the god. Captain Erskine's account of the visit is interesting. Speaking of the temple he says: "The building stood on a raised platform, and was surrounded by a few trees of graceful foliage, under one of which lay the large wooden 'lali,' or sacred drum, beaten at festivals and sacrifices; and overshowed by another was the place where the bodies of victims are dedicated to the kalou, or evil spirit, previous to their being handed over to those who are to cook them for the banquet. The lower branches of the tree had evidently been lately cut away to the height of ten or twelve feet from the ground; and we were told that this had been done after the reduction of Lokia, a town belonging to Rewa, a few months before, when a mound of no fewer than eighty corpses, slain in battle, had been heaped up on the spot." . . . . "We came at last to an irregular square, on which stood a building, probably one hundred feet long, the 'stranger's house,' still occupied by the Mbutoni people and we entered it by a door in the centre. The interior struck me at first as resembling the lower deck of a ship of war, there being a passage down the centre, and the families living in separate messes on either side; divided, however, from each other, in some cases, by partitions of coloured native cloth. We met the usual welcome from the people who happened to be there, and several of them followed out, through an opposite door to that by which we had entered, to a small level space between the back of the house and the hill, which arises somewhat abruptly behind. The first objects of interest to which our attention was called by these strangers, as if to vaunt the goodness of their reception in the capital, were four or five ovens, loosely filled in with stones, which had served to cook the human bodies presented to them after the payment of their tribute. They certainly did not understand the expressions of disgust which rose to our lips; for, leading us to a neighbouring tree, they pointed to where, suspended from the branches, hung some scraps of flesh, the remains of the wretched creatures slaughtered to satisfy the monstrous appetite of these fellows, who had not even the miserable excuse of enmity or hunger to plead for their fiendish banquet.

At an interview with Thakombau, Captain Erskine delivered an address to the chief, and Mr. Calvert interpreted. Cannibalism was denounced in terms of horror and disgust, and the king was urged to listen to the missionaries, and show his good intention by prohibiting all cannibalism at the approaching visit of the Somosomans, on which occasion it had always been customary to destroy an unusual number of human beings. It was intimated, that if these things were heeded, Fiji might, like Samoa, be favoured with the presence of a British consul. The whole address was listened to respectfully, and acknowledged by a suitable reply.

On the following day, Thakombau and Ngavindi accompanied Captain Erskine to the *Havannah*, lying at Ovalau, twenty-five miles distant.

While the chiefs were on board, a target was placed on a rock about eight hundred yards from the ship, and was soon knocked to pieces by the guns. The marines were sent on shore with two field-pieces, and a specimen of bush-ranging was exhibited. Two bomb shells were sent over the hills, and burst with precision. All this astonished Thakombau, who was much excited, and said: "This makes me tremble. I feel that we are no longer secure. If we offend these people, they will bring their ship to Mbau, where, having found us out with their spy-glasses, they would destroy us and our town at once." Captain Erskine was most desirous to avoid everything that was likely to produce an unfavourable impression on the minds of the chiefs and people; and his best exertions were made to impress them with the horror of their practices. Having gained the chief's attention, he again requested him to avoid feeding the Somosomo people with human flesh on their anticipated visit; and besought him that, at the death of his aged father, which could not be far distant, no one might be strangled. While he consented to the former request, he said that he could not promise the other.

VII.

HABITS, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FIJIANS—FIJIAN DANCE—PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONARIES IN VANTA LEVU THE GREAT LAND—MR. CONSUL PRITCHARD—BERTHOLD SEEMAN'S OPINIONS OF THE FIJIANS.

THE habits, manners, and customs of a savage people must always prove interesting, and, to a certain extent, instructive. In the present instance, the people described are even as yet imperfectly known, and still less thoroughly understood and appreciated. There are very few who have had the opportunity of long and intimate acquaintance with them, and who, at the same time, have been either able or disposed to give a fair and unprejudiced statement of what they have witnessed. Hence, much of the charm of novelty attaches itself to all descriptions of Fijian life. The portraiture too, which we regret we cannot enter into here at length, of a people living for many generations under the uninterrupted power of influences different from any which we daily feel, and strangers to those motives and forces which have, more than anything else, modified the development of our individual and social character, must convey instruction, imparting as it does revelations which shed new light on the difficult study—man.

The dance, an illustration of which, as performed by the warriors in the presence of the officers of the United States' Exploring Expedition, is given at page 161 is admittedly the most popular pastime in Fiji. The song by which it is regulated is often very dull, and the movements slow and heavy, consisting of stepping and jumping, mingled with many inflexions of the body and gesticulations with the

hands. There is always a conductor, and, in one or two of their dances, a buffoon is introduced, whose grotesque movements elicit immense applause. In a regular dress or feast dance, two companies are always engaged—the musicians and the dancers. Twenty or thirty persons constitute the "orchestral force," while the dancers often number one or two hundred. The performance of the musicians "is on one note, the bass alternating with the air: they then sound one of the common chords in the bass clef, without the alternation." Several of them elicit clear notes from the long stick by hitting it with a shorter one; others produce a sort of tambourine sound by striking their bamboos on the ground; the rest clap their hands, and all give vocal help. They keep excellent time, and the words sung refer either to the occasion, or to some event in their past history.

The dancers are gaily dressed; and as all bear clubs or spears, and perform a series of marchings, steppings, halts, and varied evolutions, a stranger would rather suppose them to be engaged in a military review than in a dance. As the performance approaches the close, the speed quickens, and the actions steadily increase in violence, accompanied by a heavy tramping on the ground, until the excited dancers, almost out of breath, shout at the top of their voices, "Wa-oo!" and the dance is ended.

Persons who know a new dance are paid for teaching it, the fee being called votua. The following short song contains the complaint of an ill-rewarded teacher:—

> The mother of Thangi-limba is vexed.
> How can we teach, unrewarded, the dance?
> Here is the basket for the fees—and empty!
> Truly this is an illiberal world."

In conclusion, it is to be remarked that the labours, sufferings, and perils of the missionaries have been great, and their reward and success have been also remarkable.

The most recent information we have from Fiji is contained in letters addressed by Dr. Berthold Seeman, to the *Athenæum*, and which bears date 1860. Dr. Seeman represents the British Consul—the well-known Mr. Pritchard—as being now the sole authority that keeps order in Fiji, the natives having voluntarily made over to him the whole group, and found it preferable to abide by his judgment rather than break their own heads and those of the white settlers by an appeal to the club. "It was easy for them to arrive at this conclusion; meanwhile, the person who thus finds himself called upon to adjust the differences of a native population about twice that of New Zealand, and a sprinkling of white immigrants, amounting to about five hundred souls, some of whom hold queer ideas of political justice, has no idle time of it; and if Mr. Pritchard has not acquired a thorough mastery over the Polynesian mind by means of his intimate acquaintance with all their customs, usages and traditions, of which he skilfully avails himself, there would be again wars and dissensions, to the serious detriment of the native population. I have, says Dr. Seeman, repeatedly listened to the proceedings in court, and been struck with the logical acuteness of the natives. Their mind is indeed of a much superior order to that of most savages; and their discussions are as much above those of the Maoris, now teeming in the New Zealand newspapers, as the talk of men is to the prattle of children."

There are many interesting points in Dr. Seeman's letters, especially visits to little exploring parts of Viti Levu—"one of the continents of the Fijian world"—as the worthy naturalist calls it, and an ascent of Voma, the highest peak in the whole Fijis, which we regret we have not space to give some account of, but we cannot conclude without one valuable and sound remark, which may be said to embody the doctor's opinions of the Fijians. "Cannibals though they be," says the doctor, "they have many good qualities; if they were only half as bad as they have been painted, the Fijians would be numbered amongst the extinct races. The public has heard much about enemies slain in battle being eaten, but little about the general rejoicings on the birth of a child, and the affection existing amongst families; it has heard all about the practice of parricide, and the strangling of wives at the death of their husbands, but nothing about the genuine feelings of affection which prompted these singular demonstrations of them."

Later letters give a further and less pleasing insight into the state of society in those islands. It appears that, owing principally to the delay in the English Government making up its mind whether it will take possession of these islands or not, the social relationship between the settlers and the natives is assuming a very unpleasant aspect. This is caused by many of the chiefs having sold land to the white men without sufficient authority from the real owners, who unfortunately are, in most cases, but humble members of the tribe. We shall in time, probably, see the counterpart in the scenes in the Fijis which were enacted in the early history of New Zealand, if care be not soon taken to prevent it. The seeds of future wars and rebellions are sown in these interminable land disputes, and in this instance they spring from the fact that there is no settled form of government to guide and regulate the sales. The English Government should, in justice to the natives, give an early expression of their long expected intention, and thus nip in the bud the discontent which is now showing itself between the aborigines and the settlers. Delay will only add to the evil, and cannot possibly do good to anyone.

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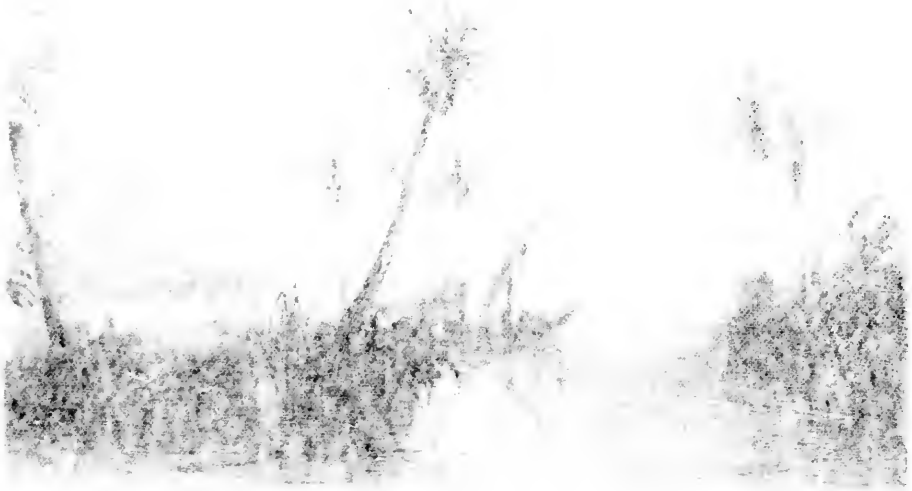

THE SOURCES OF THE NILE.

"NILI QUÆRERE CAPUT."—*Old Proverb.*

I.

PORT OF SUWAKIN ON THE RED SEA—SUBURB OF AL GAIF—POPULATION OF HADHARABI AND SUWAKIN—TRADE AND COMMERCE—CAPTAIN BOURCHIER'S SHIPWRECK—M. LEJEAN, THE FRENCH TRAVELLER—HIS ACCOUNT OF M THIBAULT—ANECDOTE OF MUHAMMAD ALI—PERILS OF SURVEYING—ANCIENT SUCHE—ARAB AMIRS.

SUWAKIN, SUAKIN, or Sonakin according to the French orthography, is a town and seaport in Nubia, on the west shore of the Red Sea, in 19° 4′ N. lat., and 37° 30′ E. long., at the extremity of a narrow inlet, about twelve miles in length and two in width. The entrance of the bay is only about sixty fathoms wide, but it opens gradually to two miles. With northerly winds it is very difficult to enter or leave the bay; but when the winds are from the south, there is a regular land-breeze every morning, which obviates all difficulties. The bay has a sufficient depth of water, generally varying between fifteen and nineteen fathoms. At the bottom of the bay there are several islands, on one of which the town is built. The town is separated from its suburb, called Al Gaif, or El Gerf, which stands on the mainland, by an arm of the sea about 500 yards wide. The harbour, which is on the east side of the town, is formed by a projecting part of the continent. The arm of the sea on the west side affords no anchorage for ships of any size. The islands and all the surrounding country are sandy, and produce only a few shrubs or low acacias. The houses of the town have one or two stories, and are constructed of blocks of madrepores. They have a neat appearance, but the greater part of them are falling to decay. The suburb Al Gaif is rapidly increasing in size and population, and is now larger than the town itself; but there are few houses of stone, the greater part of the dwellings being formed of mats or rushes, like those of the Nubian Bedwins. Suwakin has three mosques, and Al Gaif one. The water of the wells, which are about half-an-hour from Al Gaif, is tolerable, but in none of them is it good.

Burckhardt, in his time, estimated the population of Suwakin at about 8,000, of whom 3,000 lived upon the island, and the rest in Al Gaif. The inhabitants, like those of all the harbours in the Red Sea, are a motley race, but the majority of them are descendants of natives of Hadramaut, and principally of the town of Shabbar, the harbour of that country in the Indian ocean; they are called Hadharabi. The other inhabitants are called Suwakini, and consist of individuals of the Bedwin tribes of Hudandua, Amarah, the Bish-haraiu, and others of Arabian and of Turkish origin. The Bishari language is generally spoken at Al Gaif, but the inhabitants of the port speak the Arabic as their native language, and with the Jidda pronunciation.

Suwakin is one of the most important trading places on the west shore of the Red Sea. The inhabitants have no other pursuit than commerce, either by sea or with the contiguous countries of Eastern Africa. They export the commodities which they receive from Eastern Africa to all the harbours of Hejaz and Yemen, down to Moccha, but chiefly to Jidda and Hudayda. Many of the merchants go to Sennaar to buy their goods, and after returning to Suwakin, they perform the journey to the Arabian coast, but others sell their African merchandise to the traders of the town, by whom they are exported to Arabia. They bring from Sennaar, Khartum, and Shandi, slaves, gold, tobacco, incense, and ostrich feathers; from Taka, on the river Atbarah, dhurra or native corn, and they collect in the county, to the west of the town, water, skins, leathern sacks, and tanned hides, all of which articles find a ready sale in the ports of Arabia. The hides are tanned by the Bedwins, who live in the neighbouring mountains, and are used in Arabia. A large quantity of butter in a liquid state, the only form in which it is used in the country, is likewise exported to Arabia, as well as mats made of dum-palm leaves, which are partly used to cover the floors of the mosques at Mekkah and Medinah, and partly bought by the pilgrims for the purpose of kneeling upon when they pray. These two articles are also obtained from the Bedwins in the mountains near Suwakin. Horses and dromedaries are brought from the countries on the banks of the Nile, and sent to Hudaida.

At Jidda the Suwakin merchants purchase all the Indian goods which are wanted for the African markets and the consumption of their own town, as dresses and ornaments for women, household utensils, and several kinds of provision for the table, such as Indian sugar, coffee, onions, and particularly dates, which are not produced in any part of eastern Nubia. Much iron is also imported for lances and knives, which are manufactured by common smiths—who are the only artisans at Suwakin, except masons and carpenters—and furnish those weapons to the Bedwins.

The trade by sea is carried on principally in ships belonging to people of Suwakin and Jidda; they are almost entirely occupied in sailing between the two coasts. They are often manned by Bedwins, but more commonly by Somalis, who are the best sailors in the Red Sea. A small steamer plying between Jidda, Suwakin, and Massawah, would, from the certainty of its time, monopolise all the traffic, and realise great benefits to its owners. The number of black slaves annually brought through Suwakin to the west of Arabia amounts, according to Burckhardt, to between 2,000 and 3,000, and about an equal number are sent there from Massawah, whence about 3,500 are annually shipped to Moccha. We do not mean to say that it would be to the national credit that British merchant steamers should be employed in such a nefarious traffic, but till some means are propounded to obviate a necessity, or if it is so willed "an institution" of such long standing, such means of conveyance would decidedly obviate a vast amount of suffering, and indeed a considerable annual sacrifice of life. Certain it is, that if British enterprise overlooks the opening afforded

by improved means of transport, the French, who are about to open the ancient port of Adule, will not do so. The so-called slave is not in the east, as is well known, in the same position as the slave in the west, and his condition for the time being would be as much ameliorated by facilities of transport as would be those of the thousands of Muhammadan pilgrims who flock to the same ports on their way to the sacred shrines of Mekkah and Medinah.

We are indebted to Captain W. Bourchier, R.N., who was wrecked in 1833 off this coast, for a narrative of travel from Suwakin across the eastern desert to Berber, by a route previously unknown The road on first leaving Suwakin was deep sand: but the whole of the third day's journey was laborious ascent. Afterwards the country was diversified, and near the well Skidhi the dhurra cultivation began, and there were numerous flocks of sheep and goats, and abundance of camels The dryness of the atmosphere was occasionally excessive and distressing to bear, but the incidents of the journey generally were very few. No alarms were received from robbers, or any other cause.[1]

M. Lejean, a French traveller, landed some time ago at Suwakin, on his way, *viâ* Alexandria, Suez, and Jiddah, to Khartum. Nothing is so deceitful, he says, as the appearance of Suwakin, seen from the spot where European steamers take up their anchorage to the north north-east. The small town which fills up the whole of a round island about 520 paces in diameter, presents to the stranger its only comfortable and picturesque quarter, that of the north, which contains all the monuments of the city. These monuments are the two mosques, the chief of which is a takah of fakihs or dervishes, the muftis' oratory, a microscopic chapel, whose foot is bathed by the sea, a few handsome houses appertaining to merchants, one of which, occupying a prominent place in our illustration, page 208, belongs to an Arab or half-caste Algerian; while behind the great mosque and around the Custom-house square, are the place of Government, the Custom-house, the offices of the Medjidiah Steam-boat Company, and, lastly, the pride of Suwakin, the *beit et silk*, "the house of the wires," being the telegraph station on the line from Cairo to Singapore. Beyond these constructions, to which may be added a modern bazaar, spacious, well-aired, clean, and straight, and three houses of wealthy native merchants, there are nothing but hideous huts, with rotten mats, covering ruinous clay walls; the huts of the Negroes of Sudan are villas by the side of them.

Introduced by the Consul at Jiddah, says M. Lejean, I met with a kindly reception from my only countryman at Suwakin, M. Thibault. If I only wrote for the French in Egypt I should add nothing to his name; it signifies hospitality, activity, spirit, juvenile audacity, intelligence, and love of the East. The atrabilious traveller, Werne, in his work on the White Nile, has not spared this gem of a man, and has described him as "*le jamin de Paris.*" The epithet is not a bad one, in the good sense, but Werne did not intend it so.

One anecdote among a thousand will give an idea of the lively originality of this man. Twenty-two years ago Muhammad Ali went to Khartum bent upon making that rising city the centre from which his power should spread all over Eastern Sudan or Nigritia. There was at that time a native adventurer in the country of the Shiluks, Abderrahman by name, whom the Pasha wished to attach to his political views, and whom he was therefore anxious to hold an interview with. But Abderrahman, like all his countrymen, was singularly mistrustful of the Turks, and the Viceroy could find no one who would undertake to bring the man before him. Accidental mention was made of a Frank, half Arabescised, who was better acquainted than any one else with the country of the Shiluks, so Hawadja Ibrahim (as Thibault was then called) was sent for. It was evening, and Muhammad Ali saw a tall man with a gray beard make his appearance, remaining motionless till he was spoken to.

"Is it you," said the Pasha to him," "who can undertake to bring Abderrahman before me?"

M. Thibault, or Hawadja Ibrahim, without vouchsafing an answer, walked up to the Pasha, and seizing him by his long white beard:

"Upon thy beard," he said," I promise you to bring him before you."

An earthquake would not have more terrified the Egyptian officers present at this scene, than this carrying out of an Oriental practice, more honoured in the breach than in the performance, by a Frank adventurer. Muhammad Ali, when he had recovered from his surprise, wisely laughed at the incident, and declared that he had all the more confidence in his rude interlocutor.

I spent ten days at Suwakin, waiting for the departure of a caravan for Taka, whence I was about to proceed to Khartum by the west and south-west road. In the interval I explored the island, which I found to be separated from the mainland by a deep and narrow channel. Upon the mainland rises the suburb of Al Gaif or El Gherf, which is to the island what St. Servan is to St. Malo. The island pays the taxes, but Al Gaif is probably the only point of the globe where taxes are unknown. I was satisfied of this fact in a rather amusing manner. I was making a plan of the suburb when a sudden rising of the populace obliged me to decamp with my compass much faster than I went. The report had spread that the cursed Frank had come to count the houses, in order that they might be taxed, as they were at Suwakin. I must say that the men tried to allay the insurrection, but frightful old women appeared at every one of the doors, and if I did not fully appreciate their eloquence when concentrated in insult, I did not fail to understand it when backed by stones. I returned, somewhat excited, in search of my revolver; but when I had somewhat recovered myself I felt how odious it would be to kill two or three human beings for the mere pleasure of teaching posterity, upon tissue paper, that the streets of Al Gaif are almost as tortuous as those of Paris of old. For the same reason I declined the company of a gend'arme, who was offered to me by the governor.

Al Gaif was subjected by the Turks two or three centuries ago, and the conquerors have only left the ancient amirs a nominal title.[1]

[1] *Narrative of a Passage from Bombay to England, describing the Author's Shipwreck in the Red Sea, and subsequent Journeys across the Nubian Desert.* By Captain W. Bourchier, R.N. London, 1834.

[1] Suwakin was the ancient Suche (*Strabo*, xvi., p. 770), and the Sachim of the Hebrews (2 Chronicles xii., 3), a harbour on the Red Sea, just above the bay of the more renowned Adule; lat. 18° N. It was occupied by the Egyptians and Greeks successively as a fort and trading station; but the native population of Sache were the Sabæ Ethiopians or Sabæans.

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I paid a visit to the actual amir, Othman, an old man with a cunning expression of features, and whose son, Ghilani, has received the title of Bey from the Turkish Government, with the fez of investiture, and the functions of commissary of police in the city These are his admitted functions; but he is in reality the Turkish spy, and keeps them informed on such matters as may be interesting to them. I shall only add that the fraction of a tribe that inhabit Al Gnif constitute part of the nation Hadharba, or Hadarabi, one of the most important in Nubia, and which is associated with the great family of the Bisharris.

II.

Nubian Desert—Robbery of a French Mechanic—An Agreeable Surprise—Kassala, Capital of Taka—Mudir Ali Bey and Turkish Justice—The Khor el Gash—Curious Hydrographical Phenomena—The Athara, or Black Nile.

I left Suwakin on the 12th of March, with a caravan, under the guidance of a nephew of the Sheikh of Amara, Hakab Allah by name, a handsome young man, who added to his quality of prince of the desert the more prosaic, but more lucrative, title of guardian of the Egyptian ports. I had as a companion in my journey a French mechanic, Pascal, who was going to offer his services as founder of cannon to Theodore I. of Abyssinia. In the mean time, till he obtained rank as head of his majesty of Abyssinia's arsenal, he was not above giving a helping hand on the road, and he took charge of the *cuisine* department—a thing not to be sneezed at in the desert.

And it was in reality a desert, with the exception of a few oases that we had to traverse, almost the whole distance from the Red Sea to the Nile. The first two days' travel lay over a flat country, with only here and there a few bushes; after which we reached the foot of the hills, which showed themselves at first to our right, and next emerged from the morning fog to our left, and ultimately approached what constituted a kind of basin, which led up to a pass not wanting in the picturesque. I expected, on the faith of M. Charles Didier, to find streams of water, the presence of which was further indicated by groves of cocoa nut trees, but unfortunately they only indicated the presence of khors, or the beds of dry torrents, whose dazzling whiteness subject the traveller to all the agonies of Tantalus.

Poor Pascal had a further grievance to complain of. A young Bishari had found the means of appropriating to himself his purse, which contained fifty-seven dollars and a few jewels—his whole fortune. I really thought that the future director of the Abyssinian artillery would have lost his senses. I at once appealed to Hakab Allah to institute an inquiry after the missing property. Two of the camel men pointed to the Bishari, and said: "He does not belong to Suwakin; he does not work; he is assuredly the thief."

As soon as the vagabond saw that he was the object of our attention, he came and placed himself alongside of Pascal. The latter wished to take summary vengeance, but Hakab Allah dissuaded him, saying that would render it more difficult to recover the purse, which was no doubt hid in the sand, and he endeavoured to prevail upon the thief to indicate the hiding-place. The latter, however, professed utter ignorance, so he was recommended to follow the caravan to Taka, where he would be consigned to durance vile. To make matters more sure, I insisted upon his being bound, and ordered to proceed between two camel-drivers; but at the very next bivouac I was awoke in the middle of the night by a tumult, and Hakab came up exclaiming:

"Mustafa, er ragl rah! Mustafa, the man has run away."

The Arabs, not being accustomed to European names, had, it may be observed, favoured me with a Turkish one. I went to Pascal to comfort him.

"I entrusted the care of the thief to the guide," I said, "he has let the man run away, so he must be responsible;" so he philosophically went to sleep again.

The next day we passed through a series of valleys of sterile desolate beauty, furrowed by dry torrents, which seemed to precipitate themselves in the rainy season from the upper to the lower basins; but there was not a drop of water now, and as we had started in the morning without even a cup of coffee to moisten our parched throats, our sufferings became intense. I asked our conductor if we were still far from the well:

"Karib!" (close by,) was the reply.

But this was not very comforting, for like "bokra" and many other words of procrastination, it might mean almost any distance. At the expiration of two more hours, I had only one thought, and that was drink. My eyes closed. I pictured to myself in fancy the crystalline brooks of the Balkan, on the borders of which I had so often refreshed myself in the shade of forests contemporaneous with the Getæ—those *gelidi fontes* of Virgil which in my school days I used to complacently translate as "cool fountains."

Physical suffering did not, however, render me utterly insensible to the charms of a splendid valley, into which the caravan had found its way The mass of mountains seemed to have opened on both sides to allow of the passage of the dry bed of the torrent, wide as a goodly river, but at this season of the year nothing but a splendid expanse of fine sand. Majestic lines of cocoa-nut trees stretched along on both sides, dominated by the abrupt rocky cliffs above; and this fine tree, a real vegetable monument in the wilderness, shaded the flocks and tents of the pastoral nomades who frequented this mountain oasis. The gloomy wall that hemmed us in opened here and there to allow of the passage of a torrent-bed, and displayed in the distance a landscape of infinite brilliancy and softness inundated with light.

At length we arrived at noon, at a group of palm trees. No sooner were the camels unloaded than they hurried off with panting open nostrils, the drivers following them. We fell pell-mell into a "fula" or grassy pond, which was backed by a rock that prevented the water being lost in the sands. The ground was moist, indeed, all around, which accounted for the green vegetation, and although it would have seemed as if the crowd of camels and men would have drained the pond dry, they had in reality little perceptible effect upon it from the same causes.

Beyond this happy valley were passes of a rocky character, with here and there avenues of palm-trees, which stretched up to the line of watershed above. This crossed, the descent began by an unending plain, diversified by little hills and which only terminated on arriving at the oasis—province of Taka. M. Lejean was once more subjected to tribulations, or as

he himself designates it, to "emotions" on this part of his journey. "My camel," he relates, "was passing by some bushes when I saw the half-naked footmen surround a bush, with a mysterious look, and balance their javelins as if ready to strike. I naturally thought that a panther was crouched in the thicket, and that I was going to 'assist' from the first row of boxes at a dramatic exploit. But then again I thought, with somewhat more emotion, that the wild beast's first bound would probably be at me or at my camel, who, in that case would break my neck, but my pride as an European made me hide my anxiety under an assumed air of impassibility and curiosity, and I awaited the issue. Suddenly, several shouts were heard, and javelins were thrown into the bush, from whence an unfortunate hare rushed forth between the legs of my beast! It was an agreeable surprise."

At length, on the 16th day of our tedious odyssey, we entered, on issuing forth from a forest of some extent, a large and handsome village, the streets of which were regularly hedged in; and attached to the houses were gardens, decorated by the plume-like crowns of palm trees We proceeded for a quarter of an hour through this, the pleasant suburb of Kassala, the capital of Taka, till we arrived at a gateway leading through the ramparts of the town itself, and when at length our camels knelt down in a spacious square, a little old man of sorrowful and benevolent aspect welcomed us in Arabic, whilst a young man in a gray felt wide-awake, to our great pleasure, addressed us in French.

"Vous êtes Français, messieurs?"

The first was our Arab host the Coptic merchant, Mallem Ghirghis; the second was a well-known traveller and geographer, the Swiss, Werner Muntzinger.

We were received at the mallem's house with that courteous hospitality which is a sign of good manners with the Easterns, and we were enabled to appreciate in his large and handsome house, the comforts of the home of a wealthy Nubian. The mallem, George, as his name indicated, was a learned man, that is to say, a man of letters; he had been secretary to an administration, and had had, by a brown Galla slave, an only daughter, very fair, and of exceeding beauty, whom he had married to Kotzika, a Greek, and the chief merchant of the city. Madame Kotzika had died only a few months previously, and the blow had struck down the mother, and the father still more so, for all the appearance of decrepitude had come upon him when only just past a middle age. His friends, indifferent to the wound that was slowly undermining him, would ever and anon open it afresh by calling him after the Arab fashion, Abu Warda, "the father of the Rose," that having been the name of the deceased fair one A little girl, eighteen months old, fair and delicate, and with the long eyes of a young antelope, was all that remained of the Rose of Taka.

The morning after our arrival, we all went to the citadel, to exhibit our firman and letters to the mudir, or governor, and to ask for justice for the unfortunate mechanic M. Muntzinger was kind enough to act as interpreter with the mudir, a Turk, Ali Bey by name, whose natural good humour contrasted well with the oriental phlegm. After having ascertained that the kabir, or conductor, Hakab Allah, had been doubly wanting in his duties, in the first place, in not expelling from the caravan a man of a suspicious character, and in the second, in relieving him of his bonds at night-time, he condemned him to pay to M. Pascal the full value of the dollars and jewels, leaving it to him to reimburse himself from the thief, his family, or tribe, who were all well known. The mudir's verdict was given with infinite tact:

"Inasmuch," he said, "as we owe to all the equal protection of the laws, so we more especially ought to protect strangers who come among us, and who are less able to vindicate their own cause, since they are not acquainted with our language, and that we must look upon them as guests."

It is true that any common Turkish peasant would have said as much. The whole race has nobility in it to the back-bone, except when exasperated and gangrened by that spirit of Constantinopolism, which sullies all principles of honour and integrity; but in their own country the Turks are the most moral race in the East, and perhaps in the whole world.

Kassala is a city that is not wanting in a certain originality amongst all the monotony that the administrative genius of the conquering race has disseminated over the Nubian soil. It is surrounded by a massive rampart, pierced by several gates, and flanked by three towers, one of the angles not being thus defended; within the square precincts are the mud houses, in labyrinthine streets, the vital and commercial centre of which is the market-place, with its Suk, or well-provided bazaar, its fountain, and its guard-house, fronted with a few bright copper guns, and a fragment of verdure, that contrasts pleasantly with the aridity around.

Kassala, or, as some write it, Kassela el Lus, is situated, according to Dr. Beke, on the Mareb, which flows at certain seasons, by the Hor, or Khor el Gash, into the Red Sea, a little south of Suwakin, but at seasons of flood it appears also to have a communication with the Atbara, or Bahr al Aswad, the Black river, or Black Nile, and the first and most north easterly tributary to that river.

It is a remarkable peculiarity in the Nile, that for full two thousand miles from its mouths it receives no affluent whatever on its left or western side. On its eastern side, however, within the same limits, it receives two tributaries, the Atbara, or Bahr al Aswad, the Black Nile, and the Bahr al Azrak, the Blue Nile, and Dr. Beke adds the Saubat as a third; but the latter is not so much a tributary to the Nile, strictly speaking, as it is to the Bahr al Abiyad, or White Nile, of which it is an affluent above the junction of the larger rivers.

The first of these rivers, the Atbara, or Asbarrah, as the name is written by M. Linant, is also called Bahr al Mukadah, as coming from Abyssinia, which country, including the mountain districts of the Gallas, is known by that name among the inhabitants of the lower regions of Atbara and Sennaar. As, however, the Bahr al Abiyad and the Saubat are known by the same name, it has little value in a geographical point of view. The other appellation, Bahr al Aswad, or Black River, is more interesting, inasmuch as it marks a main feature of its current, which is that of bringing down great quantities of black mud during the rains, and contributing the largest portion of the slime which manures and fertilises the land of Egypt, and it also distinguishes it from the Blue and White Niles, the Atbara having also in its time been raised to the dignity of being a Nile. In the celebrated Adulitic inscription, in which the conquests of Aizanas, a king

of the Axumites, are recorded, the country of Semene is alluded to as beyond the Nile, among mountains difficult of access, and covered with snow. The country here alluded to is the Abyssinian province of Samen, or Samiyan, whose mountains are accurately described as being difficult of access, and covered with snow; whilst the Nile, beyond which the province is said to lie, and which the Axumite monarch had to cross in order to reach it, is the modern Takkazye, or the upper course of the Atbara, or ancient Astaboras.

Dr. Beke argues that, as from the time when the Axumites were converted to Christianity (about the period of the second Adulitic inscription) their communication with Egypt was constant; and as there is no evidence that the inhabitants of the latter country had any certain knowledge of the direct upper course of their own river, it is not unreasonable to conclude that in Egypt also (whatever may have been the opinion of geographers in the time of the Ptolemys and Cæsars) the Takkazye, or river of Northern Abyssinia, was from the fourth until the end of the eleventh century of the Christian era, if not later, known as the Nile, or river of Egypt.

The most curious point connected with the Black Nile, the Nile of Elmazin, Cantacuzene, and Albuquerque, is that the Ethiopians have been aware for a long time back—and the fact is first alluded to by the Arabian Elmazin—that they had the means of checking the supply of water to the lower country. The Emperor John Cantacuzene, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century records, that "a powerful nation, strongly addicted to the Jacobite heresy, was said to dwell on the Nile, whom it was necessary for the sultans of Egypt to propitiate, because they had it in their power to turn the course of the Nile, which if they did, the whole of Egypt and Syria, whose subsistence depends on that river, would perish with hunger." A next incident is the proposal made by the renowned Alfonso Albuquerque to his sovereign, Manuel, king of Portugal, to drain off the waters of the Nile, so as to prevent their flowing down into Egypt. In the beginning of the sixteenth century it was a matter of popular belief in Europe that the King of Abyssinia could prevent the Nile from flowing down into Egypt, and it is alluded to in the verses of Ariosto; and in the present day we are favoured with a map by Dr. Beke, in which that traveller shows that the channel by which the waters of the Black Nile might be made to pass into the Red Sea is Artemidorus's branch of that river, or the lower course of the Khor el Gash. What is traditional is, therefore, in reality, to a certain extent, still feasible; but while the deprivation of the Nile of its black tributary might seriously affect the fertility of its lower valley, or of Egypt, it would by no means deprive that country of water, the Black Nile not contributing, probably, one-fourth of the whole body of water flowing down that great channel, and still less in proportion at the time of the equatorial floods.

III.

THE BAHR AL AZRAK OR BLUE NILE—THE ABAI OR ASTAPUS—CONFOUNDED WITH THE TRUE NILE—M. D'ABBADIE'S CLAIM TO HAVE DISCOVERED THE SOURCES OF THE NILE—RIVER UMA OR GODJEB—COUNTRY BETWEEN THE BLACK NILE AND THE BLUE NILE—ANCIENT ISLAND OF MEROE.

THE next river in order, proceeding southwards is the Bahr al Azrak, or Blue Nile, which unites with the Bahr al Abiyad, or White Nile, at Khartum, the modern capital of the Turco-Egyptian territories in the Bilad er Sudan, the country of the Blacks—Nigritia or Negroland.

The Jesuits, who entered Abyssinia in the beginning of the seventeenth century, were the first to trace the remarkable course of the Abai, as the upper course of this river is called, round the peninsula of Godjam, and they were thus enabled to correct the fundamental error in Abyssinian geography, as far as concerned that river and Lake Tsana or Dembea only. While they correctly showed that river and that lake to be the Astapus and Coloë of Ptolemy, and approximately determined their true positions, they were led away like many others, to attach so much importance to the sphere of their own discoveries, as to make the Abai at the same time the Nile of the Alexandrian geographer. "Seeing the little acquaintance," says Dr. Beke, "with the interior of the African continent possessed by the nations of Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is not surprising that the identification of the Abai with the head of the Nile should have met with general favour." The conclusive reasoning of the learned d'Anville, in his *Dissertation sur les Sources du Nil*," published in 1759, ought, however, to have convinced all unprejudiced persons that the Abai is only the Astapus of Ptolemy, and that the White River is that geographer's Nile. Nevertheless, the prevailing error has kept its ground, and we were not a little surprised upon reading in the *Cosmos* for November 16th, 1860, the following extraordinary claim to the discovery of the long-sought-for sources of the Nile.

"M. d'Abbadie has planted the tricolor flag of France on the Bora rock, situated in a forest on the confines of the country of the Imarya, and on the summit of which is found the mysterious source of the River Uma, which is considered to be the principal tributary of the White River or the Nile. This rock (Bora), which projects as a promontory towards the north, rises 8,830 feet above the sea-level; it is in latitude 7° 51′ north, and 34° 39′ east longitude."

The gentleman alluded to in this paragraph is a well-known traveller in Abyssinia. Dr. Beke is kind enough to inform us, in a foot-note to page 122 of his work, that "Mr. Anthony Thompson d'Abbadie is a native of Ireland and a British subject, as he was known and avowed himself to be in 1839, when in that character, and on the recommendation of the council of the Royal Geographical Society of London, he obtained from Viscount Palmerston a Foreign-office passport, though, since then, he has become a Frenchman 'by choice,' and is now known as Monsieur d'Abbadie." Nor are Mr. or Monsieur d'Abbadie's antecedents in other respects unquestionable. That gentleman happened to be in Abyssinia at the time when the results of the second Turco-Egyptian expedition up the Nile became known to the public. He had collected various particulars respecting the Uma, or Godjeb, in Abyssinia; and seeing this river marked in M. d'Arnaud's map as the head of the Nile, and being struck with the coincidence of its upper course with that resulting from the information which he had obtained in Godjam, he thought he might safely venture to appropriate to himself the glory of a journey into Kaffa—the native country of the coffee-plant, and whence it derives its name—across the Nile, without being at the trouble of actually undertaking

it. Accordingly, he announced to the public, both in France and in England, that in the month of December, 1843, he had crossed the Nile within two days' journey, or about thirty miles from its source, which he described as a small spring issuing from the foot of a large tree, "of the sort that serves in Ethiopia for washing cotton clothes," and as being held sacred by the natives, who yearly offer up at it a solemn sacrifice. To the right and left of the source were two high hills, wooded to the summit, called Boshi and Doshi, in the country of Gimiro or Gamru, adjoining Kaffa; the name Gimiro or Gamru being in his opinion the origin of the Djabal-el-Qamr (Jebel al Kamr), whence arose the curious error of the Mountains of the Moon. The head of the Nile he declared to be in 7° 25′ north latitude, and 80° longitude, west of Sakka, the capital of Inarya; and as he made the longitude of this town to be 34° 18′ 6″ east of Paris, it resulted that the source of the Nile was in 32° 58′ 6″ east. Entertaining doubts respecting this journey, Dr. Beke was induced to investigate its particulars, and, in the year 1850, he published *An Inquiry into M. Antoine d'Abbadie's Journey to Kaffa to discover the Source of the Nile*, wherein that well-known and accomplished traveller unequivocally expressed his disbelief in its reality, and gave in detail the reasons for that disbelief.

In 1859, a work appeared at Leipzic under the title of *Résumé Géodésique des Positions déterminées en Ethiopie*, par Antoine d'Abbadie, professing to fix the places of eight hundred and thirty one stations between Massawah and Kaffa; the extreme point recorded, however, being Mount Bora, in Inarya, in 17° 50′ 8″ north latitude, and 34° 39′ 5″ east longitude of Paris, where M. d'Abbadie now placed the sources of the Nile, alleged to have been discovered by him in January, 1846! This is far removed, both in time and space, from the head of the Nile announced as having been discovered in December, 1843, in the Djabal-el Qamr, the two hills called Boshi and Doshi—ridiculously, as Dr. Beke remarked, reminding one of the two sharp peaks called Crophi and Mophi, with which the priest of Sais tried to hoax Herodotus. Nothing daunted by these glaring inconsistencies, and the exposures they entailed, M. d'Abbadie persevered, apparently, for we do not yet know the details of his actual explorations in searching for what are now designated the mysterious sources of the Uma, and after having twice discovered them before, he now finds that they are in latitude 7° 51′ north, and 34° 39′ east longitude. Every one has heard of intermittent fountains, but no one yet has probably heard of sources that are ever changing their place. Well may M. d'Abbadie call them "mysterious!" But what are the sources of the Uma or Godjeb after all? They are the sources of a river which, having its origin in Inarya which is close to Kaffa, like it a coffee country, and where that plant is indigenous, it unites, in the country of the Gallas, and south of Abyssinia, with other rivers flowing from further south to form the River Jub, which flows into the Indian Ocean, and where the vowels are liable to such various pronunciation, the names are the same, Jub, Go-jub, Go-jeb, or Go-jab, according to different travellers.

This River Uma or Go-jub has long been a matter of geographical controversies. As early as the beginning of the year 1841, according to Dr. Beke, he sent home from Shoa or Shwa, certain information, collected there by Dr. Krapf and himself, respecting this River Go-jub, and which they both believed to flow southward, and to discharge its waters into the Indian Ocean. Several months later, Major Harris arrived in Shoa, where he at once adopted the views entertained at that time by Drs. Krapf and Beke; and though, in the course of the following year, the latter traveller, in his further journey into Godjam, obtained other and further information, which satisfied him that his former opinion was erroneous; and though he sent, he says, this amended information to England through Major Harris himself, before his departure from Shoa, nevertheless, on his arrival in England in 1843, the latter traveller, in conjunction with Mr. James Macqueen, continued to advocate the identity of the Go jub with the Jub or Juba river of the coast. And this they did so positively and so unqualifiedly, as to induce Humboldt, Ritter, Zimmermann, Keith, Johnson, and other geographers, to adopt their opinion. This is Dr. Beke's view of the case, as given in his work on *The Sources of the Nile*, p. 126. But since that work was published (1860), a letter has appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (cinquième series, tome I., p. 332), from Père Léon des Avanches to Mr. D'Abbadie, in which the worthy missionary states, in corroboration of what he had previously published, that the Saubat is formed by two rivers: the eastern tributary being the Barro (Barri?) whose source is in Lake El Böo, situated two or three journeys south of Kafa, and visible from the high mountains of Gobo. The Barro, adds M. des Avanches, "is the true White Nile of Ptolemy; it is visible from the mountains of Kaffa, and must be navigable to large boats. Lake El Böo is the *Nili Palus Orientalis*. You are right then in saying that it is the White Nile: only the Go-jub does not throw itself into the Barro; but united to the three Gibes, it flows into the River Jub."

This view of the subject has also since been corroborated by M. Debono, a Maltese ivory merchant residing at Khartum, and who has an establishment on the Saubat, which river, or one of its branches, he has ascended to near its sources; as also by M. Lejean, who opines that the main affluents of the Suabat arise from the S.S.E. and not from the N.N.E., and, he adds, it has no relation to the river of Inariya and Kaffa, which flows under the name of Djouba (Juba), Ouebi Sidama (Wadi Sidama), and Jub, into the Indian Ocean.

It is not at all unlikely that further research will show Lake Böo to be the same as the Barin-ju or Bahr-inju of Krapf, that this lake gives origin to the Barri or Barro river, and that there has been some confusion between the Saubat or the termination of the Barri into the White Nile below the Lake of the Gazelles, and the Tu-Barri or Shua Barri which flow into the White Nile above the Kum-barri mountains, or in about 4° N. latitude. It is sufficient that Père Léon des Avanches should say that Lake Böo is visible from the mountains of Gobo in Kaffa, three or four journeys to the south (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, cinquième serie, tome I., p. 332) to show that there is some gigantic error in the construction of that portion of the map which comprises the unexplored regions between Kaffa and Mount Kenia or Kegnia of Krapf.

As regards the claim of the Abai to be the head of the Nile, it has not, when properly considered, the

slightest reasonable argument in its favour. The explicit statement of De Barros proves that, till the middle of the sixteenth century, the Abyssinians not only did not recognise their native river as the Nile, but were even in ignorance of the existence of the Taeny, which at that period was looked on as the Nile by the Portuguese in Eastern Africa, though solely because they, in their turn, were ignorant of the existence of the White River. And Jerome Lobo further bears testimony that, as late as the year 1613, the countries of Waumbra and Fazokl, within the valley of the Blue River, continued utterly unknown to the Abyssinians; for that, when in that year the army under Ras Sáhela Ktos penetrated for the first time into those regions, he and his soldiers, amazed at their vast extent, gave them the designation of the New World. In fact, the authority of the native Abyssinians on such a subject is altogether valueless, seeing that, even at the present day, their knowledge of the main stream of the Nile is confined to an acquaintance with its lower course within Egypt, acquired by a few Christian pilgrims visiting that country and Jerusalem by the way of the Red Sea, and the yet fewer Muhammadan traders who, after crossing that sea to visit their holy cities, may, by curiosity more than the hope of gain, be induced to extend their peregrination as far as the world-renowned Misr-el-Kahira. That the ignorant and superstitious natives of Abyssinia should, without

LAST EGYPTIAN ESTABLISHMENT ON THE NILE.

question have believed their European visitors and instructors, when they told them that their Abai was the Gihon of the book of Genesis, not less than the Nile of Egypt, is quite intelligible. Anything in favour of its superiority over all other rivers would have been gladly received and adopted, as is manifest from the fanciful interpretation given by them to the river's name, "the father of waters;" a derivation, however, which is very questionable. It is far more probable that the designation is not a tittle any more than a proper name, but rather an appellation signifying "river;" the word Abai or Abbay being of cognate origin with the Wabi or Welbi of the neighbouring Samalis. I have already directed attention to the similarity in name of the lake of Southern Abyssinia, called Zuwai, with the Ziwa or "Lake" of Central Africa. It is not unlikely that both Zuwai and Abai, meaning the lake and the river, are relics of the language of the primeval inhabitants of Southern Abyssinia. Bruce's editor, Dr. Murray, asserts that all the inhabitants of the valley of the Blue River from Fazokl to the junction with the White River, know the river of Habesh, that is to say, the Abai, by the name of Bahr-el-Azrek; and on this he founds a plausible argument to the effect that, as the latter river is regarded as the Nile in preference to the larger stream, with which it unites, so must the Abai, as the upper course of the Bahr-el-Azrek, be regarded as the Nile. The force of this argument might be admitted, were it the fact that, in the estimation of the natives

of the valley of the Bahr-el-Azrek, the Abai is the direct continuation of that river. But on the contrary, as has been explained in a former chapter, the direct upper course of the Blue River, along the left bank of which M. Russeger ascended as far as 10° 16′ north latitude, is the Dedhesa or Tacuy; whilst the Abai is only known to the natives of the valley of the Blue River as the Hessen, a tributary joining the direct stream on the opposite bank, about twenty-four miles lower down than the extreme point reached by the German traveller. Consequently, whatever claims the Blue River may possess, on native authority, to be called the Nile, those claims must be transmitted to the Dedhesa; just as the Guangue, and not the Fakkazye, claims, on the like authority, to be the upper course of the Atbara. The histories of the two principal rivers of Abyssinia present a remarkable parallelism. Both were known to the geographers of ancient Egypt, and in each case it was not the direct course, but the branch rendering the largest quantity of water, which, by the eyes of science, was looked on as the main stream; the Fakkazye, or "river" of the Axumites, being treated as the upper course of the Astaboras, and the Abai, or "river" of the southern Abyssinians, as that of the Astapus In the lapse of ages each river in its turn came to be regarded as the upper course of the Nile of Egypt; the Fakkazye by the Axumites, in common with the early Christians of Egypt; the Abai by the Amharans, jointly with the Portuguese Jesuits. But in both cases this was only for a while; and now, through a complete reverse of fortune, and by an extraordinary coincidence, the connection between the two larger rivers of the upper country and their respective lower courses is so completely lost sight of by the inhabitants of their valleys, that the Guangue has become the upper course of the Atbara, the Fakkazye being only known as a tributary, under the name of Sittit; whilst, in like manner, the Abai, under the name of Hessen, is looked on merely as an affluent of the Dedhesa, which, as the direct stream of the Bahr-el-Azrek, is treated as the continuation of that river, and called by its name.

We have an account of the country that intervenes between the Atbara or Black Nile, from the pen of M. Linant, published in the second volume of the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*. The region in question it may be premised—the modern district of Atbara, inhabited by the Bishari and Shukariyah Arabs—corresponds to the ancient island of Meroe, the seat of an antique civilisation. Gus Rejiyep, or Gous Regiep, is at the passage of the Atbara and Abu Aras or Abou Aras, at the junction of two affluents to the Blue Nile above Khartum

I left Khartum on the 6th of December last, by water, and arrived on the 10th at Abu Aras, on the mouth of the River Rahat. The two sheiks who accompanied me (of whom one was of the tribe of Shukariyah, the other a Bishari), having had occasion to stop at several villages on the way, did not arrive till two days afterwards, nor my camels till the day after them. From Abu Aras I went to visit some ruins five miles lower down, and not far from the river (the Bahr-el-Azrek); they are of considerable extent, and formed of burnt brick; I saw no stone among them, nor any proof that they were ancient. I visited, also, some other remains near the mouth of the Rahat, which were more interesting, being composed of unhewn stone, although none such are to be found within even a considerable distance, and none of the modern inhabitants of the neighbourhood are likely to have taken the trouble to bring them here for the purpose. The Rahat was then nearly dry, and its bed is very narrow near the mouth.

On the 16th December we left Abu Aras, and on the 10th January arrived at Shendy. We travelled quickly, being all mounted on dromedaries, and the sheikhs in haste.

Atbari is a very flat country, with mountains scattered here and there like stones placed on a floor. For the most part the soil is thickly covered with trees and grass, or grass only; and in the endless plains which we traversed, it was frequently impossible to select a single object on which the eye could rest, except, perhaps, some distant mountains, which seemed islands in the midst of a yellow sea, the wind moving the herbage far and near like waves. In other places we found desert plains, in which there is nothing green, although apparently the soil is good, and capable of being sown after the rains, according to the usual culture of the Shukariyah Arabs who occupy the country.

I expected to find some antiquities at Mandera, both on account of its name and position on the direct road between Meroe and Axum, and from what I had heard; but, on the contrary, it is nothing but a small mountain of blocks of granite, like others which I have seen in Atbara, covered with grass and plants which grow between the stones. It is the principal resort of the Shukariyah Arabs during the rains, and until the month of December; but when I passed, they were just gone down to the River Atbara, water having here become scarce. Large cisterns cut in the rock had been described to me as existing at Mandera, but I found only reservoirs distributed round the mountain, and hollowed out of the earth, so as to retain water for some time, with two small natural basins, in which the water is confined by blocks of granite.

From Mandera I visited Bera, the "fortunate place," as its name imports, which also is a favourite encampment of the Shukariyah, and consists of a chain of mountains running east and west, several of them higher than Mandera, but like it composed of blocks of granite, separated from each other by ravines, clothed with beautiful trees, and having on their summits, sides, and at their feet, a number of natural basins, which retain the rain-water, and keep it fresh and cool even in the greatest heats. I here saw the remains of a wall which appears ancient; it incloses a beautiful valley in which the Arabs encamp.

From the relation of Burckhardt you already know Gous Regeip, so that I shall not now say anything of it; but as to the reported antiquities on the neighbouring mountain, be assured that nothing of the kind exists On that mountain there are only blocks of granite, singular from the manner in which they are placed, and which the natives may possibly have mistaken for buildings. They are a retreat for robbers. At the top of the mountain a tolerably large natural grotto is formed of great blocks of granite, where these bandits place themselves, and see everything that passes on the plain beneath within a great distance; they are in perfect safety also, provided they have a good stock of water, and the river is only about a mile distant. The Sheikh Gutal, an Adindao, not subject to the Pasha, having come to see me, I engaged him to take me to visit the mountain; and as he was sheikh

A NILE FARM.

A NILE FARM.

of the robbers themselves, who are all Adindaos, they had the politeness to retire to the plain while I inspected their quarters, where I found nothing ancient, nor even wrought, except the tomb of a Mussulman saint, which they believe to be old I was not laid under the slightest contribution; but I made my hosts a present of a cow, with which they were delighted. And there the Sheikh of the Bisharis, of the Shukariyahs, and the Sheikh Gutal, proposed to accompany me as far as the Bahr Abiad.

I also visited the principal tribes of the Shukariyahs and Bisharis, whom I found, contrary to what I had heard, both friendly people. The Shukariyahs are handsome men, with fine countenances, tall, and not black, but like the Abyssinians; the Bisharis are short, thin, and black: the former are proud, but more polished and less debauched than the others; the latter are affable, complaisant, lively, and gay. I collected during this journey some minerals, plants, and skins of birds, and also made some astronomical observations, but the time of my chronometer was deranged, I suppose by the motion of the dromedary.

On leaving Gous Regeip I followed the course of the Astaboras for three days, and then turned direct for Shendy. Our road lay constantly across plains covered with grass, but on which there were few trees compared to the numbers I had seen near the banks of the Nile. We did not meet a single mountain, and only a few slight elevations, till within a day's march of Shendy, when we came within sight of the mountain Gul-Bashi, "Head of the lake," and those on which are situate the pyramids. They rise out of a large valley, in which are wells of good water, and in which, accordingly, a considerable tribe of Gehallime Arabs encamp winter and summer.

The whole district of Athara abounds in game, but especially hares, antelopes, and wild asses; I have frequently also heard lions. The wild asses are chiefly found below Gous Regeip; I have often seen twenty-five at a time, and antelopes in hundreds. The heat in the month of December was very disagreeable, when we were exposed to the sun and there was little wind; but otherwise it was cool enough, and we were even forced to halt two days on account of the cold, and light great fires to warm ourselves. The wind then came from the north, and blew strong

All the country above Gous and Shendy is unhealthy, and even the Arabs fear it. As to myself, I sufficiently witnessed its effects. The Sheikh of the Bisharis, my soldier, and other three persons who were with me, of whom two were servants, and the other was an Ababde belonging to Sheikh Ralif, were all seized with severe fevers during the journey between Gous Regeip and Shendy; and the soldier in particular gave me a great deal of trouble (as indeed do most of these people when seized with illness), crying and shouting in despair, and wishing to be left behind. I was forced to act with firmness, and to even tie some on their dromedaries, pushing on constantly by forced marches. I was afraid of being taken ill myself, and in fact was seized the very day after arriving at Shendy.

Both my servants are now dead; and I have myself had a very long and severe attack, during which my spirits have been much depressed and my temper excited. I am told that these are usual symptoms of the complaint here, and that sometimes they reach even to madness. This year the epidemic has been peculiarly severe, whole villages have been depopulated, and the soldiers also have suffered much.

IV.

THE WHITE NILE—EXPLORATION OF ITS UPPER COURSE BY THE EGYPTIANS—SLEEPING TOKULS OR BARNS—CRUELTY AND LICENTIOUSNESS OF THE SOLDIERS—ARNAUD AND SELIM CAPTAIN'S FEAR OF THE NATIVES—NEGROES (BARI) SHOT BY THE TURKS—CONDUCT OF THE NATIVES—RED MEN—FEAR OF THE NEGROES AT FIRE-ARMS—VISIT OF A CHIEF AND HIS SON—TOBACCO AND SHEEP—THE BARRI OR BARI.

THE separate existence of the Bahr al Abiyad, or White Nile, was known to the ancients—that is to say, to the Ptolemys and Cæsars—although ignored for a time during the Dark or Middle Ages. D'Anville revived its claims in modern times to be considered the same with the Nile of the Alexandrian geographers, showing it to be of much larger size and greater length than the Blue River, and a few years subsequently, Bruce, though strongly advocating the identity of the latter river with the Nile of the ancients, was compelled to admit its great inferiority to the White River, which, he says, preserves its stream always undiminished, because, rising in latitudes where there are continual rains, it therefore suffers not the decrease the Blue River (Nile in original) does by the six months' dry weather.

The course of the White River was first explored above the junction of the Blue River in 1827 by M. Linant, who ascended the stream as far as Al Ais in 13° 43′ north latitude. A few years afterwards Muhammad Ali Pasha, having ascended the Blue River in person as far as Fazuki, determined on having the White Nile explored to its very sources. Accordingly, between the years 1839 and 1842, three expeditions were fitted out, by which the great southern tributary to the Nile was followed upwards into regions previously unknown to the civilised world.

The first of these expeditions ascended the White River to 6° 30′ north latitude, discovering in its passage the mouth of the Saubat, and the Bahr al Ghazal; the second reached 4° 42′ north latitude, and 31° 33′ east longitude; and the third went not quite so far. The result of the second, which was by far the most important, have been made known by M. d'Arnaud, as also by M. Ferdinand Werne's work, the latter of which (and from which we propose to make a few extracts), in addition to a very interesting narrative, comprises some curious notices of the little known Barri or Bari people, a sketch of whose capital, Balaniya, is given at page 193.

Werne, it will be remarked, speaking of Bari, says, that it is pronounced by the Turks Beri, and he distinguishes the country of the Berri or Birri from that of the Barri or Bari.

20th January.—The vessels were towed further to the southward by the Libahn, whilst the commanders, and we Franks with them, walked on the magnificent shore. The wind, with which, however, we had previously sailed, although not quicker than the pace we walked at on shore, freshened at ten o'clock, and we repaired again on board the vessels. I had made a real forced march, and was at last compelled to be carried, owing to increased weakness. Little villages and isolated tokuls stood in the beautiful woody country, which is interspersed with solitary light spaces or corn-fields, where, however, the short fine grass was

withered. These tokuls are elevated above the ground on stakes, and serve to protect the fruits, or as sleeping places for security against noxious animals or the temporary damp of the soil. The natives dance, sing, and jump, slide on their knees, sell or exchange their gol (glass beads—Arabic, sug-sug), amongst one another, and squat, but not by sitting upright in the Turkish manner, and smoke their pipes. These pipes have prettily-worked black clay bowls, with a tube of reeds, and a long iron mouthpiece: even the tongs, to apply the charcoal to light them, are not wanting. They are cheated in the most shameful manner by the Turco-Arabian people: robbed of their weapons, and plundered right and left. What am I to do? I am ill, and have lost my voice; yet I try to prevent these outrages as far as I am able.

The so-called elephant-tree prevails here exclusively; and one of the chief amusements this morning was to shoot down its fruit, in which exploit Suliman Kashef distinguished himself as the best shot. The shady trees, the prospect on the river, enlivened by the glittering sails, the blue chain of mountains—it was a sight that did me good, and refreshed my inmost soul. But all this was again clouded by Turks. Is there another word for Turks? No: Turks—basta! A negro, who came from the other side to swim over to us, got into the track of the sailing vessels, and was drowned, although he might have been easily picked up by two ships following us. The commanders had gone a-head, and I was behind with the Frenchmen; I was not able to call, and therefore fired off my gun, in order by signs, to induce them to save him. Arnaud also, whose vessel was just bearing up, might have easily prevented the death of the unfortunate creature if he had given a hail to his reis. He even blamed my impatience, saying I was ill; and added, with the contemptuous tone, in which the Arab pronounces his "Abit," and the Turk his "kiafr,"—"Why do the fellows swim about in the water?" Upon this I could not forbear using hard words.

At a quarter past ten o'clock, the north wind has completely died away, and we track about towards the west for a short tract, when it becomes again so fresh, whilst the wind is S.W., that we are able to sail slowly. To all appearance, unfortunately, our vaunted voyage of discovery will soon have an end. Selim-Capitan is frightened to a ludicrous degree; Arnaud cannot conceal his fear; and Suliman Kashef, not being yet restored to health, is utterly indifferent. I cannot refrain from considering an instant return as a disgrace and as treachery both to the world and Muhammad Ali. On the right an island, and the last of those two which we had on our left still continues, and so we are somewhat free from the noise of the people on the shore. Sale and Sate Muhammad are no longer seen on land; they have perhaps become the victims of their passions, although they were only to shoot for me a pair of turtle-doves.

We halt, for a time, on the left shore, where there is a large village, partly scattered in the wood that skirts the river so beautifully. At eleven o'clock we set out again, and our men drive back the cattle from the island close to us, through the water to the right shore, for their unfathomed throats appear at last to be satiated. The clapping of hands, keeping time to the singing, above which the "kih, kih" of the women is heard, accompanies us from both sides. We cannot hear or see anything for the crowd and clatter, especially myself, round whom all the beautiful world floats as in a mist, and a jarring din sings in my ears, so that my writing, inexorably necessary as it is, becomes exceedingly difficult. I dared not close my eyes for fear of becoming completely confused. I wanted to go to Selim Capitan, or rather to his interpreter, but was not able to put the requisite questions and to note down the answers. I continue to write mechanically, and cannot square my own journal, when I try to revise the entries of the last few days; for everything flickers before my eyes, and my memory is gone, so that it all appears to me like a dream.

With a light north-east wind, which also assisted us yesterday, we proceeded S.S.W. It is noon, and we have two islands, lying close to each other, on our left. A large island ends on our right, and another one begins, by which the course in the middle of the river is, in some degree, confined. Nevertheless, the river always retains a considerable breadth, and a proper depth; and then—will the poltroons return? The mountain, already several times mentioned, peeps into the window from the west; it shows itself as two mountains lying one close to the other, the western of which rises conically, and has an obtuse peak, and an undulating tail to the west. The latter appears somewhat wooded, yet these masses giving light and shade may be mostly blocks: the conically ascending mountain, on the contrary, has a smooth surface, and may be an extinguished volcano, although one would not expect to find such here. We now find, for the first time, stones in the river, and they are granite and gneiss. They are not yet rounded; the chain of mountains from whence they come cannot, therefore, be very far distant. We proceed S.S.W. An island terminates on the left, and another follows at the distance of some hundred paces.

Four o'clock. S.W. An occurrence has just happened, which might be the death of us all if anything were to be feared from the revenge of these evidently good-natured people. We were on the right side of the river, and went to the left, where the little sandal was towed not far from us by the Libahn. Natives had stationed themselves here in large and small groups; they greeted us, held up their hands, pointed to their necks for beads, and sang, danced, and jumped. There was no end of laughing in our vessel; I was attentive to what was going on, and saw that the natives had seized the rope of the sandal, and would not let it be towed further, for they wanted beads. Probably the crew of the sandal had taken weapons or ornaments from them, without giving anything in return, as this frequently happened. We steered close to the left shore to assist our men, when eight bold armed figures advanced towards us, and gave us to understand by pantomimic signs, that we had presented beads to their neighbours below but would not give them anything. They offered the rings on their arms, and their weapons, and signified to us, as we were advancing slowly, on account of the faintness of the wind, that they would not allow us to tow any further unless we gave them something. They said all this, however, with a laughing countenance, jumped about, and laughed anew. It was plain they were only in jest; but our bloodthirsty fellows, seeing no danger in this small number of men, and never thinking of the probable consequences, just like the Turks, considered this an excellent opportunity to display their courage. They seized their weapons. I was unwell, but yet was standing on deck, and kept

order as well as my weak voice would allow me. I went from one to the other, and enjoined them not to fire, until arrows were first shot at them. The black soldiers, who were mostly recruits, I admonished especially not to be *filles de joie* (the usual expression here applied to those who exhibit fear in discharging their guns), but men—to grasp the gun firmly, and to take good aim Our blacks are generally very much afraid of the report of guns, and do exactly as the Greeks did at the commencement of their war of freedom; they lay the butt-end on the thigh and fire at random On the White River, also the report of these unknown weapons was more feared than the real danger itself. They listened to me; but then came the vessel of Captain Muhammad Aga, a fool hardy Arnaut, who is always trying to distinguish himself in some way or another. He shouted to the sandal to cut away the rope, although the men were still on land. This was about to be done, when the tallest negro, who had twisted the rope round a little tree, pointed his bow at the sailor who was about to cut it through with his knife. He laughed at the same time, and it was clear that he was not in earnest; for he had wrestled in a friendly manner with the other sailors, when they tried to get the rope from him, without making use of his weapons Yet the Arnaut commanded them to fire, whilst he had already aimed at the incautious native, being the first to discharge his piece. In a moment all three vessels fired away, as though they were beset by the devil. I was only able to pull back a couple of fellows whose guns had flashed in the pan Eleven or twelve other victims followed the first, who was knocked over by the captain's shot. Those who went away wounded were not counted. An old woman was shot down by an Egyptian standing near me, and yet he boasted of this heroic deed, as did all the others of theirs. There might have been from twenty-five to thirty natives collected together at that place, scarcely thirty paces from us, and the high-standing straw might have concealed several more.

We sailed away with the wind favouring our criminal action, for our men had again come on board before the firing commenced. The *Dahabies* sailing ahead of us must have heard our shots; they did not however furl one sail to lend us assistance, which might have been eventually necessary. Before we caught up these vessels, we saw a woman on the shore, looking about among the dead men, and then afterwards running to the city at some distance from the shore. The natives were hastening towards it, but they did not trust themselves near us. Yet they knew not the melancholy truth that our shots would hit at a distance; hitherto they feared only the thunder and lightning of them, as we had seen several times. We halted a moment; the unhappy creatures or relatives of the slain came closer to the border of the shore, laid their hands flat together, raised them above their head, slid upon their knees nearer to us, and sprang again high in the air, with their compressed hands stretched aloft, as if to invoke the pity of heaven, and to implore mercy of us. A slim young man was so conspicuous by his passionate grief, that it cut to my heart, and—our barbarians laughed with all their might. This unbounded attachment to one another, and the circumstance that that woman, in spite of the danger so close at hand, sought for the man of her heart among those who had perished, affected me exceedingly, because such moral intrinsic worth, flowing from pure natural hearts, is unfortunately more acquired than innate in civilised nations. We had only advanced a little on our way, and above thirty unarmed natives, who must yet at all events have been informed of the tragical incident that had just occurred, sat down on the sand directly close to the river, without suspicion, or designing any harm to us, as if nothing had taken place, and really — I had enough to do to prevent their being shot at.

We reached the vessels of the commanders, and Muhammad Aga was the first to hasten to them in order to report the incident. But I also drew near, and there was a kind of court-martial summoned. Arnaud did honour to the European name, and took the part of the Turks, who looked upon the whole as a trifle. Finally, the Arnaut, who had already confessed the fact, faced about boldly and swift as lightning, declaring that he had never fired a shot, and that he would bring witnesses to prove it, and —here the matter ended. Selim Capitan thought he showed his wish to keep up a good understanding with the natives, by throwing into the grass on the shore some miserable bits of glass paste, with a cup. The natives looked and groped about, whilst we sailed to the neighbouring island. Here we found two divisions of negroes, whose chiefs were also presented with strings of beads. Again we threw beads among the grass, and ordered the whole occurrence to be explained by the interpreters; more beads, and—everyone jumped forward delighted One of these chiefs had all his naked body streaked over with ochre: he looked like the black huntsman of Bohemia. They are said to do this in particular when they marry; we have seen already several such red men; even the hair, and the ivory bracelets which are thick and of a hand's breadth, as well as the numerous iron rings on the wrists and ankles, are coloured red in this fashion.

21st January. I this morning felt myself uncommonly well but had scarcely stepped out of the door to go ashore, when the stream of light—I know not what other name to give it—rushed upon me with such force, and penetrated, as it were, through me, that I was scarcely able to sink back on my bed; and it is only now, when, however, the sun is at its height, that I feel myself at all capable of writing. We have remained since early this morning, in a southerly direction. The sails have been twice hoisted, but on the average we are towed by the rope. We leave an island on our right. There are several red skins among the negroes, who are really handsome men; the tokuls, standing singly, are large, well roofed, and, resting upon strong stakes, open on all sides. The stakes form a peristyle, and the inner wall is smeared inside with clay; perhaps they serve as stables for cattle, and summer tokuls A small gohr or river, in the neighbourhood of which we repose at noon, comes merrily in from the right shore, and the stream has a noble breadth, but little depth of water.

Two o'clock, S.W. We have a slight north wind, and an island on our right; behind it, the forest continues on the shore. The high mountainous district beyond it is still blue, for the day is not clear. It appears, indeed, partly covered with wood, and to form a chain with the other mountains. The information we possess about this region is still very scanty, and it would be difficult to make anything out of the interpreters, even if my head were less affected. Groups of

a hundred and fifty to two hundred negroes are standing together on all sides; they generally accompany us a short way, without uniting themselves to the next swarm. This perhaps arises more from accident than for the purpose of keeping their boundary stations on the water, to prevent falling together by the ears, whilst watering their herds, and on other occasions. Islands impede our course, and the crew see, to their terror, a number of natives, holding their weapons aloft, wade through the river from one side to the other. We immediately take possession of a little islet in the middle of the river, and, surround it with our vessels; a regular military position, for it is surrounded with deeper water. It is about a hundred paces long from north to south, and from five to six broad, and the shores fall away steeply to the river.

Feizulla Capitan disembarks, and returns soon from Selim Capitan, with the melancholy intelligence that there is "moie mafish," (no water). I was completely in despair, left the vessel, and set off to the top of the islet, where Turks and Franks were assembled for further consultation. The black people found on it were driven away by us, they jumped into the water like frogs, so that we heard a simultaneous fearful splash. They soon stood on the more shallow ground, and shouted their huzza, "Hui, ii hui iih!" laughed and joked, and offered their valuables, &c. We let some of the negroes come on the islet, and gave them presents of beads. About evening a large herd of cows appeared on the right shore; they were lean, possibly having been long in want of fresh grass. The men armed with spears, bows, and arrows, drove the herds from the right to the left shore, where we likewise remarked a herd of cattle. Our gentlemen were horribly afraid when the people accumulated like a black swarm of bees on all sides.

It was a lucky circumstance that a large bird of prey perched on the mast, to take a view aloft of the flesh under him. All eyes were directed to us and this bird, when Suliman Kashef seized his long gun; the blacks watched us closely, jostled each other, and were on tenter-hooks of anxiety, for they did not know what it meant. Suliman Kashef fired; the report set them in momentary fear, and they were about to run away, when the sight of the bird falling into the water, rooted them, as it were, to the ground. When, however, other birds of prey flew down on the water, to see what fate had befallen their feathered friend, the "Hui, ii hui iih," immediately came to a close; they ran as fast as they could, for this appeared too much for them to stand, having seen no arrow or stone flying at the bird. This single shot might be of importance at this moment, when the people generally, though at a distance, might have shown a bad feeling; moreover the incident was of inestimable value to the expedition, because it infused the feeling of our superiority, and even enhanced it, in their dismayed hearts. If I had previously strained every nerve to prevent the return already determined upon, and had got the again-convalescent Kashef on my side, so now even the timorous Selim Capitan was inclined to have the track more accurately examined.

January 22nd.—There was not a breath of wind, and it is still undetermined whether we shall proceed further. I therefore proposed to the Frenchmen, whose courage I could naturally have no doubt of, to take out some of the freight from the vessel, which is lightly built and convenient, and thus to press on further. They agreed to this proposal. I described the country, and we were having breakfast together, when intelligence was brought to us that it was decided to go on. No sooner does Selim Capitan see the long-legged blacks going to their cattle, swimming over to the right shore, than fear seizes him anew; we, however, by our joint efforts managed to remove it.

In the meanwhile, the chief of this country comes to us with his grown-up son. A red cloth dress of honour is put on the old man; a red chequered cotton handkerchief tied round his head; and glass beads are hung round his neck. They also gave the son beads and bound a piece of calico round him like a napkin. It was plain to be seen that they were delighted with these presents, and particularly at the pleasure of conversing and communicating with us. The old man's name is Nalewadtshohn, his son's Alumbeh; but their great matta (king or lord, perhaps analogous to the title of honour previously conferred on us, "madam,") is called Lakono. The latter is said to possess a beautiful red woollen dress, of a different cut to the abbale, presented to Nalewadtshohn. It must be truly interesting to see here, all of a sudden, a negro king in an English uniform, although it may only come from the Ethiopian sea, or the Indian ocean. Sultan Lakono dwells on Mount Pelenja, and rules over a large country, called Bari, pronounced by the Turks, however, without further ceremony, Beri. We are said to have been within the limits of this kingdom for the last two days: those men shot by us belonged also to Bari.

According to Nalewadtshohn, who is in general very talkative, and does not appear very favourably inclined towards his king, all the mountains in the neighbourhood have abundance of iron; and Mount Pelenja, a quantity of copper, which is here in great estimation. Iron-ochre, which the natives here and there used to colour themselves with, is said to be found on all sides, formed by them, however, into balls: by this preparation, perhaps, a cleansing of the material takes place. The high mountain-chain we had already seen, lies to the west, at some hours' distance over the left shore of the Nile. Its name is Ninkanja, and the mountains before us are called Korek and Lubehk, which are said to be followed by many other higher mountains. Both the men are strikingly handsome, although not one of the whole multitude can be called ugly. They are tall and strongly built; have a nose, somewhat broad indeed, but not flat; on the contrary, slightly raised, such as we see in the heads of Rhamses; a full mouth, not at all like that of negroes, but exactly the same as in the Egyptian statues; a broad arched forehead, and a speaking, honest-looking eye. The latter is not, as we have found generally in the marsh regions, entirely suffused with blood, whereby the countenances have a dismal appearance, but clear, full, and black, yet not dazzling. We observed that their legs were well formed, though not muscular; their naked bodies were adorned with the very same decorations of ivory and iron as we had seen in the others. The name of the village on the right side of the river is Barako; the village lying immediately opposite, under the trees, before which are a small island and pastures, is called Niowah. Alumbeh was sent as our envoy to king Lakono.

We leave our island at noon, and have a larger island on our right, a smaller one on the left, and two to the

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BOATS OF SOUDAN

south, accompanied by the negroes in the water: they even came with their long bodies to the side of the vessel, and part with everything they have for the beloved sug sug.

At Aaser (three o'clock in the afternoon), S.S.W., with oars and sails. A village, on the right side of the river, contains only a few tokuls; but a large herd of cattle, grazing there, sets our crew longing again. About sun-set, S. I procure a beautiful spear for a single glass bead — silly, childish people! Immediately after sun-set, W.S.W. On the left a small island; a gohr, or arm of a river, appearing to form a large island, pours forth from thence, if it be not a tributary stream. The wood before us contrasts by its dark hue with the coloured horizon, over which, as yet, no alpine country glows. On the right shore stands a number of armed and laughing negroes, in picturesque positions; this has been the case the whole time, both in the water and on land. They walk arm-in-arm, quite in a brotherly manner, or with their arms round one another's necks as the students in Germany used to do in my time. They help each other in getting up on shore, and have frequently one foot placed firmly against the knee, standing like cranes. They lean on their spears, or long bows, or squat down; but I see none of them sitting or lying on the ground, according to the lazy custom of the orientals.

The north wind is so faint that we are obliged to lend assistance with poles; the river has more water thank God, than we thought; and even our reïs, whom a longing fit for his wives every now and then seizes, believes that this water-course will hold on for some time. We anchor in the middle of the river, and the guards are doubled in the vessels. I am tired of this constant variety of sensations, and yet would like to see and hear much more. My head is so heavy and stupid, that I cannot accept Suliman Kashef's invitation.

23*rd January.*—Half-past eight o'clock. We have gone so far in a southerly direction by the rope, and we move S. by W. and S.W. The rapidity of the river has increased from one mile and a half to two miles. The walk on shore has tired me more, because I was followed by the natives, with all their effects, and retarded, so that I was obliged to break a road through them, half by violence, though I am still very weak in my legs. I purchased for a couple of miserable beads a little sheep, partly covered with wool, at least with hair, as the sheep here generally are, and having a long mane under the throat, and horns bent back. Selim Capitan says that a similar species is found in Crete.

Tobacco is called here also tabac, as mostly on the White River. The Arabs give it the name of dogâhn; this is the small-leaved sort, with dun-coloured flowers, which is cultivated likewise in Belled Sudân. I have not seen the tobacco-plant growing wild here; therefore, I cannot say whether the name of tobacco is indigenous here with the plant, or has been introduced by immigrants. Nevertheless, the Arabs are not generally smokers, and it is unlikely that tobacco was brought in by them; and it is less probable, because had it been so, it would have kept the name of dogahn. In Sennaar, however, a good but very strong tobacco has been cultivated for ages, and was probably introduced by the Funghs, who are likewise a well-formed negro race. Our usual title of honour is matta, which they, however, only give to the whites. The shores are very extensively intersected with layers of sand.

Ten o'clock. S. by E., and then S.W. Two villages on the right shore. We sail with a slight north wind, but scarcely make one mile, for the current is considerably against us. We meet continually with some fire-eaters among the blacks on shore; they are startled, certainly, at the report, but are not particularly frightened, especially if it be not close to their ears. We have Mount Korek in a south-westerly direction before us. It stands like the Nikanja, to which we have only come within the distance of from three to four hours, and which lies behind us, isolated from the other mountains. The summit appears flat from where we are; it has many indentations, and seems to rise only about six hundred feet above the broad basis, to which the ground ascends from the river. The wind having nearly ceased for half an hour, freshens again for three miles.

At noon. S.S.W. In a quarter of an hour, a gohr or arm of the Nile comes from S. by E.; we make only two miles more, and the wind deserts us again; we lie, therefore, as if stuck to the place, after having been thrown by the current on to the island, formed by the before named arm on the right shore. But the wind soon freshens again; we sail away cheerfully. The ships drive one against the other, or upon the sand, but work themselves loose again; the negroes come in the water; confusion here—confusion everywhere. A herd of calves stop in the water before us; this is really tempting, but we sail on. The log gives four miles, from which two must be deducted for the rapidity of the current, though the reïs cannot understand this.

At half-past twelve o'clock, the end of the island; we sail S.S.E., and then S. by W. On the right shore a large durra-field, apparently the second crop on the very same stalks. The natives there, according to the custom of this country, have little stools to sit on, and a small gourd drinking-cup by their side. As before, part of them are unarmed, and have merely a long stick, with forks or horns at the top, in their hands. The covering of the head is various. Several have differently formed little wicker baskets on their heads, as a protection against the sun. They wear strings of the teeth of dogs or apes on various parts of the body, but mostly on the neck, as an ornament or talisman. They have bracelets, the points of which being covered with bits of fur, are curved outwards like little horns. Our envoy Alumbeh imitated all the motions and the voice of an ox, in order to make us understand the meaning of these bracelets. These, as well as the forks on their houses and sticks, appear to denote in some way a kind of symbolic veneration for the bull, whose horns I had previously seen adorned with animals' tails; for the bull is bold, and the support of the family among the herds.

One o'clock. A number of negroes are squatting on the island at the left, or rather are sitting on their stools, and wondering at our sailing so merrily to S.S.W. I count eleven villages; but I do not trust myself on deck, for we have 30° Reaumur. About evening the whole scene will appear more surprising and pleasing to me; for even my servants, looking in exultingly at the window, praise the beauty of the country. On all sides, therefore, plenty of mountains, stones, and rocks; the great buildings in the interior of Africa are no longer a fable to me! If the nation of Bari has had internal strength enough to pursue the

road of cultivation for thousands of years, what has prevented it not only from rising from its natural state, but also from appropriating to itself the higher European cultivation! It has a stream, navigable, and bringing fertility, full of eatable animals; a magnificent land affording it everything: it has to sustain war with the gigantic monsters of the land and water, and to combat with its own kind; it possesses the best of all metals, iron, from which it understands how to form very handsome weapons sought for far and near; it knows how to cultivate its fields; and I saw several times how the young tobacco plants were moistened with water, and protected from the sun by a roof of shrubs. The men of nature it contains are tall, and enjoying all bodily advantages; yet—it has only arrived at this grade of cultivation. If perfectibility of nature be so confined, this truly susceptible people only requires an external intellectual impetus to regenerate the mythic fame of the Ethiopians.

The hygrometer seems to have got out of order through Arnaud's clumsy handling, for it yesterday morning showed 82°, notwithstanding the air is far drier and clearer than this height of the hygrometer would show. Half-past ten o'clock. We are driven on the sand, and there we stop to wait for the other vessels. Alas! the beautiful wind! Two o'clock. We sail on southwards. On the right two islands. Selim Capitan is said to have the Sultan's brother on

COUNTRY OF THE SHILUKS, UPPER NILE.

board his vessel: we are making every exertion, therefore, to overtake him. The commander no sooner remarks this than he halts at the nearest island. I repaired immediately to his vessel, and found two relations of king Lakomo on board. Half-past two o'clock. We leave the island and the previous direction of S.S.W., and approach the right shore of the river E.S.E. On the right a gohr, or arm of the Nile, appears to come from S.W., and indeed from Mount Korek, or Koreg, as the word is also pronounced.

The two distinguished guests sit upon their stools, which they brought with them with their own royal hands, in naked innocence, and smoke their pipes quite delighted. An arm of the river leaves on the left hand the main stream to the north, and may be connected with a gohr previously seen. A village stands above the arm of the river on the right shore of our stream, and an island is immediately under it before the gohr itself. The name of the village is Ullibari, and the arm Beregenn. It is said to flow down a very great distance before it again joins the White Stream. The latter winds here to the south; to the right we perceive a village on the left shore, called Igah. On the right shore we remark several villages, and those summer huts, or rekubas, already mentioned. All the tokuls have higher-pointed roofs, of a tent-like form. The country generally, in the neighbourhood of the residence of the great negro-king, appears very populous. The north wind is favourable. The black

princes look at the sails, and seem to understand the thing, although the whole must appear colossal to them in comparison with their surtuks, as we perceive from their mutually drawing each other's attention to them. The king's brother, whose name is Nikelo, has a friendly-looking countenance; and his handsome Roman-like head, with the tolerably long curled hair, is encircled with a strip of fur instead of the laurel. On the right he wears a yellow copper, on the left, a red copper bracelet. The latter might have been easily taken for an alloy of gold, although the noble man did not know the gold which was shown him as being of higher value, but distinguished that it was a different metal. Silver he did not know at all. These mountains being rich in metals, must afford very interesting results with respect to the precious metals. The other guest is called Tombe: he is the son-in-law of the King; stronger and taller than Nikelo, and always cheerful.

We landed soon afterwards on the right shore, as the nearest landing-place to the capital, Balaniya, on the mountain of the same name, which was at some distance. They gave us the names of all the mountains lying around in the horizon. The river flows here from S.S.W., or rather the right shore has this direction. To N. by W. Mount Nerkonji, previously mentioned as Niakanji, long seen by us; to W. by S., Mount Konnobih; behind it in the far distance.

BALANIYA, CAPITAL OF BARRI, UPPER NILE.

the mountain-chain of Kugelu; to S.W., the rocky mountain Korek; behind which the before-named mountain-chain still extends, and is lost in misty heights. These do not appear, indeed, to be of much greater height; but on a more accurate observation, I distinguished a thin veil, apparently sunk upon them, clearer than the western horizon, and the blue of the mountain forms vanishing from Kugelu to the south. As I once looked for the alpine world from Montpellier, and found it, trusting to my good eye-sight, so now I gazed for a long time on this region of heights; their peaks were clearly hung round with a girdle of clouds, apparently shining with a glimmering light in opposition to the clouds hanging before them in our neighbourhood. When I view the long undulating chain of Kugelu, distant at all events, taking into consideration the clear atmosphere, more than twenty hours behind Konnobih (some twelve hours off), the highest summit of which, west by south, without losing its horizontal ridge, disappears first evidently in the west, and is completely veiled behind Korek, lying nearer over south-west, I conceive that this Kugelu well deserves the name of a chain of mountains, even if we only take the enormous angle of the parallax at twenty hours' distance.

These mountains lie, to all external appearance, upon the left side of the river, and Nikelo also confirms this. On the right side of the Nile, we see the low double rocks of Lululi to S.S.E., and a little further to S.E. by S., the two low mountains or hills of Lienajihn and Konnobih lying together. To S.E. Mount Kor-

rejih, and then lastly to E. the mountain-chain of Balaniya, rising up in several peaks to a tolerable height, but apparently scarcely elevated more than 1,000 feet above the Nile. Far towards S., over the Lobek, I remarked several other misty mountains, the names of which I would have willingly learned, for I feared, and with justice, that they would be invisible in advancing nearer under the prominences of these African Alps. The royal gentlemen, however, with whom we stood on an old river bed of six feet high, were restless, and in a great hurry to take home their presents of a red coat and glass beads. The city is like all other villages, but large: the king's palace consists of several straw tokuls lying together, encompassed as usual with a seriba; this also Nalewadtshon had told us. The Ethiopian palaces, therefore, have not much to boast of: it is sufficient if the men in them be pleased and happy, and not oppressed by the cares of government and want of sustenance. The durra was also here, as I had remarked in other places, either cut away, or cropped before it became ripe by the cattle; no matter—it sprouted a second time, and promised a good harvest, though only as yet about seven feet high. I had seen it thrice as high in Taka, without the people thinking even of cutting it down or mowing it. Selim Capitan dares not trust the natives; we went, therefore, ashore at the island close at hand, fixed stakes in the ground, and tied the vessels fast to them.

V.

Reception of Envoys from King Lakono—Description of them—Religion of the Baris: their Arms and Ornaments—Panic created among the Natives at the explosion of Cannon—Lively Scene on Shore—Coloured Women—Arrival of King Lakono and Suite—His Interview with the Commandeur—His Dress—The National Musical Instruments of Bari—Presents to King Lakono, and his Departure.

24th January.—I repaired to Selim Capitan, to be present at the reception of the Sultan Lakono. He had sent two other envoys to announce to us that he would come, and we were to wait a little. One of these ambassadors was likewise a younger brother of the king's, a real giant both in height and breadth, and coloured red from head to foot; there was not even a single hair on the whole body of this Hercules that was not red. His name is Dogale. Nikelo, already known to us, returned also, but entirely in his natural state, not having even one of the strings of beads presented to him round his neck. The other envoy, a relation of the king's, is called Betja. Dogale lolls very comfortably on the carpet extended before the cabin, supporting his long ribs on the little stool placed under him. Favoured by nature in every respect, he has regular features, and a good-tempered though not intelligent countenance. All the questions asked of these high and mighty lords were answered with the greatest readiness. Sultan, or king, is called in their language Matta, which means generally a lord, but there is no other lord besides him. There is no one in these countries equal to their Matta in power and strength. The word Lakono was also pronounced Lagono, for they frequently change *k* for *g*, as well as *p* for *b*, *vice versâ*, and they vary the fall of the accent, for example, Balaniya and Pelenjâ. Lakono has forty wives and several children, amongst them many grown-up sons. They shew us the number, not by stretching out the fingers of both hands, but by holding their clenched fist towards the questioners, in order to express by that means the number five or ten. Each of the brothers of the king had six wives, and this appears to be their usual appanage; for the women are purchased, and they are probably allowed a certain number of wives, according to their station. A private man, such as the sheikhs or chiefs of the community, has only three; the others have only one or two wives, exclusive of the slaves taken in war or purchased, like the male ones, for iron weapons. The latter, I learned on my return to the country of the Bokos, down to which place Lakono has navigated, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, as they told us there.

We order the drum to be beat and the men to pipe; it was with difficulty then that they could keep their seats. They do not display any troublesome prying spirit, or impertinent curiosity; but they see too much at once, the impression assails them too powerfully on all sides. I gaze on these people—they are men like ourselves, but they are more bashful than we; not, however, by any means approaching that timidity and helplessness which we have perceived, for example, among the Keks. They eat dates, almonds, and raisins, but do not snatch them hastily or greedily. They take the tinned-copper can (Brik) filled with water from the washhand basin (Tisht), and drink directly from the curved spout, after having lifted up the cover and ascertained the contents; yet they have never seen such fruits and such a water-vessel. I observe them in their mutual confidential conversation, perhaps referring to us—what do they think of us? They are not astonished at the white faces; perhaps they take them to be coloured, like their own bodies, for our crew display all possible tints of flesh.

I am led to this latter supposition from a couple of women having previously tried the skin on my face with their wet fingers, to see if it were painted. The features and form of the head are quite regular among these gigantic people, and are a striking contrast to those of our black soldiers, with their more negro-like physiognomy, although they are not, on the whole, ugly. I compare the true Caucasian races, who are present, with these men, and find that the latter have a broader forehead. The inhabitants of the kingdom of Bari might be designated a protoplasma of the black race; for not only do they shoot up to a height of from six and a half to seven Parisian feet, which we have seen also in the other nations, but their gigantic mass of limbs are in the noblest proportions. The form of the face is oval, the forehead arched, the nose straight, or curved, with rather wide nostrils—the alæ, however, not projecting disagreeably; the mouth full, like that of the ancient Egyptians; the orifice of the ears large, and the temples a little depressed. The last we do not find in the Barabras, and the races akin to them in Abyssinia. The men of Bari have, besides, well-proportioned legs and muscular arms. It is a pity that they also extract the four lower incisors, for not only is the face disfigured by this custom when they are laughing, but their pronunciation also becomes indistinct. They differ, moreover, from the nations hitherto seen by having no holes in their ears for ornaments; and they do not tattoo themselves. Yet I remarked some who had incisions, as imaginary ornaments, on their shoulders: such exceptions may originate from the mothers being

of another race. I have even seen in the land of Sudan instances of a twofold genealogical table in the countenance, because the father and mother were of different nations. There appears to be no national custom with respect to wearing the hair long or short; but generally the hair is short, and not more woolly than that of the Barabras and Arabs. On some there was none to be seen, and it appears either to be removed by a knife or a cauterising process, such as the women in the harem use for other parts. Some wear their hair like a cock's comb from the forehead down to the nape of the neck; others have scarcely the crown of the head covered: the most, however, wear tolerably long hair, in the natural manner, which gives a significant look to many faces. Their good-natured countenances correspond also to their jokes among themselves, which are, perhaps, occasionally directed against us. I have never been able to discover in the whole journey their reverence for our race and the god-like descent, much as this was asserted by Thibaut, who was with the first expedition.

It does not appear—at least, we could not make out from them—that they recognise one God as the essence of all that is good and beautiful, who punishes and rewards; but neither do they worship idols, for that, I believe, I have fully ascertained. They treat one another with frank brotherly love, stand embracing each other, divide the fruits given to them, assist in embarking and disembarking from the vessels to the shore; and all this in an affectionate manner. But yet they must have their peculiar ideas of friends and enemies, of injuries and revenge, and be drawn to commit acts, which we can scarcely imagine, when we see such an apparently harmless people of nature.

Skill in arms, which is generally not to be despised, is an accomplishment most desirable of all to a man living in a state of nature. The first things he seeks are weapons against the wild beasts; the fist, therefore, which nature has given for seizing and striking, is used for this purpose. The first weapon is the club: even the poorest person here carries this instrument of defence. Then man learns to know the different arms of animals—the eye, tooth, and the horn; therefore, we see here some of the clubs pointed at one end, in order to cut into the enemy's ribs in case of necessity, directly the blow from it is parried by the shield or casque. The stone, used by monkeys, and especially by the large cynocephali, for defence, as I was convinced, perforce, in the country of the Troglodytes, among the rocks of Kaffela el Lus, and which the modern Greeks are especially expert in throwing, does not appear to be used here as an instrument of warfare. Iron spears and darts did not come till lately, although they may have had them long previously of wood, such as we see even now. The great useful working implements, the knife, hatchet, &c., are next introduced; and from these also other weapons originate; the spear, not being fixed firmly on the shaft, became used as a two-edged knife, and the battle-axe might have followed the hatchet.

To speak of religious principles among these people would be out of place. Family love, the mutual living together, and the same customs and habits may form the basis of their moral principles, and be the first axiom of mutual forbearance. The first external sight which might produce, if not astonishment, at least a feeling of attachment and love, even to veneration, must be what makes a deep impression on the soul: for example, the sun and moon; or what gives sustenance, as the corn, for instance; or protection and comfort, as the shady tree, &c. The moon is, probably, in higher esteem here than the burning sun, although the latter was certainly very agreeable to the natives when they collected themselves before daybreak on the shore, and stood each by his little fire, kindled on account of the cold, and fed by the reed-stalks growing between their extended legs. I could not ascertain that there was such a veneration for these two heavenly bodies, nevertheless I believe as much from their expressions and narrations. Although these were only repeated to us in a fragmentary manner, and their explanation assisted by gestures, yet they show that valour, like the virtue of the Romans, is the essence of all virtues, to which all others, springing from their pure uncorrupted nature, are subordinate.

The man wears the skin of the wild beasts he has slain, not as a covering, but as an ornament and triumphant spoil. If it were not so hot here, he would, like the ancient Germans, wear their scalp on his head as a war-cap. He carries the daring weapon of the wild boar killed by him—the tusk—upon a bracelet or frontlet. I saw also some wearing on the arm, as an ornament, an imitation of a boar's tusk, made of ivory; and, as already mentioned, they have iron bulls' horns on their bracelets. As the heads of these two animals so often appear as emblems in German escutcheons, so here also they are less considered as the memorials of dangers overcome than as signs of reverence or esteem of this valiant beast. If the rings with horns were more general, I should believe that, as the men on the White Stream display an uncommon love and affection for their cattle, they carried these horns, like the ancients did the phallus, as the attribute of fertility, unless the custom here had not the narrower signification of an Ethiopian Apis, or Father of Cattle.

In the meanwhile about fifteen hundred negroes may have been collected on the shore, not including those scattered on every side. They are armed without exception, and indeed with all their weapons—a sight sending a thrill of horror through the veins of the Frenchmen and Turks, which is shown plainly enough in various ways. They have only the consolation, and this ought to have prevented them before from feeling any fear at a danger not really existing—that we have, in truth, the grandees of the kingdom on board our vessels, and that they continue to be in the best humour, and certainly have no evil design, for Nature's stamp imprinted on the human countenance cannot be deceptive here. Even Suliman Kashef has become quiet, and is perhaps turning over in his mind how he shall act in case of a sudden attack.

All the natives have set up their "Hui ih!" several times, and at every time we stretch out our necks towards the neighbouring shore to see what is going on. This "Hui ih" always resounds *à tempo*, as if at word of command; there must be therefore an analogous signal, though our ears cannot distinguish it over the water. It is a cry of joy intended for their matta. We are still waiting for him, but in vain; and in the meantime we din the ears of our guests with drumming and fifing. They are also plied continually with sweets. Again and again they enjoy them, and do not prefer the sugar to the fruit, but eat slowly one after the other, as if they had been accustomed to them from youth upwards, and laugh and jest with us. We hear from them that the kingdom of Bari extends for four days'

journey down the river; that, the latter is called in their language, Tubirih, and has its origin at a long distance off, but they know not whether from the mountains or the valley. There are said to be several other nations on its shores—a sign, perhaps, of the considerable distance of its sources. These tribes have also a different language, but there is no matta so powerful as Lakono; which saying, since we have been in the kingdom of Bari, they are never tired of repeating. The red Goliath lolls and stretches himself in the most comfortable manner, and the others also change their position from time to time, and do not remain, like pagodas or the Egyptian statues of kings, in the lazy repose called by the Turks kew. Dogale is pleased at being measured; he is six feet six inches, Parisian measure, in height, with an unusual development in breadth, powerful shoulders, and a chest that might be used as an anvil. The two others, however, are not so large, although far overtopping us. The large brass bells, brought by us as presents for the cattle, pleased them very much, and they gave us plainly to understand that they can hear the sound of such a bell at a distance.

We tell them that we want wood for our vessels; they shout to the people, but the latter appear to pay very little attention, or do not like to go away from our vessels, keeping a sharp look out on them, either from the interest of novelty, or in case of any future danger to their men; and perhaps, in this respect, they are not armed in vain. When our guests were repeatedly requested to procure wood, they tell us to fire among the people, even if we should kill a couple of men. They laugh whilst saying this, and it really appears that they do not believe in the possibility of shooting a man dead, and only wish to frighten their people by the report. They would have us, however, fire; and Selim Capitan, therefore, ordered his long gun to be handed him, and fired in the air close to them; they were dreadfully startled by the report, but immediately afterwards laughed, and wanted us to repeat it. This was done. I should have liked to have made a rough sketch of the group, but I was far too unwell, and very thankful even that I was able to sit, and write down on the spot what I heard and saw. A fine field was open here for a painter or sculptor; these colossal well-proportioned figures—no fat, all muscle—so that it was delightful to look at them, with the exception of the calves of their legs, which were formed like lumps of flesh. No beard is developed either in young or old, and yet it does not appear that they use a cosmetic to extirpate it. If Selim Capitan pleased them better with his smooth shaven chin, than the long-bearded Suliman Kashef, yet they exhibited a kind of horror when he shewed them his hairy breast, which perhaps appeared to them more fit for a beast than a man.

Therefore the supposition that they extract the four lower incisors not to be similar to beasts, has at least some apparent foundation, although the under jaw does not project, and, consequently, the lips are not made smaller by this extraction. Man here is always indeed elevated far above the beast, and needs, therefore, no such mutilation of the teeth. Our Dinkas, who themselves want the four lower incisors, have no other reason to allege for it, than that they do it to avoid the similarity to a beast, especially to the ass (Homar), as is the general answer in Sennaar, to questions on this subject. The Turks take it for a kind of circumcision, just as we might suppose it meant a baptismal rite, being the sign of an act of incorporation by that means in a vast Ethiopian nation, divided now into several tribes. As this extraction of the teeth first takes place in boyhood, it might be considered to denote the commencement of manhood, and capability of bearing arms; but I have never heard of the ceremonies which would necessarily, if that were the fact, take place on the occasion There is also another objection to this supposition, viz.—that a similar operation is performed on the girls. With respect to the eyes, they are full and well formed, like those of all the the negroes of the White River, but with a dirty yellow white, which, in the inhabitants of the marshes, is generally suffused with blood in a shocking manner.

At last then it was determined to fire off a cannon, to see what impression this thunder would make upon them. They sat upright upon their stools—off went the gun, and the princes nearly kissed the planks on the opposite side, as if they had been felled by a blow. They sat up, however, immediately again, laughing loudly all the time, and wanted us to fire again: their request was complied with, but they crouched down low again to the side, were uncommonly pleased, and requested one more repetition of this report. Not a negro, however, was to be seen on all the shore; and it was feared, with justice, that the Sultan, who could not be far off, might be struck by a panic and return: the firing was therefore discontinued.

Intelligence arrives that King Lakono will be with us about three o'clock in the afternoon; whereupon the blacks, being suitably clothed by us, and hung round with strings of beads, took their leave with the red Dogale, all except Lombe, who is one of the king's subjects, and a sheikh in a neighbouring district down the river. The latter is a very sensible, quiet man, with a more intellectual physiognomy than the others; the Turks give themselves all possible trouble to obtain information from him about the gold. He says that Mount Pelenja itself does not contain copper; that Lakono, however, has a good deal of copper in his house, brought from other mountains at a distance; that Lakono's dress also came from this country, which is called Berri. Moreover, he took the gold bar shown to him for a different species of copper, and as he does not know how to distinguish gold, the latter may be found blended with copper in the royal treasury, and the mountains of Berri may be auriferous. The population is clearly very large, but he could not give us the number. He named several districts, part of which bore the names of the neighbouring mountains; and it almost seems to me as if there had been earlier independent tribes, who were first subdued by the great Lakono. He does not appear either to be a good royalist, and was evidently glad when the king's sons had withdrawn; he then put on a familiar look, which their presence had hindered him from doing previously. There seems to be no doubt that this country is a central point of negro cultivation, although Berri and other succeeding countries may be superior to the kingdom of Bari. I am curious about the Sultan's dress. As Berri is said to lie to the east, perhaps it was not made there, but has come, by means of barter, from India. Lombe also went away richly decorated (for the Turks cannot contain themselves now at the idea of gold El Dahab), in order, probably, to meet the Sultan, or,

perhaps, to get out of his sight with the treasures he had acquired.

I returned to my house, or rather my ship, to take my usual nap at noon; but the right shore being close at hand, separated only from our island by a narrow canal, obliges me almost immediately to rise again. The multifarious and manifold adorned and unadorned people afford a pleasing sight as I look at them from my windows I view, as if from a box at the opera the stage of black life on the whole length of the shore Two women appear among the others; their anteriora and posteriora covered with two semi-circular leathern aprons, tanned red, according to the usual custom here. One is coloured red from head to foot; the other has only her still youthful firm breasts and her head of that hue. She looks, therefore, as if she wore a black narrow jacket under the breasts, and breeches of the same colour under the red apron. She may have been surprised in her toilette by the news of our arrival, and have run off to the shore just as she was; the whole lower part of the body from the breasts downwards was tattooed in the manner customary on the White River.

Buying and bartering are going on; cheating and robbing—the latter, however, only on our side My servants are on the shore, and making gestures and signs with their fingers, to know what they shall purchase for me of the national wares. I do not bargain in person, for I am afraid of the sun. The people, in spite of their good humour, are, as I have convinced myself here, surprisingly mistrustful. Goods and the price of their purchase are exchanging hands simultaneously. As the people transact but little business among themselves, it is very natural and right that they should exercise precaution in their transactions with a foreign people like ourselves; and it is certain that we have given the first cause for suspicion.

As I said before, the hair is generally kept short; they decorate it, for want of something better, with a cock's or guinea-fowl's feather. A more elaborate coiffure is of black ostrich-feathers, placed together in a globular form, and the lower ends plaited, in a little basket, the thickness of a fist. This tress-work, holding the feathers, stands on the centre of the head, fastened by two strings round the neck, and appears pretty generally worn. Prince Dogale also wore one, but of somewhat larger size Some have their hair, which is tolerably long, smeared so thick with ochre, that merely little tufts are to be seen hanging about. Moreover, leather caps, fitting exactly to the skull, were worn with long or short tassels, hardly to be distinguished from the coloured hair. This antique kind of covering for the head, from which the Greeks and Romans formed their helmets, is similar, as regards form, to the modern fez or tarbush and takie (the cotton under-cap worn under the Turkish knitting-worsted cap). They appear here to serve principally as a protection against the sun. It was only with difficulty that I could procure two different specimens, and the sellers pointed quite dolefully to the hot sun, when they bared their shaven heads.

Leathern strings, as also strings consisting of aglets, strung in a row, not made, as I thought at first, of conchylia, but of the shells of ostrich-eggs, were slung round their hips. Several of the latter strings, which are also much in request with the women in Belled Sudan, and require laborious work, were purchased by the crew, and I got also, specimens, but they were all, with one exception, immediately purloined. To my great astonishment, I saw subsequently in the Imperial Cabinet of Arts at Berlin, with which my ethnographical collection is incorporated, a string exactly similar, which Mr. Von Olfers had brought from the Brazils. These strings wander, therefore, from the north of Africa to the west coast of that part of the globe, and from thence with the slaves to America, in the same way as they come from the other side to Sennaar by means of the slaves; or it may be, that they are made of the same size by the American savages. If the former be the case, this single fact would show that there is a connection between the country of Bari and the Atlantic Ocean. I was told that the blacks break in pieces the ostrich eggs, grind the fragments on a stone to a circular form of about two lines in diameter, and then string one lamina after another on a thread, to the length of several ells—a work which requires great patience.

Sometimes from mere stupid wantonness, shots were fired in the air from the vessels, and the natives disappeared from the shore for a short time, but returned directly that the report of the shots died away. Several women now approached, part of them decked with the before-named leathern apron, and part with a rahat girded round their hips, as in the land of Sudan. The threads hanging down from the girdle are not narrow slips of leather, such as those in Sennaar, but twisted cotton, and only the length of a finger. These scarcely form in front a light thread apron of a span in breadth, and leave the hips free, on which laces with tassels and small iron chains hang down, and a tuft falls down over the os sacrum, moving to and fro, when they walk, like an animal's tail.

Now I see that the women wish to paint themselves, as I saw them before. There are two who have coloured their nipples and navels to the size of a dollar. The breasts are more rounded, and have not that horizontal conical form found in the black slaves of the land of Sudan. I have already previously remarked that the women on the White Stream possess modesty in the concrete sense of the word; and though part of them are young and beautiful, but not tall, compared with the men, yet they regard these naked and magnificent manly forms without any immodest look; so, likewise, the men, kings of the world, gaze tranquilly upon the women. I am fully persuaded that, where woman bears in her mind the principle of the most necessary covering, naked truth is exactly the thing to keep up constantly a chaste as well as a decent relation between the sexes. Only give these women the deceits of the dress of European ladies, and clothe the men, and we shall see what will become of the blameless Ethiopians!

I am the more desirous to see continual repetitions of the sights peculiar to the land of Bari, because, by the festive occasion of the royal visit, these are multiplied in every form, and therefore I am still acquiring much knowledge. The square shields, about three feet long and two feet broad, with scalloped edges, projecting into four sharp points, appear to be little used. They are of neat's hide, and have a stick badly fixed in the centre to hold them by, the edge of which is not even turned to give a firmer hold. They have blue and red stripes crossed, each of a hand's breadth, as their external decoration, and these are coloured

with earth, so that they are easily obliterated. The Frenchmen made white stripes with chalk between these colours, and thus was the tricolour found in the middle of Africa. Whether the blue and red streaks serve as signs to distinguish one party from the other in warfare, I know not. Generally, the men here carried round, high-arched hand-shields, a foot in length, made of very solid thick leather. These hand-shields appear now, and perhaps exclusively, adapted for warding off a blow with the clubs, for they would probably be of little avail as a protection against arrows and spears to such colossal bodies, in spite of all the dexterity of these men. Yet they gave me to understand previously, that they warded off hostile spears by means of these shields.

The boars' tusks on the bracelets were mostly imitations of ivory, and therefore, like the small iron bulls' horns, are perhaps symbols of valour and the power of nature. They had besides all kinds of knick-knackeries on the arm and neck, such as little tortoise-shells, dogs' or monkeys' teeth, entire strings of which even they wear, pieces of bones, &c. It struck me that little bones of this kind are either remembrances or amulets, from the circumstance of their always wishing to retain them when we had already purchased the articles to which they were fastened. The iron necklaces were of very different kinds: close to them were iron ornaments arranged in a row, in the form of a narrow leaf, or in small open spindles, from which little red fruits projected. I observed here also the wide iron rings for the neck, of the thickness of a finger, which reach over the head, and down to the middle of the breast, and are not only worn in Khartum, but also in Egypt, by the daughters of the Fellahs. We here find an old fellow who will not sell his spear, the shaft of which is roughly wrought from iron, and who laughs at the sug-sug offered to him, as idle toys.

I must break off for the moment from this subject, for a fresh clamour resounds, and the cry of "Hui, ih;" therefore away I go to Selim Capitan. We do not sit long with anxious curiosity, and look at the vacant carpet on which the great Matta was to recline, under the shade of the ship's tent (Denda, perhaps derived from the Italian tenda, for a war-tent is called Gemma, and a shepherd's tent of straw mats Birsh), for the sandal which had fetched the supreme chief from the right shore, arrives. The Melek or Sultan, as the Turks and Arabs call him, on account of his vast power, steps on our vessel, with a retinue of followers, part of whom we knew. The dress and coiffure distinguish his tall figure from all the others. Notwithstanding every one removed on one side, and we form a divan upon cushions and chests around the carpet before the cabin, yet he treads upon the vessel with an insecure step, for he has his eyes directed towards us, and stumbles against the projecting foot of the gun carriage. He carried his throne himself—the little wooden stool, which we should call a footstool, and of which all make use; but he bore also an awful sceptre, consisting of a club: its thick knob was studded with large iron nails, to inspire greater respect.

At the Arabic invitation, "fadl ochaut," accompanied by a motion of the hand, he took his seat on the oval and somewhat hollowed-out stool, of about one foot long, and three-quarters of a foot broad. There is something naturally dignified in his countenance and bearing, without any assumption; he looks at the semicircle surrounding him, so that he may not do anything derogatory to his position as sultan, seeking probably him who is pointed out as the matta, or whom he takes to be our matta. He then slides along to Selim Capitan, who might appear to him to be of that rank from his corpulence, takes his right hand, and sucks his finger-ends, which appears to me a humiliation. The large-bearded Suliman Kashef, vain and proud, like all Circassians, wanted to have the same honour paid to him, and held out his fist, with its powerful broad knuckles; but King Lakono was autocrat enough to conclude, from the principle of his sovereignty, that two mattas or monarchs could not be or exist by the side of one another. Selim Capitan, therefore, was to him the only real and supreme head of the foreigners, and he refused this homage in a very contemptuous manner to Suliman Kashef, who, contrary to his usual custom, was not arrayed in all his bravery to-day. In order not to make himself ridiculous, the latter suppressed the word "Kiaffar," or "Abd," which I saw was already trembling on his lips.

Lakono's brother, and a couple of his suite, as also the Crown Prince Tshobe, whom we had not seen before, clearly endeavoured, without however throwing one glance of disapprobation at the old man, to repair this misunderstanding, occasioned by their peculiar etiquette, by paying all of us great lords the honour of finger-sucking. One thing was that the fingers could not be bitten off in this operation, owing to their lower teeth being wanting. As a testimony of welcoming and friendship, they stroked also our arms. They had not done this previously, perhaps because the king had not yet assured us of his favour.

That deliberations took place among the household of the king about the possible aim of our journey, may be presumed; both because the sultan not only kept away for a long time, notwithstanding his residence was only three hours distant, but also from other indistinct intimations, and from the very intelligible previous warning, that we were to remain on the right shore, at the original landing place, because the Matta would not allow us to move any further. Of course we did not take any notice of this warning, and would not understand it. Perhaps the white faces of another world, our vessels larger than their palaces, in which we go up the river without oars, when the wind is favourable, and especially the thunder and explosion of our cannons and guns, might have been the principal motive that induced the wise council to come to the reasonable opinion that it would be a ticklish affair to spit us like bats, or to kill us like dogs with clubs.

When we little expected it, the sultan raised his voice, without commanding *silentium* beforehand with his sceptre, and sang—his eyes directed firmly and shining on us—a song of welcome, with a strong, clear voice. This was soon ended, and the song had brightened him up surprisingly, for he looked quite merrily around, as far as his eyes, which were apparently affected by a cataract, would allow him. This misfortune might be the cause also why he walked, as if in a mist, with an insecure step on the vessel. According to the translation passed by two interpreters from one to the other into Arabic, he chanted us as being bulls, lions, and defenders of the Penates (Tiran, Sing Tor, Assad and Aguan el bennat).

He is of an imposing figure, with a regular counte-

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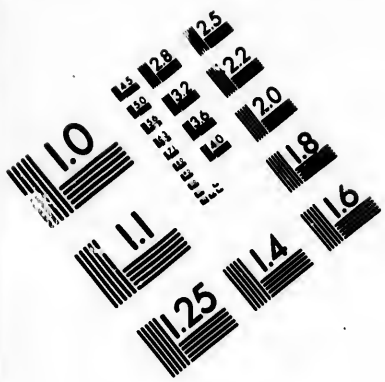

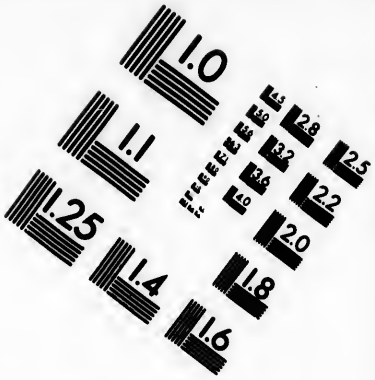

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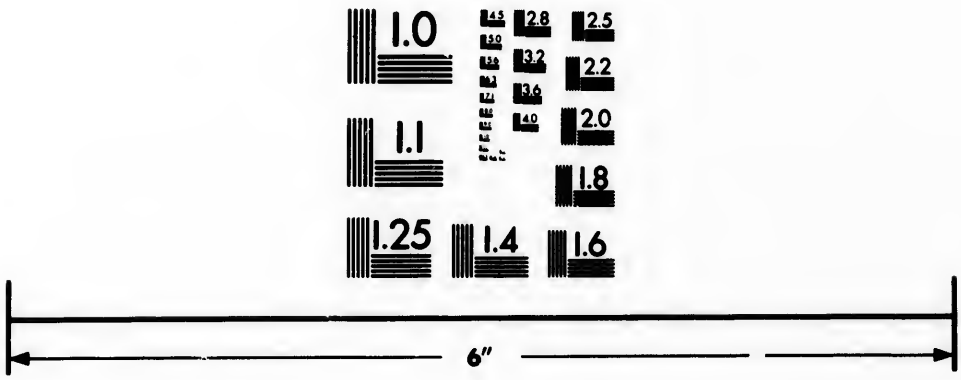

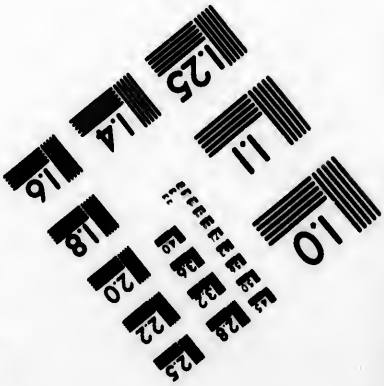


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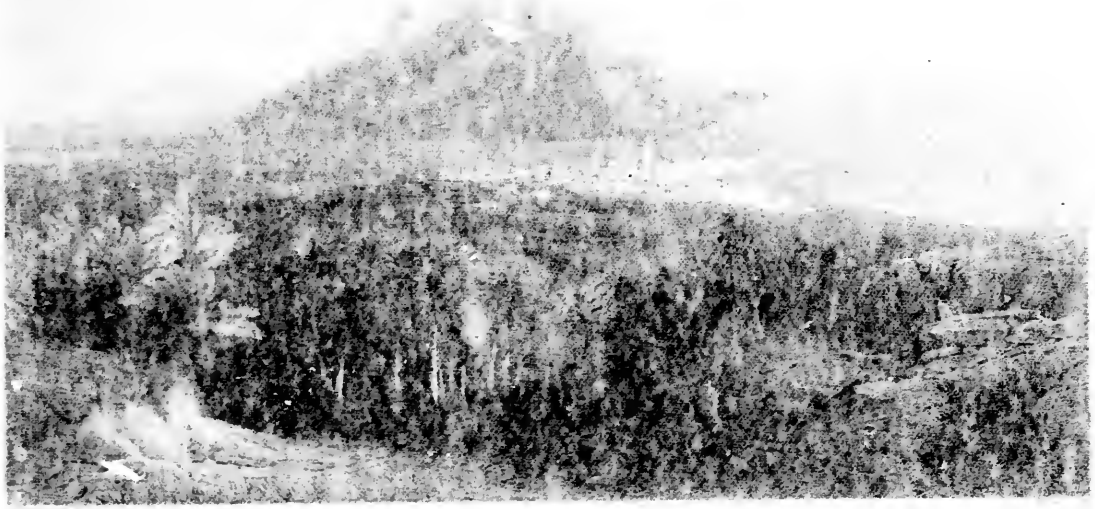


ance, marked features, and has somewhat of a Roman nose. We noticed on all the bare parts of his body remains of ochre, apparently not agreeing very well with the skin, for here and there on the hands it was cracked. He was the first man whom we had hitherto found clothed.

His temples are slightly depressed; on his head he wore a high bonnet, in the form of a bear-skin cap, covered over and over with black ostrich-feathers, which were fixed inside by an oval net-work. His feather-tiara was fastened under his chin by two straps; two other stiff red straps, with small leather tufts, projected like horns over both temples; these horns denote here, perhaps, the royal dignity, like the caps of horns (Takie betal Gorn) of the Moluks, in Belled-Sudan, and may be an imitation of Ammon, or of Moyses. He shook his cap very often in real pleasure. A long and wide blue cotton shirt, with long open sleeves, lined inside with white cotton, reached down to the feet from the throat, where it was hollowed out round, and had a red border. A large blue and white chequered cotton band, bound round the hips, held this dress together. He wore round the neck strings of blue glass paste, and rings of thin twisted iron wire. The feet were covered with well-worked red sandals, of thick leather. Bright polished iron rings, the thickness of the little finger, reached from the ankles to the calf, exactly fitting to the flesh, and increasing in size as they went up the leg. Above these he wore another serrated ring, and a thin chain The knuckles of the right hand were surrounded with an iron and a red copper ring, of twisted work. On the left hand he had a prettily decorated yellow copper ring, with a dozen narrow iron rings, likewise fitted exactly to the arm. As we subsequently saw, the upper part of both arms was surrounded with two heavy ivory rings, of a hand's breath. Contrary to the usual custom, he had also the four lower incisors; we could not ascertain the cause of this distinction, and at our question on the subject, he only answered with a cunning laugh. I soon remarked, moreover, that he wanted the upper teeth; yet he may have lost them from old age, for want of teeth is common even among these people, and he might have numbered some sixty years.

This want of sound teeth—as negroes are always distinguished for good teeth, and the marshy soil has entirely ceased in the country of Bari—may perhaps only arise from eating some fruit unknown to us, such as the cassavas in Guiana, which have the same effect; or the reason for it may be sought in their pulling them out directly they pain them, with their iron instruments, always at hand. The constant smoking of their very strong tobacco, with the absence of cleanliness, which, however, is not the case with our Nuba negroes, may contribute to this imperfection. At first he smoked the cigar given him, and then the Turkish pipe, with the air of an old smoker; for smoking is a general custom among the nations on the White Nile. Dates were set before him, and the others picked him out the best, and breaking them in two, laid the stones in a heap, and gave him the fruit in his hand, partaking of them with him.

The music which had accompanied him to the shore, and embarked on board the vessel, consisted of a drum, made out of the trunk of a tree, and beaten with sticks, a kind of clarionet, and a fife, different only from the small ones worn by all the natives round their necks by being three or four times larger. King Lakono's dress and copper rings came from the country of Berri; this was a confirmation of what we had already heard. He had never seen horses, asses, or camels, and it seemed as if there were no words in his language to denote them; nor did he know of an unicorn, and did not understand our explanation of these animals. If the Arabs in the land of Sudan do not deny the existence of the unicorn in the interior of Africa, and even assert that there are some, if the subject be followed up further, this arises from politeness, in order that they may correspond with our desire to prove the real existence of such an animal and is not what they know to be truth.

Lakono made himself comfortable afterwards, and sat down upon the carpet, moving his little stool under his shoulders. A red upper garment was fetched, and the Turks made him comprehend that he must stand up to have it put on. They bound a white shawl round his ribs, and another was twisted round his head, as a turban, after they had clapped on him a tarbusch. On this, one of the two slaves who accompanied him placed on his own head the royal feather-cap, and laughed behind his master's back. This only lasted, however, a minute, though the others took no offence at it. The dress altogether was found to be too short and scanty for such limbs. Several strings of beads were hung round Lakono's neck, and several more piled up before him, to take to his wives; hereupon he could rest no longer, and went off, followed by all the others.

He was taken back by the sandal to the right shore, where his people shouted to him a "Hui ih!" and afforded him an assisting hand when disembarking from the vessel, as well as on the shore itself, according to the usual practice among themselves. We fired off cannons in honour to him, as soon as he set foot on land. Fear thrilled through them all, and even the Sultan set off running for a moment, till he was disabused of his panic, probably by his brothers.

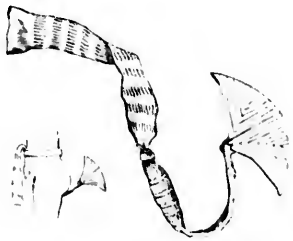
VI.

Mimosas and Tamarind-Trees—Different species—Durra and Creeping Beans—Religion of the Ethiopians—Second Visit of Lakono—The Crown Prince Tshore—Particulars of the Countries of Bari and Berri—Description of Lakono's Favourite Sultana—Mountains in the vicinity of Bari—Their Form and Distance—Island of Tschanker—Remarks on Lakono's Legislation and Conduct—The Nyam-nam, or Cannibals—Customs and Arms of the Natives—The Tropical Rains—Return of the Expedition.

25th January.—At eleven o'clock we leave our island at the right shore, and halt towards the south, for the north-east wind is favourable to us. On the right and left are several little villages, and on the right shore a low foreland, which we had already visited and found very fertile. Several poison trees stand near the village lying in the background. The bushar and garrua have not left us, but cover the greatest part of the shore, where the thorn bushes appear to diminish, the nearer we approach the equator. We remark the very same circumstance with respect to the mimosas, and in those that we still here and there

see, the leaves are broader and seem to announce varieties or different species. Even the tamarind-tree, from which we have already gathered ripe fruit, has a different physiognomy here to what we see in the country of the Shilluks; the branches are more slender, and the larger leaves are not so thickly piled one upon the other. I was laughed at by my servant when I asked the name of this tree.

We sail along the left shore, and advance three miles and a-half; but one ship soon gets obstructed here, another there, and the water-track pointed out to us by the natives is really very narrow. The stream, which might previously have been about three hundred paces, is here certainly five hundred. A large island, with another smaller one, covered with durra, rises out of it. At one o'clock, S.S.W., in which direction we sail now at the right shore, where the water is better than we had thought. The negroes continue to run along the shore, or in the shallow places plunge into the water, and cry as loud as they can to us to stop a little and barter with them. The right shore is planted with durra, but it is already harvested. It is a small reddish kind, giving but little meal. At the previous landing-places there were, amongst other plants, several small creeping beans, of white and red colour, thriving luxuriantly on the ground. A small island on our left.



TAIL OF THE NYAM NAM.

I hear, from the mast, that nineteen mountains (gubal) are counted, without reckoning the small ones. The chain of mountains is, properly speaking, not wooded; but that which looks like a forest, from a distance is, in reality, the fragments of rocks, with which they are nearly all studded at the base: yet between these blocks a tree and copsewood here and there thrives, which may sprout out beautifully green in the rainy season. A splendid ground, covered with trees, and inclined towards the river, approaches to the foot of the Korek, but does not probably afford the shade we suppose at a distance. The shores are not only very strongly intersected with layers of sand, but also the mould of the dam itself is completely mixed with sand. Therefore, it seems that the river enters now into a rocky bed, from the mountains of which there is not much fertility to wash away.

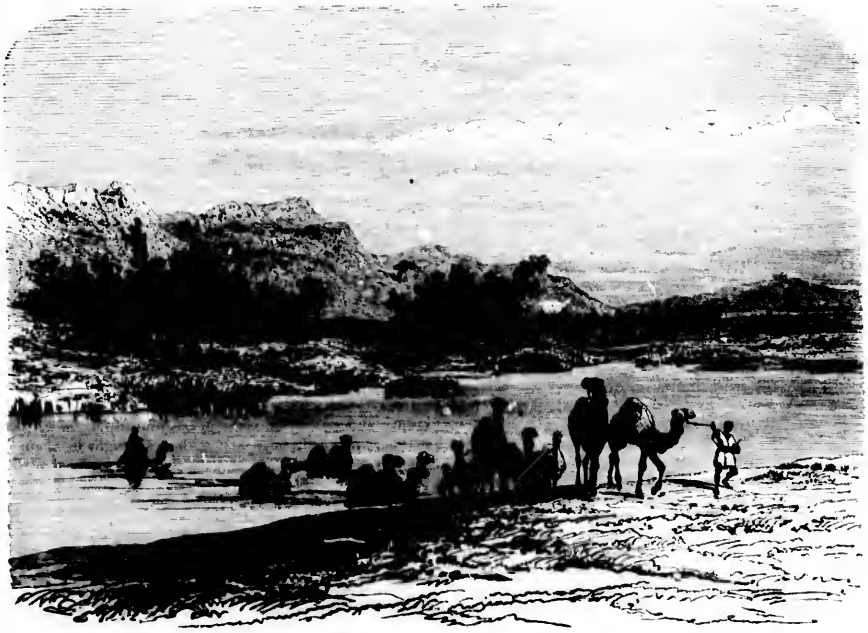
Two o'clock; W. by S. On the left shore again, several of those round-headed beautiful trees, with large acacia-leaves, under which the negroes seek for shade. The Frenchman had, according to yesterday's measuring, 4° 40′ north latitude, and 41° 42′ east longitude, from Paris. Selim Capitan, however, found 4° 35′ north latitude, and 30° east longitude. At half-past two o'clock we go with the river S.S.W., which direction it seems to retain for the present. On the left an island. The people still continue to shout, but they run no longer, as if they were mad, into the water, to cling to and hold fast to the vessels, for the sailors rap their fingers smartly; but stand quietly on one foot, resting the other against the knee. Three o'clock; S.S.W. The water is not bad, and we shall have, perhaps, a good course for a considerable time, if we only sound properly. On the right there is a small island, with a couple of tokuls behind upon the shore. Immediately on the left is another shallow island, with luxuriant durra. The natives wade through the water to an island situated not far from the left shore, upon which we see a farm-yard. Two more islands follow this one, and they swarm with black people. Four o'clock. The direction of the river is always still S.W., whilst we seek for deeper water in the windings of the stream. Right and left are islands, and also tokuls, part of which peep over the trees. The forms of the mountains become more visible and different from what they had hitherto appeared. This produces uncommon changes in the landscape, where all the surface of the earth is picturesquely skirted with trees.

Who would have thought of such a beautiful country in the centre of Africa, and looked for such a well-proportioned, gigantic race as we see yonder! They are real giants. Go on shore, look at the Turks, the Christians, and our other companions—what children they seem standing in the middle of this crowd of Titans. Half past four o'clock. Rocks show themselves, for the first time, in the river. Three large, and several small ones form an ominous cross-line for our voyage. At five o'clock we halt at an island near these rocks. Here there are picturesque materials enough, and nothing shall prevent me from taking a panorama of this region.

The people appear to be favoured of God as of heaven itself. The sun and moon do not appear to excite any unusual ideas here, although the former may be welcome in the morning, when they shake off the night's frost with the ashes, and in the evening to light them when they return from the chase, from labour in the fields, and from battle, or when they drive home their herds. The moon is of less service to them, for they go to roost with the fowls. The beneficent deeds of these two luminaries are too regular. But the canopy of heaven itself may direct their thoughts above; from thence comes the rain, irrigating their fields, causing the stream to increase, filling and animating anew their large fish-ponds. God's water is allowed to flow over God's land, and they are pleased at the cheerful harvest, without praying, beseeching, and returning thanks, for they may look upon periodical rain as a regular tribute from above. Heaven does not forsake her people here, and the inexorable sun, parching up everything, has perhaps never been worshipped by the Ethiopians.

We lie now to the eastern side of the island of Tshanker. King Lakono visited us to-day a second time, and brought with him a young wife from his harem. He took off his hand the orange-coloured ring, on which Selim Capitan fixed a longing eye, and presented it to him with a little iron stool, plainly forged in a hurry.

PORT OF SUWAKIM ON THE RED SEA.



FORD ON THE BLACK NILE.

The crown-prince, Tshobe, has an intelligent countenance, and seems a clever fellow. He wears no ornament on the upper part of his arms, except the two ivory rings. Although it was known that he would succeed King Lakono, and that the latter had called him his eldest son and successor, yet the Turks believed that he was some relation of the king's, whom he had only brought with him to receive presents. I had, however, previously seen him with us, and remarked at that time that he kept back proudly when the others stepped forward for our gifts. But Lakono had only presented us with two oxen, and given us a verbal mandate to the republicans of the left shore; therefore, the Turks were discontented. Against all policy, the honour of a Turkish coronation-mantle was not conferred upon Tshobe, nor on the others who might have expected a dress. The prince took the miserable glass beads with a kind of indifference and contempt.

We gathered further intelligence about the country, and Lakono was complaisant enough to communicate to us some general information. With respect to the Nile sources, we learn that it requires a month, the signification of which was interpreted by thirty days, to come to the country of Anjan towards the south, where the Tubirih (Bah'r el Abiad) separates into four shallow arms, and the water only reaches up to the ankles. Thirty days seems indeed a long time, but the chain of mountains itself may present great impediments, and hostile tribes and the hospice stations may cause circuitous routes. These latter appear necessary, for the natives being already overladen with weapons and ornaments, it is impossible that they can carry provisions for so long a time, from the want of beasts of burden. There are said to be found very high mountains on this side, in comparison with which the ones now before us are nothing at all.

Lakono did not seem, according to my views, to understand rightly the question, whether snow was lying on these mountains. He answered, however, "No." Now, when I consider the thing more closely, it is a great question to me whether he and his interpreter have a word for snow; for though the Arabic word telki or snow is known perhaps in the whole land of Sudan, yet that itself is unknown. Whether these four brooks forming the White Stream come from rocks or from the ground, Lakono could not say, for he had not gone further. With respect to the country of Berri, which he stated in his first visit was likewise a month distant, Lakono now corrected himself and said that this country is not thirty, but only ten day's journey off to the east. He impressed on us particularly that copper is as abundant, and found there in the same manner as iron here. He appears, indeed, to wish to inflame our gold-seeking hearts by his repeated commendations of this country, on purpose that he may get possession, at one blow, of the treasures, with the assistance of our fire-arms. He expected an answer which could not be given him, because the Dinkani, who translated his words into Arabic, only told us (according to my full conviction) what he chose to let us know, most probably being induced by the other soldiers and sailors to do everything he could for our speedy return.

We also heard that on the road water is found, but that in Berri itself there is no river, and that the natives drink from springs (Birr). The people of Bari get their salt, which is quite clear and fine-grained, from thence. It is boiled in earthern pots, and retains their form. The language of the country of Berri is different from that of Bari. The blue beads, in the form of little cylinders, which we saw on Lakono and some others, and had even found previously, came also from Berri. We had similar-formed glass paste, of white and blue colours; but the higher value was set on the blue, and on the large, round, blue beads.

King Lakono wished not only to undertake a warlike expedition, in company with us, to Berri, rich in copper, but also to the neighbouring mountain-chain of Lokaja (also Lokonja). The cannibals dwelling upon this mountain—not known here, however, by the name of Niam-Niam, or Niyam Nams—had been long the subject of conversation among the crew. According to what we heard from the natives below, these ill-famed mountaineers had heads, and went on all-fours, like dogs; this was repeated also even in Bari, probably from our misunderstanding the language.

Captain Selim, the Muscovite, to whom courage could not be denied in other respects, had, even in Khartum, been wonderfully afraid of these so-called Niam-Niams. Now, however, he allowed his fear to mount to a truly ridiculous height, probably because he was the most corpulent of us all, except Selim-Capitan. He thought nothing less than that he would be the first roast morsel which that savage mountain-race would choose for a feast, on a favourable nocturnal opportunity. Before the first expedition, my brother had designated him a plump morsel for the cannibals; and scarcely was he summoned to this expedition, than he inquired repeatedly and anxiously about the existence and the abode of these men. This joke was now haunting his brains, and particularly when his fat face was lighted up by the enjoyment of araki, which he drank secretly in his cabin, in order not to let the others partake of it. In such a condition as this, he exhorted me to assist in urging as speedy a return as possible; and, moreover, to think of my poor brother Tussuf, who perhaps was ill.

Lakono, explained, on closer questioning, the ominous rumour of the Anthropophagi, with dogs' heads, and informed us that these bad people have heads indeed, like others, but allow all their teeth to remain in their head, and crawl upon all fours when they eat men. This means, perhaps, nothing more than that they do not join in open combat with the inhabitants of Bari, but crawl close to people, like dogs, plunder them, and perhaps eat them. The Bagharas assert, that the same custom of crawling, in marauding expeditions, exists among the Shilluks; and our Circassians relate things, which are scarcely credible, of the manner in which boys and girls are caught in their country.

VII.

The River Saubat—Shua Barri, Tumbarri, and Tubarri—Lake Barrinju—Kumbarri Mountains—The Sea of the Gazelles—Petherick's Explorations—The Nyam-Nams.

The Saubat joins the White Nile at the south boundary of the country of the Dinka and Shilluks—the latter bearing a name which presents a remarkable analogy to that which Count Graberg tells us (*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. VII., p. 264) is the name of the language of the Berbers or Amazigh, and of a branch or nation of the same origin in Morocco. M. d'Arnaud's Chou Berry, or Shua Barri, which

Brun-Rollet and Dr. Beke make Schol Berry or River of Berry, is, it is to be observed, Werne's Bari, and M. Léon d'Avranche's Barro, and was supposed at first to be a separate tributary to the White Nile from the Go-jub or Uma; and this view of the matter was adopted by M. Brun-Rollet (who looked upon it as the White Nile) and by Dr. Beke, but they both appear to look upon it now as the upper source of the Saubat. It is not a little remarkable, in connection with the identity of the Saubat and of the River of Barri or Barro with the White River, that Dr. Krapf was informed that there are more than fifteen rivers running from the west and north of the Kegnia or Kenia, one of the great snow mountains of Eastern Africa. One of these, the Tumbiri or Tumbarri, was described to the worthy missionary as being very large, and flowing, according to the report made to him by one Ruma wa Kikandi—in a northerly direction to the great Lake Barrinju or Barringu, by which, in the phrase of his informant, you may travel a hundred days along its shores and find no end. The great River Tumbiri, Krapf further observes, is evidently identical with the River Tubiri or Tubarri, mentioned by Mr. Werne as being a name of the White River, at four degrees north latitude from the equator. Dr. Krapf also says: "It is very remarkable that Captain Speke should have seen the great lake which Rumu wa Kikandi, a native of Nemba, near the snow-capped mountain Kegnia, mentioned to me under the name of Barinju, the end of which cannot be found, even if you travel a hundred days' distance along its shores, as my informant expressed himself. It is further remarkable that Captain Speke very properly named it Victoria Nyanza, in honour of her Majesty, after the mountain in Mberre, or Mbarri, which, as will be found by subsequent travellers, presents the nearest approach from the coast of Mombaz to that lake, had been called by me Mount Albert or Albertino, in honour of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. Thus, the one may be said to mark the spot, the other the nearest way by which it can be reached, on which the great geographical problem of Africa, the discovery of the sources of the Nile, will probably be solved under the auspices of the English Government."

A curious and interesting question presents itself here, and that is, is Krapf justified in identifying his Lake Barinju with Lake Victoria? It is evident that his able editor, Mr. Ravenstein, did not agree with this view of the matter, or he has made Barinju a separate lake, having two outlets, one by the Dana to the Indian Ocean, the other by a river which joins the Tubarri or Tubiri, at Robengo, between the Kum-Birat or Kum Barri Mounts. The grounds for such a complicated bit of geography appearing to be derived from Krapf's same informant, Ruma wa Kikandi, who is made to describe the snow on Mount Kenia as producing continually a quantity of water, which descended the mountain and formed a large lake, from which the River Dana took its rise.

The name Barinju given to this lake would appear to associate it with the river or country of the Barri, the former of which is, we have seen, said to be a tributary to the Saubat; and this view of the matter is substantiated by Dr. Beke's map, who prolongs the Schol, which he makes a tributary to the Barro, towards the Snowy Mountains north of the Dana, and at the head-waters of the Jub, but he does not, like Ravenstein, make the Dana and Barinju flow from the same lake. The great fact opposed to this view of the case is, that Krapf's informant calls the river of Barinju Tumbiri, and Krapf very naturally identifies this with the River Tubiri mentioned by Werne as being a name of the White River, 4° north latitude of the equator. It is, therefore, most probable that Krapf's Tumbiri joins the Upper Nile above 4° north latitude, and gives its name to the stream after it is joined by the affluent from Lake Victoria, if the Tumbiri does not, as well as the Kitangure, a river of Karagwah, and other streams, flow into a common reservoir—that of Lake Victoria—which may vary in its extent at different seasons of the year.

But it is not at all certain that Lake Victoria is the head of the Tubiri, which was ascended by the Turco-Egyptian expedition, and is yet better known through the numerous Europeans who have visited its banks, as high as the fourth parallel of north latitude. Even Dr. Beke says that to his mind the direct communication between the two is problematical. If Lake Victoria (Nyanza) be really the head of the Tubiri, he remarks, it is strange that the European residents at Gondokoro and its vicinity should not have heard of that great expanse of water in a locality where the testimony of trustworthy natives who have visited the upper regions places the mountains of Komberat (Kum Bari?) and the more distant country of the Fandangos. Further, Dr. Kotschy states that at Gondokoro, during the rainy season, the Tubiri frequently rises and falls again suddenly in the course of a single day—a phenomenon which is characteristic of a mountain-stream, fed directly by the rains, rather than by a conduit from a reservoir like Lake Victoria, of which the drainage basin must be of immense e .ent.

There is another reason, which would be conclusive were we only sure of its being well founded. The observations for longitude made by the late Dr. Knoblecher, one of the missionaries at Gondokoro, along the course of the Tubiri, show that river to have been laid down by Selim Bashi and M. d'Arnaud full three degrees in error towards the east. Assuming this to be really the case, it is perfectly intelligible why Lake Victoria should not have been heard of at Gondokoro, inasmuch as the upper course of the Tubiri is thus carried away westward from the meridian of Lake Victoria, to be fed, not as Dr Beke is inclined to suppose, by the Tanganyika (to which theory there are insuperable objections), but by a yet undiscovered lake, which would be Ptolemy's western lake, while Victoria Lake would be the eastern lake of the Alexandrian geographer, and a portion of the same system as Krapf's Barinju; while, if the geography is to remain as it at present stands, Lake Victoria would be the eastern lake, and Barinju the western. It appears further, in connection with this open question, that a M. Miani has since travelled one hundred and eighty geographical miles direct distance from Gondokoro on the White Nile to the south east, to a place called Galuffi, and he makes no mention whatever of any large lake, such as the Nyanza, being reported to feed its waters, but, on the contrary, the natives derived the source of the Nile (?) from a town called Patico, lying in the direction of Mount Kenia.

Before quitting the vexed question of the Saubat, or Barri River, Russegger's Bahr al Abiyad, or White Nile, and probably the Astasobas, or Nile of Eratosthenes, it is worthy of mention that M. Hansal states that the water of the Saubat is white, so that it has a

better claim to the designation of the upper course of the White River (we do not say the Nile) than the Tubiri, or Tubarri, whose waters are described as being dark-coloured, stagnant, and unwholesome.

A little above where the Saubat joins the Nile the main stream expands into a series of lakes, more or less continuous at different seasons of the year, and known as the Bahr al Ghazal—the Sea of the Gazelles—and also as Lake No. When the second Turco-Egyptian expedition ascended the river, Mr Werne describes it as black above the junction of the River N'jin Njin, or N'yin N'yin, from the stagnancy of the waters and the existence of morass. This was in the month of December. "This long marshy lake," he adds, "of some two hours in breadth, discloses a new world of plants, in various high grasses and bog shrubs." The next day (December 9th) brought the expedition to another small lake, and Mr. Werne says the distant shore of this marshy lake was denoted by isolated trees and a few small villages. The bed of the river was not, however, at this season, more than one hundred to one hundred and fifty paces in breadth. The same day it widened to "about an hour's breadth," succeeded by marshy swamp, extending to the left beyond the reach of vision, even from the mast. Nothing was to be seen "but the sky and grass sea, surrounded or intersected by the arms of the Nile." The next day they reached "the great lake, wherein the Gazelle River disembogues itself." "This river," adds Mr. Werne, "is said to flow here from the country of the Mughribus, or people of the west—as in Mughribu-l-Aksa (Morocco), Mughribu-l-Ausat (Algiers and Tunis). This lake," he adds, "may be from eighteen to twenty sea miles square."

M. Brun-Rollet, who explored the same series of lakes in the month of February, 1856, describes them as at that season concentrated into one great lake, fifty leagues in length from north to south. The river that flows into it he calls the Misselad, and he ascended it for a distance of nearly forty leagues in three boats, and with an escort of twenty-three soldiers. The Misselad appeared to be so large and deep that M. Brun-Rollet, who had previously visited the Blue River as well as the White River, declared that he had no doubt of its being the true Nile. Here then we have, in the order of succession, already a fifth Nile!

Mr. Petherick, who has since explored the Bahr al Ghazal on three different occasions, describes it as about one hundred and eighty miles in length, overgrown with weeds and lilies, and full of hippopotami. Mr. Werne had before noticed these, as also frequent patches of papyrus, lofty nests of termites, numerous birds, large fishes, and inveterate mosquitoes. Mr. Petherick describes the waters of the lake as contributed by many rivulets, as well as by a river running from the south-west, which is prevented only by the masses of reeds that choke it from affording a navigable highway to the far interior. Mr. Petherick made a further remarkable journey by land from the extreme end of the lake to the southwards, and in twenty-six days reached the country of the Nyam Nam tribe of cannibals—the caudate race of M. Fresnel and others, and of whom so many fables have been related. These people, whom Earl de Grey and Ripon identifies with the Bari, use iron boomerangs, just as the natives of Australia use wooden ones; and they seem to be the only other people in the world, besides the Australians, who have discovered the singular properties of that strange projectile.

Dr. Beke remarks, that the idea of the Mountains of the Moon seems to be inseparable from that of the Nyam Nam and other monsters with which fancy has peopled them. Shakspeare, of whose almost universal knowledge every day affords additional proof, makes the African Othello speak of

> "Hills whose heads touch heaven,
> And of the cannibals that each other eat,
> The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders;"

whilst every traveller in Africa who may inquire after the sources of the Nile is sure to be told, in almost the same breath, of the Mountains of the Moon and their ferocious inhabitants.

A striking instance of this inveterate complex idea is given in Mr. Werne's account of the second Turco-Egyptian expedition. As the boats of the expedition rounded the point of Khartum, and slowly sailed into the White River, their crews heard the last shrill farewell cry of the women, many of whom, with both hands, swung their clothes backwards and forwards over their heads, as customary at funerals, thereby intimating their anticipation that their friends could never return, but would fall a prey to the man-eaters. "This," says Mr. Werne, "made most of our party laugh, especially my men, who flattered themselves they had just as good teeth as the Nyam Nam, so much dreaded by many, and particularly by the well-fed Egyptians, but whose country no one is able to point out."

"On the 23rd of April," Major Burton relates, "we left Mtuwwa, and made for the opposite or western shore of the lake, which appeared about fifteen miles distant; the day's work was nine hours. The two canoes paddled far apart; there was, therefore, little bumping, smoking, or quarrelling till near our destination. At Murivumba the malaria, the mosquitoes, the crocodiles, and the men are equally feared. The land belongs to the Wabembe, who are correctly described in the Mombas Mission map as Menschenfresser—anthropophagi. The practice arises from the savage and apathetic nature of the people, who devour, besides man, all kinds of carrion and vermin, grubs and insects, whilst they abandon to wild growths a land of the richest soil and of the most prolific climate. They prefer man raw, whereas the Wadoe of the coast eat him roasted. The people of a village which backed the port assembled as usual to 'sow gape-seed,' but though

> 'A hungry look hung upon them all'—

and amongst cannibals one always fancies oneself considered in the light of butcher's meat—the poor devils, dark and stunted, timid and degraded, appeared less dangerous to the living than to the dead." All we can say is, that, for the sake of human nature, we hope—nay, till further proof is adduced, we believe—it to be a calumnious misrepresentation made to Major Burton.

Mr. Petherick describes the Baer or Bayir as residing south of the Dur, with whom they were at feud. The way thither lay through a mountain land, only frequented by elephants during the rainy season. This being now a border country, the Bayir were much troubled by foraging parties of their southern neighbours, the Nyam Nam, who pillaged their villages, and committed great

slaughter and devastation, their object being to carry off the youth into slavery. They described these uncomfortable neighbours as warlike and savage, invariably feasting on their fallen enemies. They even implored the travellers to return, as they said so small a party as they were would certainly be overpowered and eaten.

These men were so frightened at the idea of accompanying me, says Mr. Petherick, to Nyam Nam, that it required numerous presents and all my persuasive powers to obtain, at length, the necessary porters; and on arriving within sight of Mundo, the first Nyam Nam village, I could not induce them to enter it, and throwing off their loads, they decamped, leaving only the interpreter in the firm grip of two of my followers. Nothing daunted, my men took up the rejected loads, and we proceeded towards the village.

On nearing it, the sound of several tom-toms, and the shrill whistle of their calls, plainly indicated that the Nyam Nam were on the alert. A large party, bearing their arms and shields, issued forth to meet us; and, drawing up in line across our path, seemed determined to impede our progress. Heedless of the impediment we proceeded on our way; and my Khartumers in the best spirits joined lustily in a song.

The sight of the savages before us was imposing; each man guarded the greater part of his body with a large shield, holding a lance vertically in his right hand. The party were evidently surprised at the confidence and unoffending manner of our approach, and evinced a greater disposition to run away than to attack. On we went joyfully, and when within ten yards of them, their ranks opened, allowing us a passage through them, of which, as a matter of course, we availed ourselves, and entered the village (apparently deserted by women and children), with the Nyam Nam following in the rear. Passing through a street of huts, rather distantly situated from one another, we reached a slight eminence, commanding a fine view of a highly fertile country. During our march, the tom-toms continued their noise; but, regardless of consequences, we took up our position under the shade of a magnificent sycamore tree, in the vicinity of a couple of huts; and, disembarrassing ourselves of our baggage, we quietly seated ourselves in a circle round it, exposing our fronts to the natives, who, in great numbers, soon surrounded us. Apparently astonished at the coolness we displayed, they gradually closed, and, the front rank seating themselves, their proximity became disagreeable, as they hemmed us in so closely that several of them actually seated themselves upon our feet, indulging at the same time in laughter and loud conversation which we could not understand. Enjoining patience on my men, and convinced that, in case of necessity, the harmless discharge of a gun or two would scatter our visitors, I learnt with some difficulty, through the medium of the Bayir and Dur interpreters, that these savages looked upon us in the light of bullocks fit for the slaughter, and that they contemplated feasting upon us; but they disputed the propriety of slaying us until the arrival of their chief, who, I learnt, was not in the village.

Mr. Petherick, received at first with hostility by the Nyam Nam, gradually established friendly relations with them, helped them in a fight, as also in an elephant hunt, and it is needless to say that, cannibals as they were, they had no tails!

Thus it is, and ever will be, that the false glitter of fable will disappear before the broad day of observation, just as prejudices do in the presence of intercourse and intercommunication. The caudate race of Africa kept always receding as travel advanced, till the fable is now expelled from the country of the Nyam Nams, its last stronghold. The men with four eyes, those with eyes under their armpits, the dwarfs with ears reaching to the ground, the

"Men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,"

all reminding one of the strange fantasies of antiquity, and of some rare men of later times, as the Maundevilles and the Monboddos, will one after another be expunged from our minds as our knowledge of interior Africa extends. Already, it may be observed, Mr. Petherick's utmost south comes almost close upon Captain Speke's farthest north, at the latter traveller's Mountains of the Moon; and if a kind Providence will spare the gallant captain and his companion, Grant, from the twofold evils of climate and savages, there can be little doubt that the interval will soon be crossed, and then Eastern Africa will be known, at all events in a general way, from Alexandria to the Cape of Good Hope.

M. Lejean, at present travelling on the Nile, claims to have discovered the origin of the fable of the Nyam Nams having tails. He says that, like the Choktaw Indians, they wear (or, at least, some of them wear) leathern ornaments behind, which have a resemblance to a tail (*See* p. 200). It is the fan-shaped tail of M. d'Escayrac. M. Lejean obtained one from the body of a Nyam Nam, in which the leathern work was strengthened by little bits of iron. M. Lejean, who has not penetrated into the country of the Nyam Nam, calls them Nyam Nyams, as others have done before Mr. Petherick's time, who calls them Nyam Nam; and he also notices the Nyam Barri—an important point, as it will tend to show that this remarkable coppered-coloured and transition race occupies the greater part of the territory at the head waters of the Nile, from the Shua Barri and head affluents of the Sanbat to those of the Tu Barri and head affluents of the White Nile, and further to the Nyam Lah, or great western tributary of the Gazelle Lake, upon which Mr. Petherick first reached these curious people. The love of gain will sometimes do as much as the spirit of adventure for the progress of geographical knowledge. We perceive, by a recent number of the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, that the French (especially M. Poncet fils and M. Ambroise) have already founded establishments (*établissements pour le commerce de l'ivoire*), of which the chief appears to be at Fatil, on one of the many Nile tributaries, in the heart of the country so recently opened to us by Mr. Petherick.

VIII.

French Rivalry in the Search for the Sources of the Nile—The Misselad, a Western Tributary to the Nile—The Tubiri or Tubarri Affluent from Lake Victoria—Nyanza—Mountains of Kumbarri—Krapf's Tumbiri or Tumbarri—Geographical Controversies—Beke's Source of the Nile in Lake Tanganyika—Mountains of the Moon—Great Central African Table-land—Lakes Nyassa and Shirwa—Probable Sources of the Nile at Mount Kilimandjaro—The Ethiopian St. Gothard—Summary.

M. Lejean is supposed to have left Khartum in the company of M. Peney, to explore the White Nile on

the 28th of November, 1861; and M. D'Arnaud, in a letter to the veteran geographer Jomard, dated Alexandria, February 5th, 1861, says that he is convinced that Messrs. Peney and Lejean will arrive at the Caput Nili before the English travellers, Speke and Grant. His conviction is that they will reach the great lake (Victoria Nyanza), which, he adds, may henceforth be viewed as the true source of the Nile, since, at the fourth degree, the river rises and falls with great regularity, a phenomenon which can only result from its having its origin in a regulating lake, and that they will arrive there in an incontestable manner by ascending the river.

The rivalry is praiseworthy; but granting M. Arnaud's anticipations to be realised, will that take away the right of first discovery, and naming the lake, which belongs to Captain Speke? And if he (Captain Speke) discovered the lake, and it turns out to be, according to his own surmises, the long-sought-for head of the Nile, will he or Messrs. Peney and Lejean have discovered the Caput Nili? It will be time to argue the point when the latter have reached the lake by the river-way, but in the meantime it is certain that the lake is discovered, and if it should turn out to be the head of the Nile, so we should say is also the "Caput Nili:" all that is wanting is the proof of connection between the two—the lake and river—and we shall be glad if the Frenchmen acquire the honour of establishing that long-surmised fact, but without claiming at the same time the discovery of the sources of the Nile, which must be conceded to the discoverer of the lake, so appropriately named Victoria Nyanza. Had Mr. Petherick been the first to reach the lake by the river-way, and where he is gone to carry succour to Speke and Grant, would he for a moment have thought of claiming the discovery of the sources of the Nile?[1]

The neighbourhood [illegible] sources of the Nile has been looked upon from [illegible]st remote times as inhabited by peculiar ra[illegible]d Cellarius, after saying "Lacus autem fieri ex dumimbus, quæ ex Lunæ montibus decurrant, existimat, ibidemque fontes Nili esse sanior hæc opinio de Nilo origine, quamvis, etiam erronea, est illa Jubæ;" adds, "Ceterum dum de Nili paludibus, quibus exoriatur ex Ptolemæo egimus, aliquid de Pygmæorum fabula adjiciendum est. Plinius enim, lib. vi., cap. 30, 'Quidam et Pygmæorum gentum prodiderunt inter paludes, ex quibus Nilus oriretur.' Pomponius Mela, lib. iii., cap. 8, 'Fuere interius Pygmæi, minutum genus, et quod pro satis frugibus contra grues dimicando defecit.'" To all of which the acute geographer of Amasia adds, "Confictos recte censet, quia nemo fide dignus narravit."

With regard to the question of the Misselad, or any other tributary to the Bahr al Ghazal (and several other rivers have been detected flowing from the west and south-west, among which one of considerable size called Lut, or Muj), being the true Nile, we are somewhat assisted in this portion of the inquiry by the discoveries of Dr. Barth in western and southern Sudan or Negroland.

It is not a little curious that Barth found the name of the Tuburi or Tubarri, when at the extreme point of his excursion into Mandara and the Musgu country, on the occasion when he accompanied a slave-catching expedition of the Sultan of Bornu. He describes the expeditionary army as sparing the Dawa and the Tuburi tribes who dwelt beyond from discretionary motives—in other words, they were too powerful to be attacked with impunity. The same traveller also describes "the low rocky mount" of the Tuburi as visible at the distance of about sixteen miles from the furthest.

An almost uninterrupted communication, the same traveller points out, has been opened by nature herself; for, from the mouth of the Kwara (or Niger), to the confluence of the River Benuwa with the Mayo Kebbi, there is a natural passage navigable without further obstruction for boats of about four feet in depth; and the Mayo Kebbi itself, in its present shallow state, seems to be navigable for canoes, or flat-bottomed boats like those of the natives, which I have no doubt may, during the highest state of the inundation, go as far as Dawa in the Tuburi country, where Dr. Vogel was struck by that large sheet of water which to him seemed to be an independent central lake, but which is, in reality, nothing but a widening of the upper part of the Mayo Kebbi. "It is very probable that from this place," Barth adds, "there may be some other shallow water-course, proceeding to join the large Ngalon of Demmo, so that there would exist a real bifurcation between the basin of the Nile and that of the Tsad."

Is it possible that at the epoch of inundation there is a threefold communication from the great central lake—which may very fairly be designated from its discoverer, Lake Vogel—to the basin of the Niger on the one hand, to the basin of the Tsad, as opined by Barth, and to the basin of the Misselad and Nile, as we shall venture to opine? The occurrence in the same region of the Tuburi or Tubarri, who seem to dwell in all the lands around this head of the Nile, as well as the peculiarities in the hydrographical features of central Africa, seem to point to such a curious and hitherto almost unanticipated fact. The number of water-courses which flow from the south-westerly area of the hydrographical basin of the Nile into the Bahr al Ghazal, lend further countenance to this hypothesis, and there is also much reason to believe in the existence of a more or less extensive lake or morass district in that direction, and which would constitute the south-west head reservoir of the Nile, and represent at the same time Ptolemy's western lake.

It is to be remarked in connection with this point, that Captain Speke is reported to have said (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. IV., No. II., p. 41), that he could not say positively that any decided relation existed between the Bahr al Ghazal and the Victoria Nyanza. All the branches of the Upper Nile appeared to him to have their heads directed south-easterly, tending towards the Nyanza, but more especially so the Bahr al Ghazal, from the position in 4° north latitude, where Mr. Petherick crossed it. The granitic hills which Mr. Petherick saw outcropping to an altitude of two thousand feet above the level of the northern country, might, he suggested, be a continuation of the same description of hills that cross the Tuburi or Tubarri at Gondo Koro, also in 4° north latitude. If this were the case, it was evident the whole country has thence northward to the Mediterranean an evenly declining slope from two thousand

[1] It appears that this sport of rivalry has come to grief. It was announced at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, on the 9th December, 1861, by a letter from Mr. Consul Petherick, that the expedition of Messrs. Peney and Lejean had come to some untoward end, the nature of which was not explained.

feet to the sea-level. Of this fact the analogous descriptions of the sluggish nature of the two great streams in a measure bear proof.

These hills appear to form a kind of steppe in the country, and act as a support to the great interior plateau, which is nearly 4,000 feet above the sea, as was determined by Captain Speke when he discovered Lake Victoria, and which is at an elevation of 3,738 feet above the level of the sea, and lies about 200 miles or so to the immediate southward of the range. As these two streams, the Bahr al Ghazal and Bahr al Abiyad, have both been seen to intersect this range, and as a large river called Lut, or Muj, which, as well as the two former ones, comes from the direction of Lake Victoria, it would, this gallant traveller remarked, be a pure matter of speculation to say which of the three may drain the said lake.

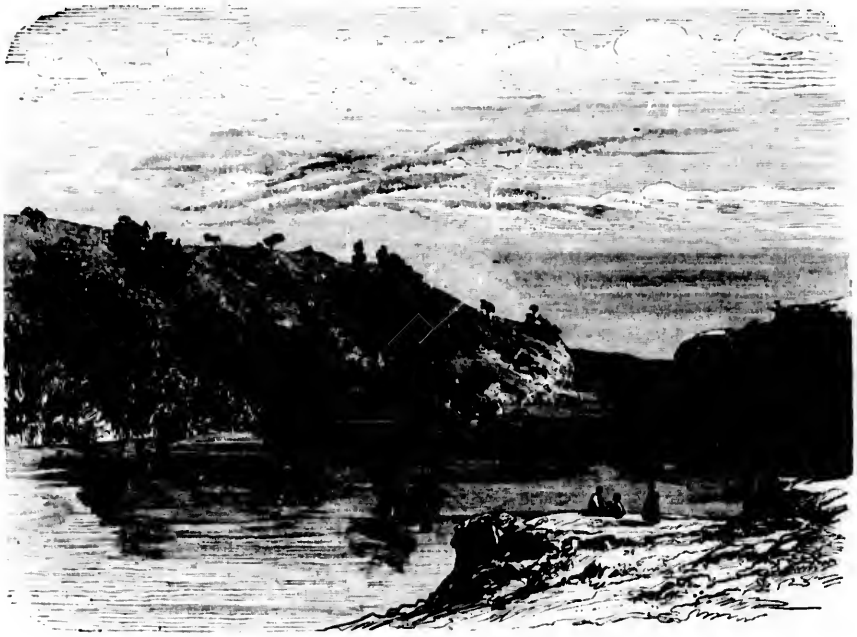
We turn now to the central and still more interesting stream of all, and the one upon which a French mission was established, a few years ago, under Dr. Knoblecher—*i.e.*, the White Nile, Tubiri or Tubarri, as it appears to be called in the uppermost part of its course. The claims of the Saubat, from its whiteness, or from its remote sources, to be called the Bahr al Abiyad, or the fact that this latter river is called, according to Mr. Werne, Tubiri beyond 4° north latitude, or Khurifiry, according to Dr. Beke (text, p. 16—Churifiry in the map), an orthography which almost reminds one of M. d'Arnaud's Choa-Berry, do not militate from the great fact that all travellers seem to have united—with the exception, perhaps, of M. Brun-Rollet and Russegger—in considering this as the main branch of the Nile.[1] Above the junction of the Bahr al Ghazal and the Tubiri, or Khurifiry, says Dr. Beke, the general direction of the Tubiri, which is regarded as a continuation of the Bahr al Abiyad, is nearly S.S.E. Along its entire course, as far as it was explored by the Turco-Egyptian expeditions, the river is free from cataracts, but has occasional shallows; winding among marshes and swamps, which are in part the beds of water-courses entering the main stream during the rains.

In 4° 42′ 42″ north latitude, and 31° 38′ (?) longitude east of Greenwich, a ridge of gneiss, running from east to west, directly across the stream, arrests farther progress up the Tubiri. But, above this, the river has, as we have before seen at length, been navigated as far as the fourth degree of north latitude, where another rapid is met with, which can only be passed during the rains. Here the Tubiri is still a large stream, averaging more than two hundred yards in breadth, and two or three yards in depth. Beyond this, the river is said to come from the south-east, its sources being in the mountains of Komberat (Kum Barri ?) south of the equator. Another arm, according to the Bari or Barri negroes, comes from lofty mountains, said to be beyond the country of the Fandangos, a dark but not a negro race, dwelling several days' journey south of Komberat. It may be added, that Mr. Werne, when at the extreme point reached by the third Turco-Egyptian expedition, was informed that the river continues a month's journey farther south before reaching the country of Anyan. The distance of the region here alluded to, and of the Komberat mountains and the country of the Fandangos, as marked on Dr Beke's map, from Mount Kenia and the slope of the other Mountains of the Moon adjacent to that culminating point, leave little doubt as to the identity, as established by Krapf's informant on the one hand, and the reports of the Bari negroes on the other, that the Tumbiri and Tubiri or Tubarri, are the same. There are reports of a great lake said to be situate to the west of the Fandango country, which lake M. Brun-Rollet lays down conjecturally on the equator, and between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth meridians east of Paris. "If Nyanza," says Dr. Beke, "be the head of the Tubiri, Tanganyika might, perhaps, be made to correspond with M. Brun-Rollet's western lake." But if, as Krapf's informant told him, the head reservoir of the Tubiri was Lake Bariaju, Brun-Rollet's lake would rather correspond to Lake Victoria. If we should, however, in accordance with Dr. Knoblecher's observations, have to move the Tubiri farther westward, we should have the Barinju the same as Lake Victoria, and Brun-Rollet's western lake would be the morass at the head of the Lut, or Muj, and Ptolemy's western lake, while Victoria, Barinju, and Tubiri would remain the eastern lake, as before propounded. We cannot for a moment admit that Lake Tanganyika can represent the western lake of the Alexandrian geographer. Dr. Beke himself says: "If the Tubiri, with the Komberat and Fandango mountains, should have to be carried westward to about the meridian of Tanganyika, we must look for a third lake (that is, bringing Tanganyika into the hydrographical basin of the Nile, which we have carefully avoided doing), the position of which would be relatively about as much to the north-west of Tanganyika as Victoria Nyanza is to the north-east; and it really seems that such a lake would answer far better than (Victoria) Nyanza to Lopez's description of the second lake of the Nile, and which is afforded by Pigafetta, in his 'Relatione del Reame de Congo,' as follows: 'There are two lakes, but they are situated quite otherwise than as stated by Ptolemy, for he places his lakes east and west, whereas those which are now seen are situated north and south of each other in almost a direct line, and about four hundred miles asunder. Some persons in these countries are of opinion that the Nile, after leaving the first lake, hides itself underground, but afterwards rises again. But Signor Odoardo (Lopez) states that the most veracious history of this fact is, that the Nile does not conceal itself underground, but that, as it runs without any settled course through frightful valleys and deserts uninhabited by man, it is said to descend into the bowels of the earth. The Nile truly has its origin in the first lake, which is in 12° south latitude; and it runs four hundred miles due north, and enters another very large lake, which is called by the natives a sea, because it is two hundred and twenty miles in extent, and it lies under the equator. Respecting this second lake, very positive information is given by the Anziehi near Congo, who trade to those parts, and who say that on the lake there are people in large ships, who can write, have numbers, weights, and measures (which in those parts of Congo are not used), and build houses of stone and mortar; their customs being like those of the Portuguese.'" The only difficulty we experience in this part of the question is as to the head-waters of the Tumbiri of Krapf having its sources at or near Mount

[1] Barth describes all the Arab tribes in Bornu as being designated by the term Shuwa, and by the Bagirmi as Shiwa. This Choa-Berri, or Shawi-Barri of M. Brun-Rollet, seems to indicate a tribe of Arabs dwelling in Barri, or on the river of same name.

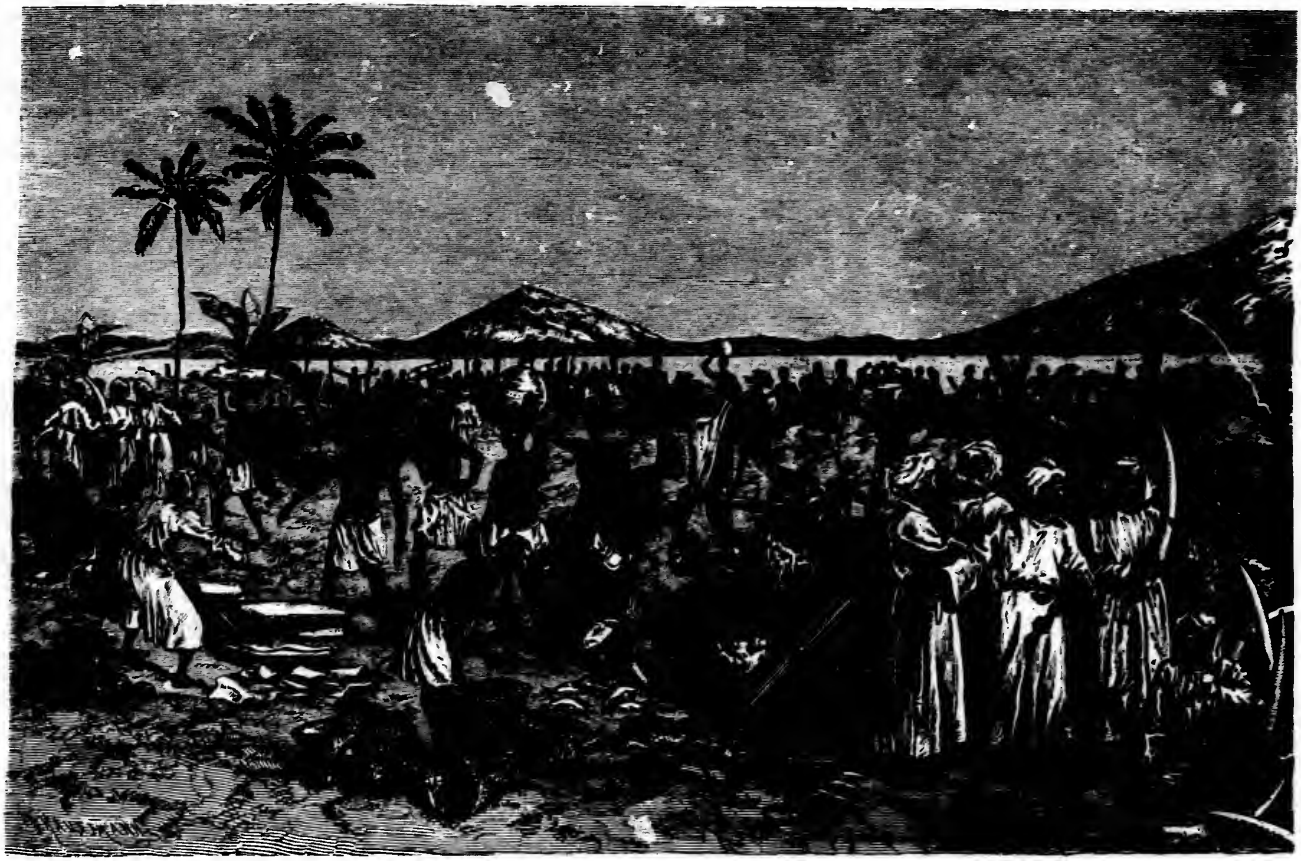
Kenia, being a distant south-east source of the Nile, or one of the tributaries to Lake Victoria; or whether Lake Victoria, with its known southerly affluent, Kitangure, is not a second isolated central and most remote, and hence true, source of the Nile, and the south-west lake a third source and reservoir.

To include Lake Tanganyika in the same hydrographical system, as is done by Dr. Beke, is, to a certain extent, to increase the difficulties of this question. Major Burton and Captain Speke, on leaving the coast of Eastern Africa, nearly opposite Zanzibar, proceeded westwards over a low alluvial plain till they reached the coast range of mountains, which they compare to the Western Ghauts of India, and of which they ascertained the maximum altitude, where they crossed, to be about 6,000 feet. This range is manifestly a southerly prolongation of the Mountains of the Moon, and a similar coast range appears, with occasional breaks and solutions of continuity, to be prolonged by Zambesi, Port Natal, and Kaffraria, to the Cape of Good Hope. On the western side of this longitudinal range they came to an elevated plateau, ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the sea, generally more or less clothed with vegetation, and inhabited in parts, with only one central wilderness—Mgundi Mkhali—and then crossing the highlands of Uniamesi, or of the Moonland (4,040 feet at Mfuto), the descent was gradual to Lake Tanganyika, 1,800 feet above the sea. Lake Tanganyika, so far as our travellers could ascertain, had no outlet, although it



VIEW ON THE ALBARAH, OR BLACK NILE.

received the waters of several considerable streams, and it was encircled at its northern extremity by a crescent-shaped range of hills, of the estimated height of 6,000 feet or more, which Captain Speke was led to mistake for the Alexandrian geographer—Ptolemy's—Snowy Mountains of the Moon. The chief affluent to this lake, and indeed the only well-determined one, is the Malagarazi, which is said to have its sources in the mountains of Urundi, that is, part of the Eastern Ghauts of Africa, at no great distance from the Kitangure, or River of Karagwah, which flows into Victoria-Nyanza. "But while the latter," Major Burton says, "springing from the upper counter-slope, feeds the Nyanza, or Northern Lake, the Malagarazi, rising in the lower slope of the equatorial range, trends to the south-east, till it becomes entangled in the decline of the Great Central African Depression—the hydrographical basin first indicated in his address of 1852 by Sir R. I. Murchison, President of the R. G. S. of London." What Major Burton meant was Great Central African Hydrographical Plateau Table-land, or Elevation, not Depression. Sir R. I. Murchison's words, as since corroborated by Livingstone, at Lake Dilolo, and the head-waters of the Zambesi, in the west, are quite clear as to the Equatorial African Interior being "a vast watery plateau-land, of some elevation above the sea, but subtended on the east and west by much higher grounds, from which



A MARKET DAY IN THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

the interior waters escape by deep lateral gorges." Lake Tanganyika, about 300 feet long, by 30 or 40 miles broad, and as Major Burton should have said, in the decline of the great central African plateau, is alone an exception to this rule, and would constitute a vast isolated reservoir in a hollow, at about half the average height of the watery plateau, unless as is most probably the case, it has a communication with Nyassi, or "Star Lake," at all events, at the season of flood. It has already been ascertained that it has a communication at such a season with Lake Rukwa, and its waters may overflow thence to the ocean by the Rwaha, Rufiji or Lufiji River, or by "Star Lake" and the Shiré (which latter is most likely) to the sea.

Earl de Grey and Ripon advocated this latter view of the subject in his address for 1860. We cannot give his lordship's arguments in detail, but we can give the summary, which in this instance precedes the details.

"It is indeed a strange hydrological puzzle," remarks his lordship, "if a lake, situated in the damp regions of the equator, subject to a rainy season that lasts eight out of the twelve months of the year, and supplied by considerable rivers, one of which is stated to be saline, should have no outlet whatever, and yet retain its elevation unchanged, its evaporating area invariable, and also the sweetness of its waters uncompromised. We may speak to much the same effect of the Lake Shirwa, lately visited, but not yet thoroughly explored, by Dr. Livingstone. To make this matter more strange, we find the Nyassa Lake closely adjacent to the Shirwa, and not far distant from the Tanganyika, and of approximatively the same elevation, gives exit to a splendid river, the Shire, which Livingstone describes as being at its outlet one hundred and fifty yards broad, ten to twelve feet deep, and running at two and a quarter knots an hour. Lastly, there is this further unexplained peculiarity, that, contrary to the Zambesi, and to the properties of all rivers in tropical Africa, the variation in the height of the Shire in the wet and dry season does not exceed the remarkably small amount of two or three feet.

"Now, if we venture to disregard native testimony altogether on that one point in which native testimony is perpetually misleading travellers, namely, the direction of the current of a river, the facts at present before us appear not only contradictory, but even lend considerable probability to the theory that the Nyassa is connected with the *Tanganyika*, and that the Shire may be the outlet of both of them, and also to the surplus waters of the Shirwa."

Dr. Beke entertains, we have seen, a totally different view of the matter, although he advances it with the circumspection of one who prefers truth to theory, and with the wariness of a veteran geographer. After noticing the discovery of the Lakes Nyanza and Tanganyika, whence he says Ptolemy derived his two arms of the Nile, a view which, in as far as Tanganyika is concerned, we have already combated, he continues:

"Whether these two lakes do actually join the Nile, as asserted by that geographer, is a question requiring investigation. Captain Speke, when addressing the Royal Geographical Society, on his return to England, in May, 1859, expressed his opinion that Lake Nyanza is the great reservoir of the Nile. That it is so towards the south-east may be admitted, as also that it is Ptolemy's eastern lake. But it remains to be ascertained whether there are not other similar reservoirs farther westward in the interior of the continent. Indeed, we know already of Lake Tanganyika, in a position sufficiently corresponding to that of Ptolemy's western lake; only its elevation of merely 1800 feet seems to militate against its connection with the Nile, especially as it is said to be encircled and shut in at its northern extremity by a range of mountains. Still, it is not absolutely certain that Tanganyika has no outlet through or round those mountains; and besides, as the elevation of the Nile at Khartum is only 1200 feet, whilst from about 10° north latitude the main stream and its principal arms are almost on a dead level, we should be wrong in asserting the physical impossibility of a connection between the lake and the river."

It is not only, however, that the elevation of Lake Tanganyika at 1800 feet militates against its having any connection with the Nile, which is 1200 feet at Khartum, granting the stagnant character of the stream at the Bahr al Ghazal, but it is the almost insuperable objection to the existence of the great central African watery plateau between the two basins, and which attains an elevation of between 3000 and 4000 feet, of which Speke's Lunar Crescent is the outlying ridge, and which it is utterly improbable that a Tanganyika river should flow through in a channel at a lower level by one-half than the plateau itself for a distance of some hundreds of miles. We have before attempted to show that it is much more likely that Lake Victoria, which is at an altitude of 4000 feet, and, according to those Arabs whose information had hitherto proved correct, extended northwards for upwards of 300 miles, stretches in reality in a north-westerly direction to an extent of which a perfect conception has not been hitherto formed, either as a continuous sheet of water, or broken into several lakes and morasses, according to the season of the year, and constituting that portion of the great central African watery plateau from whence descend the Lat or Muj, the Nikbor, the Nam, the Alidj, the Kuwan or Apabu, and the other numerous tributaries of the Bahr al Ghazal from the south-west.

Upon this point Dr. Beke, speaking of the Bahr al Ghazal, or Keilak, says: "This river has been ascended three or four days' journey (25 to 30 leagues) in a westerly direction from its confluence with the lake, and is found to divide there into two arms, the one from the west having the appearance of an extensive lake, while the other, which is supposed to be the principal, comes from the south. The latter has been ascended as far as Dar Benda, by M. Brun-Rollet or M. Vayssière, the only Europeans who have explored these hitherto unknown regions."

There would seem thus to be several lake or morass reservoirs to the south-west. The farther westward course of the Bahr al Ghazal has not, however, been yet traced; but the river is asserted to be as large as the Tubiri itself, and from native information it would seem to have branches coming from the south-west, the west and also the north-west. When Dr. Barth was in Adamawa, he heard of a river called Ada, flowing eastward in about 8° north latitude, and 24° east longitude, which, Dr. Beke remarks, can only be a tributary of the Nam Airth. M. Jomard, in his *Observations sur le Voyage au Darfour* (*Dar-fur*) *of Sheik Muhammad al Tunsy*, describes, on the authority of M. Konig, a river named Amberkey, as being a

branch of the Gula or Kula. This must also be an affluent of the Bahr al Ghazal, if not the river noticed by Dr. Barth. Muhammad al Tunsy himself speaks of a large river named Baro running to the west of Dar-fur, which in like manner must be an affluent of the Bahr al Ghazal, and in which we find the great central name of Bari, Berri, Barri, Barro, and Boro again.

This north-westerly prolongation of the Victoria-Nyanza would also be, as before said, Ptolemy's western lake, rather than, as Beke supposes, Lake Tanganyika The great feature of this latter lake is, that it is in the decline of the watery plateau, and one half below its level, that it belongs to the hydrographical basin of the Nyassa, Shirwa, Shire, and Zambesi, and not to that of the Nile, and that the division is, as Major Burton has pointed out, where the Kitangure, or River of Karagwah springs from one slope of the Mountains of the Moon to flow to Lake Victoria, and the Malagarazi flows from the other slope to Lake Tanganyika. It is not impossible that this St. Gothard of the Mountains of the Moon is Mount Kilmandjaro; on the contrary, there is every probability that it is so. Speke's Lunar Mountains and the Karagwah in all probability constitute another watershed from which the rivulets to the south flow to Lake Tanganyika, and those to the north to Lake Victoria; but these cannot be so remote as the sources of the Kintangure, or they would extend to Lake Tanganyika, and therefore, as far as we yet know, the Kintangure constitutes the actual sources of the Nile, and these are at or near what Major Burton calls the Ethiopian Olympus, Kilima-Ngao, or Kilimandjaro.

Major Burton's account of the kingdom of Urundi is, that it has a sea-face of about fifty miles, hence it must embrace a portion of the African Ghauts, besides strips of fertile land and green hills. This region, he adds, rising from the lake in a north-easterly direction, culminates into the equatorial mass of highlands which, under the name of Karagwah, forms the western spinal promulgation of the Lunar Mountains. Elsewhere he says: The kingdom of Karagwah, which is limited on the north by the Kitangure, or Kitangule River, a great western affluent of the Nyanza Lake, occupies twelve days in traversing The usual estimate would thus give a depth of 72, and place the northern limit about 228 rectilinear geographical miles from Kazeh, or in south latitude 1° 40′. This would carry up the Kitangure so far north that its tributaries would embrace the western slopes of Mount Kenia, as well as of Kilmandjaro. Then again, he says, speaking of Karagwah, its equatorial position and its altitude enable it to represent the Central African prolongation of the Lunar Mountains Ptolemy describes this range, which he supposes to send forth the White Nile, as stretching across the continent for the distance of 10° of longitude. There may, undoubtedly, be a highland district prolonged westerly from Kilmandjaro south of Victoria-Nyanza and between it and Lake Tanganyika, and connected with Captain Speke's Lunar Mountains, but neither Major Burton's Karagwah Lunar Mountains, nor Captain Speke's Lunar Mountains, answer the description of the Alexandrian geographer so well as the lofty coast range, or African Ghauts, whose culminating points rise above the limits of the snow line. It is, however, remarkable, that both chains described by Major Burton and by Captain Speke lie in the district of Unyamesi, or the actual "Land of the Moon."

Mr. Macqueen, who places the sources of the Nile a little eastward of the meridian of 35°, and a little northward of the equator—that is, we suppose, identifies them with Krapf's Tumbiri and Barinju, flowing from the north slopes of Kenia, objects to Lake Victoria being the source or reservoir of the Nile; indeed, he says it is impossible it can be so, for it is not at a sufficiently high altitude. Now, if Dr. Beke can argue a communication between Lake Tanganyika, far south of Lake Victoria, at an altitude of 1800 feet with the Nile, which is already 1200 feet at Khartum, it is, surely, much more easy to admit a junction between Lake Victoria, which is 4000 feet, and much nearer! As to the height of the sources of the Nile, they are at present, and will probably remain yet for a long time, unknown, as Captains Speke and Grant's journey does not precisely embrace the search for them; but whether they are at the head waters of the Kitangure in the Kilmandjaro, or at those of the Tumbiri on Mount Kenia, they may be from 10,000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea.

According to Major Burton, the Victoria Nyanza is an elevated basis or reservoir, the recipient of the surplus monsoon rain, which falls in the extensive regions of the Wamasai and their kinsmen to the east, the Karagwah line of the Lunar Mountains to the west, and to the south Usukuma, or northern Unyamwezi. Extending to the equator, in the central length of the African peninsula, and elevated above the limits of the depression in the heart of the continent, it appears to be a gap in the irregular chain, which, running from Usumbara and Kilimangaro to Karagwah, represents the formation anciently termed the Mountains of the Moon. Then, further on, after a description which is manifestly not that of an eye-witness, he says, "The altitude, the conformation of the Nyanza Lake, the argillaceous colour, and the sweetness of its waters, combine to suggest that it may be one of the feeders of the White Nile." He then quotes M. Brun-Rollet, and the details supplied by the Egyptian expedition in support of the same view, and, after facetiously disposing of Krapf's Tumbiri, by intimating that, as the word Thumbiri and Thumbili means a monkey, and the people are peculiarly fond of satire in a small way, it is not improbable that the very name had no foundation of fact, he avers that it is impossible not to suspect that between the upper portion of the Nyanza and the Watershed of the White Nile there exists a longitudinal range of elevated ground, running from east to west—a furca draining northwards into the Nile, and southwards into the Nyanza Lake—like that which separates the Tanganyika from the Maravi or Nyassa of Kilwa!

The periodical swelling of the Nyanza Lake, Major Burton goes on to argue, which, flooding a considerable tract of land to the south, may be supposed—as it lies flush with the basal surface of the country—to inundate extensively all the low lands that form its periphery, forbids belief in the possibility of its being the head stream of the Nile, or the reservoir of its periodical inundation. In Karagwah, upon the western shore, the masika, or monsoon, lasts from October to May or June, after which the dry season sets in. The Nile is therefore full during the dry season, and low during the rainy season, south of and immediately upon the equator. And as the northern counter-slope of Kenia will, to a certain extent, be a lee-land, like Ugogo, it cannot have the superfluity of moisture necessary to

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send forth a first-class stream. The inundation is synchronous with the great falls of the northern equatorial regions, which extend from July to September, and is dependent solely upon the tropical rains. It is therefore probable that the true sources of the "Holy River" will be found to be a network of runnels and rivulets of scanty dimensions, filled by monsoon torrents, and perhaps a little swollen by melted snow on the northern water-parting of the Eastern Lunar Mountains.

To this long disquisition it will be sufficient to answer that the Nile is supplied from various sources, and by several large rivers, including the Black Nile, the Blue Nile, the Saubat, the Misselad, the Tubiri, or Tubarri, and others, besides the Nyanza tributary, to point out its unsatisfactory character. Granting, with Mr. Macqueen and Major Burton, that the swelling of the River Nile proceeds from the tropical rains of the northern torrid zone, as was stated emphatically to Julius Cæsar, by the chief Egyptian priest Amoreis, two thousand years ago, what is there to remove the greater part, almost the whole, of the upper hydrographical network of the Nile from the sphere of their action? There is every reason to believe that Lake Victoria extends north of the equator, and whether it is prolonged far away by a chain of lakes or morasses to the north-west of the equator, or whether the lakes and morasses of the great African watery plateau are in that direction, local and isolated, still it is certain that they would burst their limits at the time of the tropical rains, and pour down their waters by a thousand rivulets to the tributaries of the Bahr al Ghazal, coming from the south-west. Those which come from the south-east, being influenced by other phenomena of varying monsoons and melting of snow, would cause those divergencies in the rising of the White Nile which have puzzled Major Burton, but their influence upon the great point in question—the supply of the mass of affluents from the south-west—is very trifling. Add to which, Sir R. I. Murchison has shown that the periodical overflow of the waters, in whatever directions, from the great central and intertropical watery plateau of Africa, is explicable by the fact that, at certain seasons of the year, differing, of course, in different latitudes, the rainfall of several months would at last so supersaturate the interior plateau lands and lakes as to produce periodical annual discharges, the exact epoch of which at different places can only be determined by further observations.

In the words of the present vice-president of the Geographical Society, if it should eventually be proved that the Lake Nyanza (Victoria) contributes its annual surplus waters to the White Nile, so may it then be fairly considered as the main source of the great river; the more so when we see that its southern end is farther to the south, or more remote from its embouchure, than any other portion of the Nilotic water-parting. On the other hand, the high mountains which flank the great stream in the east, and probably supply it with some of its waters, may, by other geographers, be rather viewed as the main and original source.

These are the only remaining portions of the great problem which have to be worked out—a problem which it has been the desideratum of all ages to unravel, and one which, according to Lucan, made Julius Cæsar exclaim that to gain this knowledge he would even have abandoned the civil war—

> Spes sit mihi certa videndi
> Niliacos fontes bellum civile relinquam (LUCAN, lib. x.)—

a problem which Nero sent his centurions to determine, and which, by the last discovery of Captain Speke, seems certainly now to approach nearly to a satisfactory solution.

It is indeed to solve this interesting problem—which, like the relics of our lost countrymen in the Arctic regions, were, before the voyage of the *Fox*, reduced to within the limits that any practical geographer could have put his finger upon the spot, and notwithstanding the planting of the French tricolor flag at the head of a river flowing to the Indian Ocean—that Captains Speke and Grant have started once more to Eastern Africa under the best auspices. Her Majesty's government and the Royal Geographical Society have both acted liberally in supporting this expedition. Captain Speke's instructions are to make the best of his way to the point whence he before turned back, at the southern end of Lake Victoria, and thence to explore to its northern extremity, seeing whether or no it has a northern outlet. If there should be no connection between the Victoria-Nyanza and the Nile, he is to use the best of his judgment in prosecuting his search to the sources of the latter; and, finally, he is to endeavour to reach Gondokoro, the missionary settlement formerly occupied by Knoblecher, and stated to be in latitude north 4° 25'.

Mr. Petherick, her Britannic Majesty's consul at Khartum, has at the same time volunteered his services to proceed up the Nile to explore its sources, and also to aid the expedition of Captains Speke and Grant, gone by way of Zanzibar, by meeting it, if possible, on its way from Lake Victoria to the Lower Nile.

As a disquisition such as we have ventured to enter upon is not easily followed without the assistance of better maps than are yet generally attainable, we will give a tabular statement of the results, which may assist in rendering the present state of the question regarding the sources of the Nile clearer:

First Source of the Nile: Bahr al Aswad, Black River, Atbara, and Takkazye. The Nile of Elmazin, of Cantacuzene, and of Albuquerque. (A view of the subject now utterly exploded.)

Second Source of the Nile: Bahr al Azrak, Blue River. Both affluents—the Abiyad, White, and the Tacuy. Nile of the Jesuits, of Bruce, and of Mr. Cooley. (Exploded.)

Third Source of the Nile: Saubat, or Sobat. (Possible, more especially if the Barri and Tubarri are the same as the Tumbiri and Tubiri.)

Fourth Source of the Nile: The Misselad. Nile of M. Brun-Rollet.

Fifth Source of the Nile: From Vogel's Lake. Ptolemy's western lake. Giving birth at seasons of flood to affluents to the Benuwe and Niger, to the Shari and Lake Tsad, and to the Lake of Gazelles and the Nile? (Not improbable.)

Sixth Source of the Nile: Tumbiri of Krapf, Tubiri of Werne, Tubesi of the King of Barri. Nile of Krapf and Macqueen. Patico of Miani. Viewed as a tributary to the Tubiri or Tubarri, and not of the Saubat. (Possible.)

Seventh Source of the Nile: Lake Victoria, or Nyanza, and its southerly tributary, the Kitangure. (Most probable of all.)

Eighth Source of the Nile: From Lake Tanganyika, Beke's western lake of Ptolemy. (Not at all probable.)

Since the foregoing disquisition was written, the true source of the Nile has, at last, been discovered by Captain Speke. As already mentioned, the Victoria N'yanza was discovered by Captain Speke on the 30th July, 1858; and he confidently asserted, at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held in London in May 1859, that the Victoria N'yanza would eventually prove to be the source of the Nile. Sir Roderick I. Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society, at once accepted his views; and it was determined to send out Captain Speke to prosecute his investigations with all speed, so that the glory of the discovery should not be lost to England. After making due preparations, Captain Speke, accompanied by his friend Captain Grant, who asked to be allowed to go with him, embarked at Portsmouth on 27th April, 1860, for Zanzibar, which they reached on 17th August. With the assistance of Colonel Rigby, the British Consul at Zanzibar, they enlisted nearly 100 men for the expedition, to serve as a body-guard, mule-drivers, and porters.

The expedition left Zanzibar on 21st September, 1860, and crossed to Bagamoya, on the African mainland, and from thence proceeded into the interior. Captain Speke, in his interesting "Journal of the Discovery of the Source of the Nile," describes the state of the various countries through which the expedition passed. After marching through Uzaramo, Usagara, Ugoga, and the Wilderness of Mgunda Mkhali, they passed on through Unyamuezi, Usinza, Usui, Karague, and, on the 19th February, 1862, the expedition reached Uganda, which kingdom is adjacent to the Victoria N'yanza. They were detained by the king of Uganda under various pretexts, till the 7th July, when they were allowed to go forward, and the expedition proceeded to march down the northern slopes of Africa.

On the 21st July, Captain Speke states, with commendable enthusiasm, that "at last he stood on the brink of the Nile! Most beautiful was the scene; nothing could surpass it!" Again, marching forward, they reached that part of the river which the natives call the "Stones," but which Captain Speke named the "Ripon Falls."

Captain Speke then goes on to state that "the expedition had now performed its functions. I saw that old father Nile, without any doubt, rises in the Victoria N'yanza; and, as I had foretold, that lake is the great source of the holy river which cradled the first expounder of our religious belief. . . . . The most remote waters, or *top head of the Nile*, is the southern end of the lake, situated close on the third degree of south latitude; which gives to the Nile the surprising length, in direct measurement, rolling over thirty-four degrees of latitude, of above 2300 miles, or more than one-eleventh of the circumference of the globe."

The expedition next proceeded down the Nile, through Unyoro and Madi, and reached Gondokoro on 15th February, 1863. Here they were met by Captain Baker, who had come up the Nile with three vessels to look after the expedition. Captain Speke then proceeded down the Nile to Alexandria, which he reached in safety.

Captain Speke has thus solved what was a mystery for ages, and he takes high rank among explorers as the discoverer of the source of the Nile—a problem which had baffled all previous geographers, and which learned sages of many countries had for ages been vainly endeavouring to solve.

PEAK OF TENERIFFE.

VOYAGE OF [illegible]

[illegible] GENOA TO SANTIAGO [illegible]

[illegible]

VOYAGE OF DON GIOVANNI MASTAI,

HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS IX.,

FROM GENOA TO SANTIAGO, ACROSS THE PENINSULA OF SOUTH AMERICA.

1823-1824.

I.

ORIGIN OF THE MISSION—DEPARTURE FROM GENOA—THE ELOYSA AND HER CREW—NAVIGATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN—THE COAST OF CATALONIA.

IN the year 1823, South America had already acquired its political independence, but she had not yet arrived at religious pacification, being broken up into parties, consequent upon the commotions to which she had been so long subjected. In the latter years of the pontificate of Pius VII., one of the most influential men of Chili, Archdeacon Don José Ignacio Cienfuegos, was despatched to Rome by the newly constituted powers, to ask of the Holy Father to institute an apostolic mission that should reside at Santiago. The main object of the proposed mission was to smooth away the difficulties that had arisen, on more than one occasion, between the Chilian clergy and the supreme power; several members of the religious orders had even gone so far as to demand their secularisation. The mission of an apostolic vicar had thus become a matter of first necessity.

The court of Rome acceded to the request, forwarded by the representative Chambers of Chili, and assembled a special congregation, composed of six cardinals, presided over by Cardinal della Genga. The choice of this assembly fell at first upon Monseigneur Ostini, an ecclesiastic of known merits, and at that time professor of sacred science at the College of Rome. Various circumstances, however, combined to induce this learned theologian to decline an honour which he accepted first, and the congregation named, in his place, Don Giovanni Muzi, who at that epoch resided at the court of Vienna, as auditor to the apostolic nuncio. He started at once from Germany for Rome, where Pius VII. raised him to the dignity of Archbishop of the Phillippines *in partibus infidelium*. Two young ecclesiastics were deputed to accompany the archbishop and assist him in his labours, one, Don Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, at that time a simple canon, and the Abbé Giuseppe Sallusti, secretary of legation, an intelligent man, to whom we are indebted for the following account of this curious ecclesiastical excursus. It was published in Rome in the year 1827, in four volumes, in octavo, with a map, under the title, *Storia delle Missioni Apostoliche del Stato del Chile, colla Descrizione del Viaggio dal Vecchio al Nuovo Mundo fatto dal l'Autore*, opera di Giuseppe Sallusti. Don Giovanni Mastai, born at Sinigaglia on the 13th May, 1792, was at that epoch 31 years of age, he was elected archbishop of Spoleto after his return in 1827, and became sovereign pontiff in 1846.

At the reiterated request of a learned ecclesiastic from the Argentine provinces, Doctor Pacheco, the congregation, presided over by Cardinal della Genga, conferred great powers upon the new vicar-apostolic; not only was he empowered to provide for the spiritual wants of Chili and of the provinces comprising the ancient vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres, but similar powers were conferred upon him over Peru, Columbia, and the Mexican States.

The apostolic mission embarked at the port of Genoa on the 5th of October, 1823, in a French brig, called *l'Eloysa*. The vessel was in excellent condition newly coppered, a swift sailer, and the captain, Antonio Copello, had long navigated the seas of South America. He was at once an intelligent and able mariner, and an agreeable companion; his lieutenant, or, as the Italians still designate him, the pilot, was one Campodonico, also a sailor of great experience. The crew numbered 34 men, all select.

Two natives of Chili embarked at the same time with Monseigneur Muzi and Don Giovanni Mastai, and did not separate from the mission till it reached the great River La Plata. One was Don José Cienfuegos, of whom we have already spoken; the other was a young ecclesiastic of rare merits, Father Raymondo Arce, who belonged to the order of Reformed Dominicans in the city of Santiago.

All went on wonderfully pleasantly for the first few days; the wind was favourable, the arrangements made by Captain Copello for the convenience of his passengers gave every satisfaction, but the travellers were not as yet able to enter into the pleasures of the journey. If, on the one hand, they had much to hope, they had, on the other, much to cause anxiety. Thanks to the conversation of Father I. de Molina on Chili, they had been enabled to form to themselves a good idea, at Bologna, of the magnificent regions that they were about to visit. An incident, the result of which could not at that moment be foreseen, had occurred previous to their departure from Genoa; they heard there that Pius VII. had fallen from weakness in his

apartments, on the 19th of August, and that his condition was such, after the lapse of three days from the occurrence, as to leave no hopes of his recovery, indeed he died before their departure, and immediately upon his death the conclave had assembled and had elected Leon XII. in his place.

The progress of the brig at the same time met with a sad check in the occurrence of one of those dead calms well known to sailors, but very imperfectly understood by those who have not been to sea. The vessel, although making no way, is still balloted about in every direction, as if at the mercy of the waves, and this movement is more creative than any other of that inexpressible feeling of discomfort from which many suffer more even than from a serious illness. Don Giovanni Mastai was in this category, and the one who suffered more than any other member of the mission. This sad indisposition attained with him such a degree of intensity as to utterly deprive him of all strength, and leave him prostrate for several days.

At length, on the 7th of October, the wind having freshened up, they were borne across the Gulf of Lyons, and on the 9th were going along with a favourable breeze at the rate of ten knots a hour. The Island of Minorca was soon passed, and the lofty peaks, and the high and rugged rocks of Mont Serrat, at the base of which are so many humble sanctuaries, were detected, presenting an agreeable contrast to the grandiose mountains to which they cling for support. The mission were still in the enjoyment of this imposing and admirable spectacle, when a terrible south-west wind arose, and the *libeccio*, so dreaded on the coast of Italy, came on to blow in all its fury. Carried away by the tempest, the ship was soon borne past the shores of Catalonia, and became a plaything in the storm off the port of Valencia, in which it would gladly have sought refuge, had it not been that the bad feeling of the Spanish authorities was more to be dreaded even than the tempest, for the countries to which the Holy See was despatching a mission, were at that time deemed to be in open rebellion against the mother government. The *libeccio* in the meantime did not cease to rage; on the contrary, the tempest seemed to gain in strength, and no alternative remained but to seek refuge in some port of that country which they were so anxious to avoid contact with. They were at this moment not far from Majorca, so the resolution was come to to seek shelter in the harbour of Palma, and it was then that, on the very onset of the mission, that long series of vexations, annoyances, and contrarieties which befel it, had their first origin.

After having been long tossed by the winds, after having seen themselves driven from Valencia to Ivica, a formidable group of rocks that threatened proximate destruction, at length the *Elonysa* anchored on the 14th of October in the safe and calm harbour of Palma, in which no tempest was ever dreaded, and whence the pious travellers could contemplate with feelings of admiration that splendid cathedral, the magnificence of whose architecture is rendered visible, by its position, to a great distance.

II.

Palma in Majorca—The Members of the Mission imprisoned in the Lazaretto, or Quarantine.

The authorities of the island were in commotion on seeing the Sardinian flag floating from the brig driven into the harbour by stress of weather, the officers of health at once paid a visit to the ship, and Monseigneur Muzi found himself obliged to land forthwith. He selected Don Giovanni Mastaï, who had scarcely recovered from his sufferings, to accompany him, leaving the Abbé Sallusti on board.

The prelate descended into a boat alongside, and was soon rowed ashore; but no sooner had he and his companion landed than they were hurried to the lazaretto, and, despite their remonstrances, and without regard to their holy character, they soon heard the treble bolts of this formidable prison closed upon them. The news of this strange arrestation soon spread to the *Elonysa*, and, as may be easily imagined, caused a universal consternation. The Abbé Sallusti never hesitated a moment in going on shore to share the captivity of his companions.

This occurred on the 16th of October. On the 17th the three united members of the mission were subjected to a first interrogatory, not like that to which travellers coming from afar, and who may have infringed some of the laws of quarantine, are subjected, but a real judicial inquiry, to which criminals of the deepest dye are alone exposed, and concerning whose guilt there could be no doubts. The Abbé Sallusti has given a graphic description of this strange scene, and we will let him speak:—

Everything was disposed for the great Sanhedrin (he says), and the new Prætor of Pilate had taken up his station at the very entrance of the lazaretto. It was there that the alcade[1] of the city took his place, assuming at the same time a most forbidding aspect, and putting on the most threatening looks. The presidency devolved upon him, in fact, from his qualification as a judicial authority. It was with an air of majesty a thousand times more imposing than what would have been assumed by any Roman pro-consul that he addressed the questions to us which we were expected to answer. By his side were two other ministers of justice, with physiognomies just as severe, and whose fierce aspect chilled us with apprehensions, and made us tremble. A notary, of spare features and fragile frame, and of a generally cadaverous appearance, having great resemblance to a Pharisee, was also there to register the questions and the answers.

When everything was ready, a little wooden stool was placed in the midst of this synagogue of persons so ill disposed towards us, upon which Monseigneur Muzi took his place first, and each of us afterwards, but in succession (the worthy Abbé says alternately), in order to pass through the examination to which we were subjected; but before the interrogatory commenced, we had to go through the fumigations inspired by a dread of the plague. This over, we were successively interrogated by the supreme judge as to our country, the position we filled in it, and the object of our mission. They wanted to know if we had political objects in view in going to America. To all these questions categorical answers were given, and in the most perfect good faith, on our part. Long answers were not permitted; nor would it [illegible] been prudent on our part to have entered into long details: yes or no, were all that were required when it was possible, and in reality it was the best answer to give when one was desirous of not being compromised. We were not permitted to remain together during the examination, but the locality was so disposed that the words ad

[1] From the Moorish Al Kadi (the judge).

dressed to each of us were distinctly heard, and we were thus enabled to ascertain, when the proceeding was over, that our answers had been the same, which in reality could not have failed to be the case, for we had spoken nothing but the truth.

The sitting was not prolonged, and the three passengers of the *Eloysa* withdrew in good spirits. Admission to the town was no longer forbidden to them. Nevertheless, the magistrates of Palma, believing themselves to be invested with a power which they certainly had not, exerted themselves to their utmost to put a stop, as they themselves admitted, to a mission so opposed to the sovereignty of their government. They denied that the Holy See had the right to send to the South Americans spiritual aid, so long sought for and asked for by the populations emancipated by victory. They even went further; they summoned the envoy from Chili to come and at once give an account of the motives that influenced them, and to render an account of them before their tribunal. Don José Cienfuegos and Father Raymonde Arce declined to make their appearance, and refused to leave the ship. This firm resistance on their part had the best effects. It gave time for the consul of Sardinia to interfere, and the Bishop of Palma having also interfered in favour of the missionaries, the negotiation, which threatened to render the sojourn of the *Eloysa* in Europe eternal, was brought to an end, and the reverend fathers were permitted to embark.

A delay of three days in this little hospitable island had now forcibly taken place, and, in the interval, the Mediterranean had not yet subsided into its ordinary quietude; once more the vessel was driven into the neighbourhood of Ivica, whence it was obliged to retrograde. Once more the shores of Catalonia came in sight, and the wind continuing to freshen, they soon found themselves off the rocky coast of the ancient kingdom of Valencia. The Italians and the descendants of the Castilians compared their reminiscences; the old Spanish legends which have made the circuit of the globe, translated into all languages, could not fail to obtrude upon the thoughts of the pious travellers, and they saluted the land of the Cid. This splendid panorama continued to unrol itself before them; they could contemplate at their ease the enchanted region whence Isabella drove Boabdil. They could distinguish Malaga with its magnificent vineyards, and many other cities adorned with flowering plants and palm-trees; and it was not till some time after that they ultimately passed the Straits, beyond which they felicitated themselves as being out of the reach of further misadventures. Gibraltar, seen by night, had appeared to them sparkling with a thousand lights, like an illuminated city. The day of the 28th was passed not far from this immense fortress, at a spot where they were most hospitably and kindly received and entertained, and whence they set forth to enter upon the great ocean.

III.

Navigation to Teneriffe—The Expedition in Trouble—Corsairs of Columbia—Cape Verd Islands.

For a time all was admiration. The coast of Morocco presented itself in all its varied and picturesque aspects; the *Eloysa* made good way, and soon the sight of land was altogether lost. With the open sea, came, however, turbulent weather, and all the party were laid up again. Don José Cienfuegos was so ill that he requested to be set down at the Canary Islands. This was so much the more to be regretted, as it was he who had solicited that the mission should be sent, and without his experience it would be of no avail when it reached the end of its journey. Yet the continuance of bad weather kept aggravating his sufferings. On the 3rd of November, the storm attained so much violence that the ship was threatened with destruction. The *Eloysa*, we are told, was solely indebted for its escape to the promptitude of the Captain, and the rapidity of his manœuvres. Luckily, as if the tempest had attained a crisis, the weather became milder the next day, just as the Peak of Teneriffe was coming in sight.

The aspect of this justly celebrated volcanic cone, rising, with its acclivities of rock and verdure, and its summit of snow, as it were, right out of the ocean, equalled in majesty only by the skies above, which lavish their splendour on it, served for a moment to distract the reverend fathers from their sufferings. A sudden calm had succeeded to the tempest; the sea was still agitated but the wind had fallen. For two days the travellers drifted in sight of this great mountain (*See* page 212); for two successive evenings did they enjoy the magnificent sight of the setting sun illuminating the lofty peak in the most brilliant radiance.[1] Still the breeze kept sinking, the surface

[1] Teneriffe, or more properly Tenerife, called Chinerfe by the original inhabitants, the Guanches, is the largest and most important of the Canary Islands. Its length from south-west to north-east is about sixty miles. Towards the south-eastern extremity it is nearly thirty miles across, but it grows gradually narrower towards the north-east, being near that extremity hardly more than five miles wide. In Humboldt's travels, the area of the island is stated to be 75 maritime square leagues, or 897 English square miles; but according to a more recent estimate the area is 83·805 Spanish square leagues, or 1012 English square miles, which is nearly equal to the area of Cheshire. About one-seventh of the area (comprehending 100,000 acres, or 156·25 miles) is available for agricultural purposes. The remainder is covered with lava and other volcanic productions, and a great part is destitute of vegetation; a small portion only is covered with trees. The highest ground of the island is the Peak of Teneriffe, called by the inhabitants Peak of Teyde, which name is derived from Echeyde, by which term the Guanches meant hell.

This mountain is situated towards the north-western part of the island, and is a volcano with two summits, of which the south-eastern, and more elevated, called Piton, is 11,916 feet above the sea-level, and the north-western, Mount Chahorra, is 9888 feet. Their bases are united by a short ridge, which is somewhat lower than the summit of Mount Chahorra. Both summits are extinct volcanoes. The crater of the Piton, called Caldera, is of oblong shape and only 300 feet long from south-east to north-west, and 200 feet in the opposite direction.

It is distinguished by a high circular wall, which surrounds it, and which would prevent access to the crater, if it were not broken down on its western side. The depression of the crater does not exceed 160 feet. The crater of Mount Chahorra is very large, as it takes more than an hour to go round it, it is about 140 feet deep. It is not on record that volcanic matter has issued from either of them; they are at present only solfataras, from the crevices of which sulphuric vapours are continually arising. But to the west of Mount Chahorra are four volcanic cones, from which, in 1798, great quantities of lava flowed and covered the adjacent tracts. In 1706 a great quantity of lava issued from the north-eastern side of the ridge which unites the Piton to Mount Chahorra. These lavas reached the sea, and almost filled the harbour of Garrachico, which up to that time was the best or, more properly speaking, the only harbour in the island. Very elevated volcanic masses extend from Mount Chahorra in a north-west direction to the Punta de Jena which is the most elevated cape of the island. These masses rise to 7000 feet above the

of the sea was not even rippled, and the heat had become almost unapportable. Carried away by currents, of the force and direction of which (at that epoch of navigation) the captain was utterly ignorant, the brig was gradually approaching the coast, and the danger of its position became imminent. A stout cable was hoisted out in the ship's boat, and the vessel was kept off the rocks by dint of hard rowing. The vigorous sailors of the *Eloysa* bore off the ship triumphant from all danger. At the very moment a breeze sprang up that made her bound over the bosom of the waters, and this first burst was succeeded by a gentle wind that enabled them to steer peaceably in the midst of this happy archipelago, of which they saw almost every island in succession, each having its own beauties wherewith to delight the eyes and rivet the attention.

On the night of the 5th the little town of Santa Cruz was still visible in the distance, or to speak more correctly, its lights shone from afar. Night had come on, and the passengers were all fast asleep, when the sound of the speaking trumpet as suddenly roused them all up. The Genoese brig found itself in the presence of an armed frigate. The tales of horror that were at that time in circulation regarding the Columbian corsairs rendered their being awoke under such circumstances anything but agreeable. It was known that only a few months previously the crew of a Genoese ship, having been made prisoners by these buccaneers, had been plundered of everything, and then abandoned on a desert island, with a sack of biscuit for all provisions. It was actually a Columbian corsair whom Captain Copello was addressing in the night through his speaking trumpet, and that we are not told why—in the English language—but luckily the visit was as rapid as it was threatening. The corsair captain caused the papers to be shown, examined the log-book, and expressed his satisfaction at the peaceable character of the *Eloysa* and her crew and passengers,—a satisfaction which was further cemented by a bottle of excellent Malaga.

The further progress of the light brig was, after that, interrupted by few incidents. The ship's cook had an unfortunate habit of carbonizing his viands and burning his sauces, a thing not to be tolerated when there was such good Malaga on board with which to wash them down. So one day the captain announced that as a last alternative, and for sake of example to his successor, he must be shot. Poor Girolamo Passadore, who took this matter seriously, trembled in all his limbs in presence of the musketeers mounted on the deck, and it required all the compassionate tenderness of Don Giovanni Mastai, and of the other passengers, to put a pleasant end to the comedy, which was only authorized by old customs, for they were now in the neighbourhood of the Tropics, where practical jokes of a rather hazardous character are too often indulged in. They soon reached Cape de Verd islands, and admired their splendid vegetation, but they did not effect a landing.

IV.

A Slaver—Man Overboard—False Alarm—Nearing the American Continent.

On the 8th of December, after having passed the Line, the members of the mission were witnesses of one of those painful scenes which were so common at that epoch, but which, be it said to the honour of humanity, are less frequent in our own days. Detained by a perfect calm, they had sought for distraction in catching sharks, but this failing to afford the expected

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sea level. The Peak of Teyde is surrounded on the south-west, south, and south east, by an uninterrupted ridge of mountain masses, which form a semicircle, and are about three miles from its base. These mountains are very steep towards the volcano. On the other side only single mountains occur. The tract which lies between the base of the volcano and the semicircle is called Los Llanos de las Retamas, from a plant called retama, nearly the only plant which vegetates on this tract, which is covered with pumice-stones. Its surface is uneven, but has a regular slope from the base of the volcano towards the masses forming the semicircle. Near the base of the volcano it is about 8000 feet, and near the semicircle, about 6000 feet above the sea. The mountains forming the semicircle rise from 1000 to 1800 feet above their base. It is supposed that the Peak de Teyde, and the mountains that belong to it, cover an area of 120 square miles.

From the outer edge of the semicircle the country descends in rapid and broken slopes towards the sea on the west and on the north, but on the south and east the semicircle is surrounded by table-lands, whose surface is likewise much broken, but which at the distance of several miles preserve an elevation between 4000 and 6000 feet above the sea. These table-lands are most extensive to the east, where they terminate about twenty miles from the semicircle on the Plain of Laguna. These table-lands, and the volcano, taken together, probably cover nearly half the island. In many places the table lands and the slopes of the hills, which cover it, are overgrown with pines, but the greater part consists of bare volcanic rocks of lava. No part of them is cultivated, with the exception of a small portion in the vicinity of Chasna, south of the semicircle where corn is grown, and where there are extensive plantations of fruit trees. On the edge of the table land, west of Guinea, is a small volcano which made an eruption in 1705.

The Plain of Laguna is traversed by 16° 20′ W. longitude. West of that plain the cultivable country is found only near the sea, and from three to four miles from it, with the exception of the table land of Chasna, which is more than eight miles distant.

The cultivable tract along the sea is so uneven that it is almost impossible to find a square mile which can be called level. A portion of it rising in steep and sharp ridges cannot be cultivated, but where the declivities are moderate, the soil generally repays the labour bestowed on it. The most fertile tract is on the north side of the island, between Tegina and San Juan de la Rambla, especially west of Santa Ursula, which portion is called the Valley of Taoro. The soil consists of a mixture of sand, volcanic matter, and some clay, and produces rich crops of wheat and all kinds of fruit, especially grapes. West of San Juan de la Rambla are a few fertile valleys, but a great part of the country is covered with recent lava. The most sterile part lies along the west coast between Punta de Teno and Punta Roxa, where there are only a few narrow valleys, and where a tract several miles in length on both sides of Puerto de los Christianos is quite barren. Between Punta Rosa and Santa Cruz there are several fine valleys, which have a fertile soil, composed of decomposed pumice-stone, and tufa, intermixed with gravel; but their fertility cannot be compared with that of the Valley of Taoro, which is mainly to be ascribed to the smaller quantities of rain which fall on the southern shores.

The plains of Laguna occupies the middle of the island near 16° 20′ W. long; it is about 1700 feet above the sea, and inclosed by hills; the surface is nearly a dead level, occupying a space of about twelve square miles. After the rains it is partly covered with water, and hence is derived its name. The soil consists of a reddish clay, and produces abundant crops of grain, but no part of it is covered with trees.

The eastern portion of the island, or the peninsula which extends east of the Plain of Laguna, is only hilly in comparison with the western portion, as the highest summit, the Hufadero, rises only to 3069 feet above the sea level. In this part no traces of lava and volcanic cones occur, the hills consist mostly of black basalt; the valleys are numerous but narrow. These valleys and the adjacent hills are cultivated and planted with trees, where the surface is not too steep; they produce the finest fruits in the island. The country descends gradually towards the east, and Punta de Anaga is only elevated a little above the sea-level.

solace, a visit was resolved upon to a brig, which was lying, like the *Eloysa*, like a log upon the sea. Some apprehensions had been entertained at first that she was a corsair, but her peaceable attitude having assured them to the contrary, a visit of officers and passengers was effected, and she was found to be a fast-sailing brig, encumbered with negro slaves, destined for the market of Rio Janeiro. Completely naked, or with only a thin scarf round the loins, these poor creatures were tied two by two, and another thick rope bound several couples together; and what is more terrible to relate, there was no relief to their sufferings; all day long they were exposed to the ardour of a tropical sun's rays, and by night they sought for sleep in the same places on deck, treated in every way precisely like cattle.

Comparing notes as to the presumed geographical position in which the two ships were placed, considerable difference of opinion was found to exist. The captain of the slaver asserted that, according to his calculations, they were about forty-five miles from Cape St. Thomas, in about 22° S. lat., and in the neighbourhood of the coast of Brazil. This opinion was, on the other side, declared to be erroneous. According to the observations made on board the *Eloysa*, they were at a much greater distance from the Cape; but as some error of calculation might have crept in in consequence of the numerous tempests to which they had been exposed, and which had not permitted them to take the sun's height sometimes for days, and thus correct their ship's reckoning, they deemed it wise to take precautions and give as wide a berth as possible to the said Cape St. Thomas; they soon found, however, that they had been misinformed, and the *Eloysa* had great trouble in recovering its route. The calm was succeeded also by bad weather, in which no observations could be obtained, add to which the water had gone bad, and, owing to the long detentions and adverse winds, the ship's provisions had run out. A "deplorable parsimony," we are told, reigned at the repasts, where nothing was to be obtained but starved fowls and potatoes. And thus this untoward navigation was prolonged for several weeks, but without, we are also told, any incidents occurring worthy of being reported.

They were at length approaching the coast of America, when on the 16th of December, after a delicious day, one of those terrible winds that come from Cape Horn, began to blow with a violence which they were destined to experience again before they landed. On the 17th it abated a little, but only to recommence on the 19th with greater force than before, and the *Eloysa* drove before it at the rate of nine knots an hour. The same evening they were visited for the first time by the birds which the Portuguese call, in remembrance of a melancholy legend, *as almas perdidas*, or "the lost souls," and the appearance of which is always the signal of frightful tempests. The captain and the lieutenant did not disguise from the passengers that they were going to have very bad weather. On the morning of the 21st of December, the sea became extraordinarily turbulent, and the waves rolled mountains high, and on the 22nd the tempest had attained the acme of its fury.

The missionaries had gathered together in the common room, and were engaged in prayer, when an unusually heavy sea, striking the ship on her flanks, threw Don Giovanni Mastai against the beams opposite with frightful violence, and it was a miracle that he did not inflict some sad injury upon Father Raymondo Arce, who was praying opposite to him. Pietro Plomer, one of the owners of the vessel, and Don José Cienfuegos, were almost equally ill-treated, but happily no more serious accident supervened.

Towards the end of the day the wind still blew hard, but they had succeeded in sitting themselves down to table as well as they could, when towards the middle of their repast, devoured in all haste, the voice of Captain Copello reached the ears simultaneously of all the passengers, and threw them into consternation: "Let go a boat!—a boat, quick!" More active than the other guests, the Abbe Sallusti hastened to the deck; the ship had been backed, and with her head to the wind no longer held her course, but remained pretty nearly in the same spot buffeted by winds and waves. The narrator of the voyage naïvely admits that he thought that his last hour was come. He was about to hurry back to seize upon a great coat in order that he might also get into a boat, when he learnt the cause of the tumult. The quarter-master of the ship, Paolino Canassa by name, had gone forward to take soundings a short time previous, and was in the act of casting the lead, when suddenly a heavy wave had struck the bows of the ship, and had carried him far away. A hen-coop had been thrown out to him, and this was followed by a dog's kennel, a fragment of a mast, and other objects that first came to hand, but the unfortunate Canassa was already a third of a mile off, and his loss seemed certain. The terrible confusion that reigned on board had very naturally communicated itself to those below, and had occasioned among those who were there assembled the most singular illusions. Some fancied that they could distinguish among the shouts of the sailors, the Spanish cry, "Tierra, tierra;" others thought they heard, "Guerra, guerra," and the remembrance of the corsairs had come very forcibly to their mind. It turned out, in fact, that the word "Tierra" had been launched across the waves to the poor swimmer, for they were not at that time a very great distance from the shore. Don Giovanni Mastai was the only one who saw the shipwrecked man buffeted by the waves, and he had cried out, "God! O my God!" And then he had hastened on deck to help in the salvage. All this tumult was destined, however, to have an end; the ship's boat had in the meantime been lowered and launched, three gallant sailors had got into the frail embarcation, and braving the heavy sea, they succeeded in reaching the swimmer at a distance of two miles from the ship, at a time when his strength was almost utterly exhausted. It was not, however, without the greatest trouble and exertions, the sea ran so high, that they could get him into the boat; more than once they were nearly all being buried in the same watery tomb, but at length, after an hour's anxious suspense, the passengers were enabled to embrace the gallant Paolino Canassa.

With the exception of this untoward accident, which kept the passengers for the rest of the day under an emotion that it is easy to understand, the 23rd of December passed over like other days, only as evening came on the wind increased in fury, and the ship was obliged to lay to. In order to avoid the great seas that struck her, and the effects of which were not without danger, the passengers were ordered down below, and as everything had to be made as close and

tight as possible, the heat became so exceedingly great, and was mixed up with such mephitic exhalations, that they felt as if they were doomed to be stifled.

During the whole night the wind continued to blow with the same violence, the ship still lay to, buffetted by wind and waves, the land was supposed to be at no considerable distance, and there was momentary danger of being carried upon a shoal or striking against a rock; never indeed had the brig been as yet in such imminent peril. The rain poured in torrents, and the wind roared frightfully, but luckily the crew preserved their courage, and, holding up against the storm, so manœuvred the ship as to carry her safely through it. Such was the violence of the tempest that the captain, although so old and experienced a sailor, declared that he had never witnessed anything like it, and M. Pietro Plomer, who had been four times between Europe and America, was taken utterly aback. They almost believed that a terrible submarine earthquake had something to do with this extraordinary commotion.

Not one of the passengers could obtain the slightest rest; Monseigneur Muzi sat up all night, Don Giovanni Mastai was a victim to a fearful attack of sickness; and at day-break the tempest continued with undiminished fury, nay, if possible, was worse than ever. The wind blew from the south-west, the vessel continued to ship great seas, and the unfortunate passengers were obliged to remain in their horrible confinement, without any fresh air. In this sad position it was not even a question of comforting themselves with the poverty-stricken ordinary that was daily served on board of the *Eloysa:* the poor cook, Girolamo Passadore, who, thanks to the merciful interference of the passengers, had certainly no fear of being put to death, had got up as far as the deck in the morning, and having had but one glance at the terrific conflict of elements, had gone back at once to his hammock, and did not make his appearance again that day. The passengers had to content themselves with the same pittance that was served out to the sailors.

V.

Christmas Festivities on board of the Eloysa—Capture of a Falcon—Nearing Land and Entrance into the Rio de la Plata.

The wind had ceased to blow so violently, the waters had moderated their fury. Nothing remained but that ponderous swell which signalises with so much majesty the end of a tempest; it was Christmas, and with that solemn festival hope seemed to revive. Monseigneur Muzi celebrated midnight mass with all the pomp of circumstances that the occasion would admit of, but the sea was still in such a state of commotion that few present could keep their legs. The next morning Don Giovanni Mastai celebrated mass in his turn, after him Father Raymondo Arce and the Abbé Salusti closed the proceedings of this holy day.

A fresh breeze made itself felt the whole of the 26th, which seemed to announce the proximity of the coast, but it was in vain the lead was cast; no bottom.

The ca[illegible] pursued his course, therefore, without apprehensions. A novel source of amusement presented itself in shooting sea-falcons that now first showed themselves. One of these birds, instead of flying away when fired at, only took up a position in the rigging, whence it would seem as if a better aim could be obtained. It was accordingly spared, and having finally taken refuge in the poop, it was captured by the lasso. This beautiful bird resembled the European falcon, only that its bearing was more majestic, its look was more imperious, and its great brown wings presented a greater expanse.

As the day advanced the lead gave indications of forty-seven fathoms with sandy bottom, at midnight there were only thirty-seven, and at last, on the 27th, at three o'clock in the evening, a sailor who was aloft gave the signal, land! A thousand hurrahs, a thousand shouts of joy welcomed the glad intelligence, the Genoese sailors took off their caps, and all united to salute the land they had be[illegible] so anxiously looking for for now three months.

The first point of the coast that they made out was the Isla de Lobos, the next was Cape Santa Maria. Seal Island was at that epoch completely desert, and only frequented by occasional fishermen, who came to hunt the wolves and lions of the sea, as the seals of the Southern Ocean have been variously designated. Cape Saint Mary was visible to the north, and was dotted with cottages, the abode, apparently, of peasants and fishermen. The portions of this point of land the most peopled are precisely the two extremities: the one to the south, the other the north; in front is the rock called Las Animas, in memory of an old Indian tradition, which designated the low but forest-clad mountain to which it had attached the name as the abode of spirits.

There are no less than forty leagues to traverse from Cape Santa Maria to Cape San Antonio. This is the immense space that geographers persist in considering as the mouth of the Rio de la Plata; but the Abbé Sallusti argues, that it partakes more of the character of a gulf than of the mouth of a river.

The night of the 27th passed without the *Eloysa* making any additional way towards the Maldonado, Las Animas, or the Sugar Loaf; the lead only indicated fourteen fathoms water, and it would have been dangerous to have advanced farther without the aid of a pilot. Notwithstanding the perfect calm that reigned during the day of the 28th, events soon proved how prudent the delay had been. Towards evening a horrible tempest succeeded to this deceitful quiet, and the situation became all the more critical, as, whilst slowly making its way, the ship was navigating in dangerous waters. On one side there was the coast to dread, and the other the "*banco de los Ingleses*," upon which so many ships are lost; the captain could not, indeed, conceal his anxiety, for he had recognised threatening signs in the aspect of the atmosphere. The typhoon did not, however, declare itself, and the *Eloysa* kept creeping on, but no sooner had it neared the shoals of the English than the formidable and dreaded wind that comes from the plains, and has taken its name from them—the pampero—came on to blow with the most fearful violence. This obliged them to put about, and they sought shelter behind the Island of Flores, where they were in hopes of finding at once a shelter from the wind, and a sufficient protection against the almost irresistible current of the river. The Island of Flowers, the Abbé Sallusti remarks, has received that name in irony, for it was found to consist of two rocks totally void of all vegetation whatsoever, and upon which are to be seen only a few poor fishermen's huts. It was behind these rocks,

MONTE VIDEO IN URUGUAY.

where there were about seven fathoms of water, that the *Eloysa* let go her chief anchor; the two rocks certainly gave some protection against the current, but they afforded none against the fury of the hurricane. It is impossible to form a conception of the violence of this south-west wind, called the pampero, unless by experience. It is at once, in the words of another traveller, the hurricane of the West Indies, and the whirlwind of the Great Deserts of the Sahara. "I have seen," says the writer here quoted, "a black cloud arise in mid-day like a dense curtain, which after having imparted a livid colour to the sun, enlarged, expanding rapidly on the horizon, obscuring the atmosphere so that it was impossible to distinguish the nearest objects. This was the signal for the tempest. The cloud would suddenly burst, and would break into a thousand jagged heaps, out of which would blow the irresistible storm, but, instead of rain, it would be accompanied by a white dust, not unlike the cinders of a volcano."[1] The pampero continued to blow upon them with its characteristic fury; the situation of the *Eloysa* was becoming critical, and it became a matter of imperious necessity to gain the open sea; but it was in vain that all hands were turned to raising the anchor, it resisted all and every effort; there only remained one chance of safety, and that was to cut the cable, an operation which we are told was performed with equal coolness and dexterity by the ship's carpenter, assisted by a seaman. The brig was then let go before the wind, she seemed to be carried away by a power like that of thunder, and she was soon far away beyond the reach of rocks and shoals. By day-break the *Eloysa* was once more in the open sea, out of the Rio de la Plata, and upwards of eighty miles from the Island of Flowers.

VI.

THE ELOYSA MAKES ITS WAY BACK INTO THE RIO DE LA PLATA — ARRIVES OFF MONTE VIDEO — FALLS IN WITH A SHIPWRECKED VESSEL — THE ELOYSA SAVES, BY ITS SIGNALS, TWO ENGLISH SHIPS FROM THE SAME FATE — FURIOUS GALE — NEW DANGERS — CLOUD OF MOSQUITOES.

THE *Eloysa* was obliged to remain a whole day out in the open sea, and when the storm abated it went to such extremes as not to leave sufficient wind wherewith to make their way back again; and when a breeze did spring up, it soon rose once more to the formidable character of the most formidable of pamperos, so that the perplexed and baffled captain could not help exclaiming: "The end of the world is assuredly come; it will soon be all over with us!" The gloomy opinions entertained by the captain were also shared by the pilot, but at mid-day the pampero ceased to blow, a favourable wind sprung up, and the *Eloysa* once more made its way into the river.

Upon this occasion it passed buoyantly over the same water that it had previously followed, was carried safely by the pilot's skill past the dreaded English sands, already so notorious for its catastrophes, and where the packet-boat of Monte Video, so familiar with these coasts as to have little to dread, was destined to perish soonafter, with thirty-six passengers. After having crossed this dangerous bar, which was indeed the common grave of seamen, the *Eloysa* reached Monte Video in safety on the morning of the 1st of January, 1824.[2]

The harbour of Monte Video is formed by a kind of bay; it is a sheet of water entering into the land, and has thus additional safety given to it: to the east is a beautiful plain, covered with rural habitations, and admirably cultivated; to the west is the city. (*See* p. 221) The Genoese brig only stopped at this place time sufficient to replace its anchor and obtain the services of a practical pilot. The apostolic mission was nevertheless visited by the principal inhabitants. The chanter, accompanied by four ecclesiastics, presented itself before the archbishop of the Phillipines, and they were followed by two Dominicans, one belonging to Chili and the other to Lima; and the same evening, the wind being favourable, the *Eloysa* continued its voyage.[3]

[1] *Arsène Isabelle, Voyage à Buenos-Ayres et à Porto-Allegre.* Le Havre, 1835.

[2] There is a curious passage in the work of Francisco Albo, which records one of the earliest voyages of circumnavigation ever accomplished in respect to the name of this place. "Beyond the Cape (Saint Mary) is a mountain shaped like a *sombrero*, to which we gave the name of Monte Video, and which has since been corrupted into Santo Vidio This is the Monte Video of our own times." (See Fernandez de Navarrete, *Coleccion de Documentos, y Viages*, t. iv.)

[3] Monte Video is the capital of the republic of Uruguay, or Banda Oriental, in South America. It is built on a small promontory, which forms the eastern shore of its harbour; the western consisting of another projecting point connected with a hill, from which the town has received its name. It is 130 miles from Cape St. Mary, which forms the northern point of the entrance of the La Plata river, and opposite the town the river is still seventy miles wide. Its harbour is more than four miles long, and more than two miles wide, but too shallow for large vessels; it is also exposed to the *pamperos*, or south-western winds, which blow over the extensive plains, called *pampas*, with exceedingly great force. With all these disadvantages, it is the best harbour on the broad estuary of the La Plata river. The town is, in general, well built, the streets being wide, straight, and intersecting each other at right angles; they are paved, and have narrow footways. The houses are built with taste, and have flat roofs and parapets. The cathedral, dedicated to the apostles, San Felipe and San Jago, is not distinguished by its architecture, nor are there any other public buildings of note. Monte Videc is a very healthy place, but suffers from want of wood and water. The inhabitants use rain-water, which is collected in cisterns placed in the court-yard of each house; but there are also some wells dug near the sea-shore, from which water is brought in carts for the supply of the town. The population, which, before 1810, is stated to have amounted to 30,000, or even 36 000 souls, was reduced by war and a siege, which the town had to sustain against the Brazilians, to 15 000 souls; but it has probably again increased during the last ten years. Its commerce is increasing. The principal articles of export are the produce of the numerous herds of the country, as hides, salted and jerked beef, tallow, and horns, to a very considerable amount.

The so-called Banda Oriental was formerly the name of that portion of the vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres which was situated to the east of the River Uruguay, and comprehending the present Republica del Uruguay Oriental, and the country called the Seven Missions. Lying between the great body of the Spanish possessions and Brazil, it was, at the commencement of nearly every war between the Spaniards and Portuguese, occupied by the latter, but, at the conclusion of peace, entirely or in part restored to the former. When Buenos Ayres declared itself independent of Spain, the whole belonged to the then vice-royalty of Buenos Ayres; but the continual civil wars by which the declaration of independence was followed in Buenos Ayres induced the government of Brazil to take possession of the Banda Oriental in 1816. The republic of Buenos Ayres protested against this step, and, as no amicable settlement could be made, a war began between Buenos Ayres and Brazil in 1825, which was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1828. By the articles of this treaty, the northern district of the Banda Oriental, or the Seven Missions, was incorporated with the empire of Brazil, and the larger southern part declared an independent republic, which took the name of Republica del Uruguay Oriental.

The night proved propitious, and on the morning of the 2nd of January they reached the point where the waters are no longer salt. They were then between Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; the river had not at that epoch been carefully surveyed as it has since been, and the lead had to be kept going momentarily for fear of shoals. Towards noon the hulk of a frigate, of which the stern and masts alone appeared above the water, sufficiently testified that the precautions taken, and which might now appear to be so uncalled for, were not altogether useless. The *Eloysa* lay to for the night near the wreck. The very day ensuing, the *Eloysa* was the happy means of saving two English ships, who, not perceiving the place where the frigate had been lost, were going right upon the sands.

The little brig continued its course in safety till it

On the north it extends to 29° 30′ south latitude, and, is here divided from the Seven Missions, which now constitute a part of the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, by the River Ibecuy-guaçu. Its southern extremity, which extends to about 35° south latitude, is enclosed by the Atlantic Ocean, and the wide embouchure of the Plata River. Its western boundary, which nearly reaches 58° west longitude, is formed by the River Uruguay, which divides it from the republic of Entre Rios and Corrientes, which belongs to the United States of Buenos Ayres. Thus it is inclosed by natural boundaries on three sides. On the east, where it joins the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, its boundary is also partly natural, being formed by a chain of mountains, running north and south to nearly 32° south latitude; but from this point the boundary line extends to the south-east, and terminates on the coast, after cutting Lakes Mirim and Mangueira. The most eastern point falls somewhat to the west of the fifty-second meridian.

The whole length of the country, from the most northern bend of the Ibecuy-guaçu to the Cao de Apucar (Sugar-loaf), near Maldonado, is about 380 miles. In the northern part, the breadth may extend 180 miles from east to west, and in the southern part, which is much wider, about 300 miles. Its mean breadth may be estimated at 240 miles. This would give a surface of 91,200 square miles, or nearly the area of Great Britain. Schäffer, in his description of Brazil, assigns to it an area of 10,575 German square miles, equal to 227,362 English, or more extensive than the surface of France, but that is doubtless a gross exaggeration, even if the Seven Missions are included.

By far the greatest part of the country is hilly and elevated. It forms, as it were, the most southern prolongation of the Serra do Mar (the sea mountain-range of Brazil), which extends northward to near the mouth of the Rio de St. Francisco (9° south latitude). In the Banda Oriental it rises rather abruptly on the southern coast, where it forms the hill of Cape de St. Maria, the Pao de Assurar (Sugar-loaf) some miles to the west of Maldonado. The Monte Video on the west side of the bay, to which it gives its name, and the hill of St. Lucia, farther to the west, near the mouth of a small river bearing that name. At no great distance, however, from the shore, it takes the shape of an extensive table-land, whose surface in many places presents hardly any perceptible irregularity, and in others is covered with extensive ranges of low hills: both the plains and the hills are without trees, and afford only pasture for cattle. The hills are called Cochilhas, and the highest range, which forms the water-shed between the ocean and the River Uruguay, is named the Grand Cochilha. It extends into the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul, where it is called Serra de Herval. The eastern declivities of the Grand Cochilha, which terminates abruptly in the plains about the Lakes Mirim and Dos Patos at about twelve or twenty miles from their banks, are called Serra de los Tappes. On the west the table-land seems to extend to the banks of the river Uruguay, but here it is cut by numerous valleys, and presents the aspect of an extremely hilly country. In these valleys, as as well as in those which lie along the southern coast, west of Cape de Santa Maria, many fertile tracts occur in which the grains and fruits of southern Europe succeed very well, but the remainder is only fit for pasture. That portion of the Banda Oriental which extends along the coast to the north of Cape Santa Maria, and about sixty or eighty miles inland, is low, and is a part of a very remarkable tract which occupies the eastern coast of South America, from 28° to 34° south latitude, or from the island of St. Catharine to Cape de Santa Maria. Nearly through its whole extent it is covered with sands, and intersected by innumerable lakes of different sizes. The greater part of this low plain belongs to the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul. It is of indifferent fertility. This country being situated without the tropics enjoys a temperate climate, resembling that of Spain or Italy. The air is pure and healthy. In the valleys and on the low plains, the winter, which lasts from May to October, is less distinguished by frost than by rain, which is carried to the land by the then prevailing south-eastern winds. Frost is occasionally felt in July and August. The high table-land is annually exposed to it, sometimes for one or two months together, but as very little snow falls, the cattle find pasture in these districts all the year round.

The principal river is the Uruguay, which originates in that portion of the Serra do Mar which stretches along the ocean opposite the island of Santa Catherina, and runs for a considerable distance under the name of Pellotas westward, between banks consisting principally of pointed and massy rocks. It takes the name of Uruguay not far from the point where it begins to separate the province of Rio Grande do Sul from the republic of Corrientes. Here it assumes the appearance of a large river, and soon begins to bend its course to the south-west. Numerous small streams increase its waters in this part of its course. In latitude 29½° it receives the Ibecuy, and then begins to flow in a southern direction, forming the boundary between Banda Oriental and the republics of Corrientes and Entre Rios. Not far from the place where it enters the great estuary called the Rio de la Plata, its waters are increased by those of the Rio Negro, which joins it on the left bank. The Uruguay is navigable for large boats to the first great fall called Salto Grande, situated nearly at an equal distance from the mouths of the Ibecuy and Rio Negro. About forty miles below the former there is the Salto Chico, or Little Fall, which again interrupts the navigation of the smaller boats or canoes. The whole course of this river may amount to about a thousand miles.

The Ibecuy rises in the Grand Cochilhas, and first runs to the west, but soon turns northward, and flows in that direction for upwards of sixty miles. After which, having joined the Ibecuy Mirim (Little Ibecuy), it again turns to the west and becomes a considerable river, separating part of the Banda Oriental from the province of Rio Grande do Sul. Its current is almost always tranquil, and the stream is navigable nearly to its head. The whole course of the Ibecuy amounts to upwards of 250 miles.

The Rio Negro has its origin near that of the Ibecuy, and its general direction is to the south-west. It joins the Uruguay about twelve miles before that river enters the Rio de la Plata, after having run upwards of 250 miles.

Two considerable lakes, lying in the eastern plain, belong, in part, to Banda Oriental: the largest is the Lake Mirim, which signifies small: having received this name from comparison with the Lake Los Pos, which is not far distant to the north, but belongs to the province of Rio Grande do Sul. The Lake Mirim is ninety miles in length and twenty-five at its greatest width. It lies parallel to the shores of the ocean, and discharges its waters into the Lake of Los Patos, by a channel fifty miles long, wide and navigable, which is called Rio de San Gonzalo. About the southern half of this lake belongs to Banda Oriental. The other large lake, the Maugueira, by Henderson called Maugheira, extends between the coast and Lake Mirim. It is eighty miles long and about four broad, and empties itself into the ocean at its northern extremity by a short channel called Arroio Takim. The greatest part of this lake belongs to Banda Oriental. It is not ascertained whether gold and silver are found in this country; but at San Carlos, to the west of Cape de Santa Maria, a rich copper-mine is worked. From the banks of the Uruguay, great quantities of lime are exported to Buenos Ayres, and in the same districts potter's-earth and umber, or terra-sombra, are found. The valleys on the west and south are well-adapted to a great diversity of production: wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, rice, peas, beans, water-melons, and other kinds of melons, with onions, are cultivated; also some cotton-maudiaca, and the sugar-cane. Hemp and different qualities of flax grow in great abundance. The fruit-trees of the south of Europe succeed here better than farther to the north, and none so well as the peach. The vine grows well, and produces abundantly, but hitherto no wine has been made. Timber is by no means abundant: for from 30° southward it is only on the banks of the principal rivers that any forests of fine full-grown timber occur, the table-land being either quite bare or only covered with shrubs. In some of the latter districts bones and the excrements of cattle are burnt for fuel.

POPE PIUS IX. ARRIVING AT BUENOS AYRES.

reached the Ensenada de Barragau, and there, as if it were destined that she should not escape any of the calamities that assail the best in these regions, a violent storm suddenly arose, and which obliged them to cast anchor. It was a terrific hurricane, mingled with thunder; the lightning fell every moment on the shore, or went to extinguish itself in the river; and this terrible spectacle became so threatening, that it was expected every moment that the ship would be set on fire. The Ensenada de Barragau is a kind of creek formed by the Rio de la Plata and a small river which flows into it from the south. A few houses already existed there, but the inundations of the river prevented their extension. Colonia del Sacramento, however, soon displayed itself on the northern bank to the eyes of the mission. Monseigneur Muzi, whose health had suffered much during this prolonged navigation, was still seriously indisposed; the weather continued also to be most trying, storms, accompanied by thunder, lightning and rain, succeeding to moments of calm. At length, on the 8th of January, at about two in the afternoon, as they were sailing before the wind, they obtained their first view of Buenos Ayres in the extreme distance, and at the same moment a plague of a novel description came to assail the persecuted and unfortunate passengers of the *Eloysa* in the shape of a cloud of mosquitoes, which, borne across the waters by the wind, came and settled upon the devoted ship. It positively requires to have undergone the torture that these little insects can inflict upon a person in South America, to form a just conception of what our travellers had to suffer; the masts and rigging were actually covered with them, and the very colour of the wood was no longer distinguishable from the numbers of their winged enemies.

More than four-fifths of the country being only fit for pasture, cattle, of course, constitute the chief wealth. The richest proprietors often possess thirty or forty square miles of land, and feed from five to ten thousand head of cattle and upwards. By far the greatest number are those called "bravo," because they live in a state of wildness. Some cattle are consumed in the country, and others sent to the slaughter-houses of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; but by far the greatest proportion is manufactured into jerked beef, which is salted without the bones, dried in the sun, and exported to different parts of America, especially Brazil. Every great proprietor breeds also a certain number of horses and mules, and some of them a great number of sheep, which have a fine wool. Neither goats or pigs are numerous.

Game is very abundant, but the people generally are not very fond of hunting or shooting. Among other species of wild quadrupeds, there are the anta or tapir, the deer, the ounce, the monkey, the paca, the rabbit, the armadillo, the squash, the boa, the fox, and some others peculiar to the country. The European species of dog have multiplied so excessively that they live in the plains, without ever entering any village or dwelling. They are called chimmarrè dogs. Immediately on the slaughter of cattle ceasing, or when they want provisions, they assemble in large bands, and encircle an ox, which they pursue with unceasing obstinacy until the animal falls with fatigue, when he is soon devoured. Even a horseman runs some risk in the plains when the dogs are in a state of famine.

Birds are very numerous. In the lakes of the eastern plains there are wild ducks and large wild geese; some brown, some white, and others with black necks, which have a fine long down under their feathers, similar to the American fur. A few other birds of the species found in Europe are also met with, as the heron, the quail and partridge; but there are other species not known in Europe, as different kinds of parrots, the Macuco partridge, the tucan, and many others. When the Europeans first arrived several native nations were in possession of this country, some of whom are still found in the interior, as the Charruas, Minuanos, Tupes, and Guayanaus, but in small numbers; by far the greatest number of the inhabitants are the descendants of Europeans. The population is differently stated. Schäffer makes it 175,960, but others lower it to 80,000, and even to 55,000. The metropolis of the republic is, we have seen, Monte Video. Between it and Cape Santa Maria stands the town of Maldonado, with a fine harbour, good fortifications, and about 2,000 inhabitants: it exports hides and copper. Colonia del Santo Sacramento is a small town with a harbour, opposite Buenos Ayres. Along the southern coast there are a few islands, but none of great extent. The largest, called Dos Lopos (or the wolves), is not far from the harbour of Maldonado; it is two miles in circumference, and contains good water, but is almost all rocks and stones.

The constitution of the Republica del Uruguay Oriental was published in the month of August, 1830, according to which the legislative power is divided between a senate, consisting of nine members, and a house of representatives, consisting of twenty-nine members. The Code Napoléon is the law of the country.

The taxes amounted, in 1830, to 803,323 Spanish dollars, and the expenses of Government to 1,013,484. The country was then divided into nine departments.

VII.

Arrival at Buenos Ayres—The Mission Declines a Solemn Entrance—Nocturnal Reception.

The wind continued to be favourable till the 3rd of January, and the *Eloysa* cast anchor off Buenos Ayres the same evening. Soon after she received information as to the position which was allotted to her in the port, and which also announced the visit of the officers of health the ensuing day at half-past eight; till that formality had been gone through, all communication with the city was interdicted, and a guard was left on board. At six o'clock seven guns saluted the city. At the third discharge of artillery one of the passengers, M. Perez, desirous of welcoming the happy arrival of the apostolic mission on the shores of America, exclaimed, "*Vive Monseigneur l'Archevêque!*" and the crew joined in the acclamation with shouts of "*Evviva il vicario apostolico! evviva l'America! evviva il Chile!*" and their shouts of joy mingled with the hurrahs of the crew.

At the hour appointed, and before the custom house officers had made their appearance, the supreme government despatched the captain of the harbour with three messengers to the *Eloysa*. Monseigneur Muzi was invited to land in a magnificently decorated boat, which was to conduct him on shore, where the ecclesiastical, military, and civil authorities awaited his arrival. A solemn reception had indeed been prepared for the Vicar Apostolic, and it was intended to conduct him in great pomp from the landing place to the cathedral, where a Te Deum was to be chanted. But the deplorable state of the archbishop's health, and the disorder of his dress, which had resulted from so long and painful a navigation, as also certain obstacles suggested by the Chilian authorities, all combined to prevent his accepting the intended honours. The supreme government renewed its proposals three different times, but the motives which influenced the first refusal not having changed, the answer was the same, and this persistence, it must be acknowledged, had the most untoward results for the mission. The envoy of Chili, Doctor Cientuegos, was the first to land, and he promised that the boat which took him on shore should return at once to take such members of the Mission, as wished to leave the brig, on shore. But the boat did not return till the night was already far advanced, and it was about one in the morning before Monseigneur Muzi left the vessel. Notwithstanding these little contrarieties, the appearance of the city charmed the

newly-arrived, and as all the houses that fronted the place of disembarkation were illuminated, and these myriads of lights were reflected by the waters of the river, this spontaneous illumination really presented a marvellous spectacle. (*See* p. 22[illegible].)

Buenos Ayres possessed at one time a mole, as all the world knows, but a terrible storm having destroyed it it had not at that time been replaced. Hence the disembarkation was effected in the strangest manner possible. The boats could only approach within a certain distance of the shore, and the remainder of the distance had to be effected in kind of cars, with high wheels, called *carretillas*. These carretillas were drawn by mules, but however sure-footed these animals may be, they do not sometimes prevent accidents happening. The stout Genoese sailors, however, lent their shoulders to the members of the mission, and it was thus that they effected their landing on the shores of South America, at about two o'clock in the morning.

Notwithstanding the inconvenience of the hour, and the well-motived refusals of the nuncio, the Apostolic Mission was received by a numerous assemblage. Everybody pushed up to the persons of Monseigneur Muzi, of Don Giovanni Mastai, and of the Abbé Sallusti, each endeavouring to be the first to kiss the hand of the prelate. To the present day, many an old man, at that time a child, remembers the future pontiff, who followed the archbishop, and whose very aspect depicted the most affectionate kindness. "Many children," says the Abbé Sallusti, "preceded us, two and two, holding little glass lamps in their hands: it reminded me of the entrance of the divine Saviour into Jerusalem. There was more than one pious old man in that crowd who, remembering the words of the Gospel, repeated in Latin, '*Benedictus, qui venit in nomine Domini: hosanna in altissimis.*'"

It was thus that they arrived at the hotel of the "Three Kings," at that time kept by an Englishman, who is spoken of as a *galant homme* in the widest significance of the word, and the delay that had occurred had been put to the greatest advantage, assisted by Doctor Cienfuegos, in order to give a worthy reception to the Mission. The repast served up to M. Muzi was worthy of those famous suppers of Solomon, for which ten fattened oxen were killed every day, and twenty taken from the pastures, not to mention a hundred calves, besides buffaloes, stags, and deer. With the exception of buffaloes, the country could contribute all the rest, but that which was superior to the feasts of Solomon, was the refinement that pervaded the service, the modern elegance that presided at the repast. Nothing was wanting, neither flowers nor precious vases, nor the most esteemed wines of Europe, and it is quite certain that all the resources of the country were put under contribution, in order that the passengers of the *Eloysa* might the more readily forget the long hours of trial and the sad privations which they had to undergo during their tedious and untoward navigation.[1]

VIII.

Sojourn at Buenos-Ayres—Departure from that City—First Incidents of Travel.

Notwithstanding this splendid reception, for which the Mission was not indebted to the authorities of Buenos Ayres, its members had not always to congratulate themselves upon their sojourn at the capital of the Argentine Republic. The population crowded in

[1] Though Amerigo Vespucci sailed along the coast before the end of the fifteenth century, it does not appear that he observed the wide estuary of the Rio de la Plata. It was discovered by Juan Diaz de Solis, who was sent to these parts in 1512 by the Spanish government, and he took possession of it, but did not form a settlement.

Sebastian Cabot was sent from Spain, in 1530, to make discoveries in South America. He traversed the La Plata, and following the course of the Rio Parana to its confluence with the Paraguay, sailed up the first-mentioned river; but being prevented from proceeding far by shoals and cataracts, he entered the Paraguay, which he ascended to a point above the place where Asuncion is situated. He built also a small fort at a place where the Rio Tercero, or rather the Cascaranal, joins the Parana (32° 30' south latitude), which he called Santa Spiritu; which, however, was destroyed by the Indians soon after his departure. The favourable account that he gave of the country called Paraguay induced the Spaniards to send a considerable force to these parts, under the adelantado Don Pedro de Mendoza, in 1534, who built a fort near the spot on which the town of Buenos Ayres now stands; and he then sailed to Paraguay to found the town of Asuncion. The fort was soon destroyed by the Indians. The Spaniards concentrated their forces in Paraguay, and from thence they gradually began to establish their settlements over the country.

In 1573, Don Juan de Geray founded the town of Santa Fé. In the meantime other Spaniards, who for some time before had held undisturbed possession of Alto Peru, or the present republic of Bolivia, advanced southward, passed the Abra de Costaderas, and founded Salta, Tucaman and Cordova, about the same time that Geray built Santa Fé. The town of Buenos Ayres was founded by Geray in 1580. He built a fort sufficiently strong to repel the attacks of the Indians. All the countries thus conquered were joined to the viceroyalty of Peru, of which they formed a portion until 1777, when Buenos Ayres was divided from it, and constituted a separate viceroyalty. In the seventeenth century the Jesuits entered the country for the purpose of civilising the Indians, and converting them to Christianity. Their progress was at first slow; but after the year 1692, when they obtained more extensive privileges, the conversion and civilisation of the Guaranis, who inhabit both banks of the Parana above the Island of Apipé, went on rapidly; and about the middle of the last century it was stated, and believed, that the Jesuits had succeeded in forming a powerful state. On the suppression of the Jesuits, in 1768, it was found that the country was inhabited by about 100,000 peaceful and industrious Guaranis. Since that time the Missions, as they are called, have rapidly decreased in population. At present the number of inhabitants is stated to be under 8,000. Though the attempts to convert the other tribes who inhabit the northern provinces were not attended with great success, the Spaniards had suffered less from their incursions than from the attacks of the southern tribes, who, from the time that they had obtained horses, adopted the habits of the Mongols and other nomadic nations of Upper Asia, and by their unexpected incursions laid waste the neighbouring Spanish settlements, and drove off their herds of cattle. If these natives had submitted to the orders of the hereditary chiefs, like the Mongols, they would probably have expelled the whites from the plains, and confined them to the mountainous regions. The Spaniards tried all means to bring about a pacification, and they partly succeeded in 1740, when the course of the Rio Salado of Buenos Ayres, and the parallel of 35° south latitude, were agreed upon as the boundary between the southern Indians and the Spanish settlements.

Buenos Ayres has, however, since extended its southern boundary to the Bahia Blanca, a deep inlet and good harbour near 39° south latitude, and has a coast-line along the La Plata and the Atlantic above 600 miles in length, which, however, contains no harbour for large vessels, except that of the city of Buenos Ayres, near the most northern, and that of Bahia Blanca, at the southern extremity of the coast-line. That of Buenos Ayres is bad, but Bahia Blanca is a good one. The new boundary line on the west runs northward from Bahia Blanca to Fort Melinque, curving eastward, and on this side the State is surrounded by countries which are still in the possession of the native tribes, no whites residing west of the line. A line drawn east-north-east from Melinque to the Arroyo del Medio, divides it from the state of Santa Fé. This surface is estimated at 75,000 square miles, about 8,000 less than the island of Great Britain. The whole country is a level plain, with the exception of the districts adjacent to the western line, which are somewhat hilly, and the range

the footsteps of the Vicar Apostolic; but the members of the government had not forgiven the repeated refusals to yield to their pressing invitations. A certain coolness reigned in consequence between the authorities and the Mission. Matters even went further: the ecclesiastic who administered the diocese, the Abbé Zavaletti, after having conceded to M. Muzi the right of confirmation, withdrew it, to the great indignation of the faithful. The news that was received at the same time from Chili had not a more favourable character. It had been decided at Santiago, at a very tumultuous meeting of the Representative Chambers, that the Mission asked from Rome should be perfectly well received, but should be only temporary. Twelve days elapsed pending these discussions, and, as will be afterwards seen, this slight delay in an adventurous journey saved the Mission from great calamities.

Nine o'clock of the morning of the 16th of January, 1824, was fixed upon for the departure; the visits of the clergy had been received; but the number of persons anxious to obtain the blessings of the Vicar-Apostolic was so considerable, that some delay was occasioned.

The members of the Mission filled two carriages of a sufficiently antique appearance, and drawn each by four horses. One of those immense open chariots, which are known by the name of carratera, followed the carriages laden with provisions. Each horse was mounted by a kind of postilion, who had the title of

CARAVAN IN THE PAMPAS.

coachman. A small detachment of cavalry in grand uniform preceded the modest procession, and a postilion was sent off at a canter to provide relays of horses.

Besides the members of the Mission, four young Chilians, who accompanied Dr. Cientuegos, and two attendants, the caravan numbered no less than twelve

of the Sierras del Vumlcan and Ventana, and those connected with them which traverse the southern districts. A large portion of it is fit for agriculture, and by far the largest part of the articles exported from Buenos Ayres are drawn from this province, especially cattle, sheep, wool and corn. All the inhabitants north of the Rio Saladu are of Spanish origin, but the countries south of the river are mostly occupied by tribes belonging to the Puiches. The remains of extinct species of large animals, as those of the megatherium, are often found in the western districts. As this state alone has a coast line, and consequently is thus brought into connection with foreign nations, the provincial government, though not by an express agreement carries on the business of the Argentine Republic with foreign powers. The executive, according to the constitution, consists of a governor, or captain-general, as he is styled, aided by a council of ministers appointed by himself. He is responsible to the Junta, or legislative assembly, by whom he is elected. The junta itself consists of forty-four deputies, one-half of whom are annually renewed by the people.

There is no town of importance in this state, except Buenos Ayres. San Pedro and San Nicolas, which are on the banks of the Rio Parana, contain only from 600 to 800 inhabitants. Buenos Ayres is situated on the south bank of the upper part of the wide estuary of the La Plata river, about 150 miles from the place where it enters the sea. The estuary at Buenos Ayres is about

coachmen, and, at a later period, when they were in dread of the savages in the pampas, six gauchos had to be attached to the service, with as many horses, in addition to those obtained at the relays.

The first day fifteen miles were accomplished, and they did not stop till they got to Moron, but it must be remarked that the road in the neighbourhood of the capital was excellent. The rite of confirmation was administered to several of the faithful in this pretty place. They could also now admire at their ease those fields of fennel, and still more especially those endless woods of peach trees, which rivet the attention of all travellers.

At Lujan, or Santos Lugares, a miserable rancho, with its innumerable mataderos, have been so often described by travellers, that we shall spare the reader the description of things as offensive to the sense of smell as they are to the eyes. Nor shall we stop here where the Mission had to pass the night, was quickly hung with damask by the officiating priest of the place. A richly decorated altar and six candelabras of massive silver were also transported there, and thus the first mass, celebrated by the Vicar-Apostolic, in South America, was extemporised in the bosom of the pampa. Immediately afterwards, Don Giovanni Mastai, the Abbé Salusti, and Father Raymondo Arce, went to the humble village church, where three other masses were said. They were about to enter upon the vast solitudes of the interior; more than one peril had to be encountered.

Lujan and its worthy priest were left the same day, and the pampas, where it neighbours Buenos Ayres,

PREDATORY INDIANS OF THE PAMPAS.

thirty-six miles wide, so that Colonia, a small place on the opposite bank, is only visible from the more elevated places in the town, and then only in very clear weather. Though the estuary has a considerable depth in the middle it grows so shallow towards the south bank that large vessels are obliged to remain in the outer roads, from seven to nine miles from the shore; small vessels enter the inner roads, called Ielizas, where they are still two miles from the town. The beach itself is extremely shallow; even boats cannot approach nearer than fifty yards, or a quarter of a mile, according to the state of the tide, and persons as well as goods are landed in rudely-constructed carts, drawn by oxen. When it blows fresh, the surf on the beach is very heavy, and often causes loss of life. A pier, which was constructed in the time of the Spanish government, is nearly useless, except at very high tides.

The city stands on a high bank for about two miles along the river. Between the city and the water's edge is a space of considerable width, rarely covered by the tides, on which some trees are planted. To the east of the pier, at a distance of a few hundred yards, stands the fort or castle, the walls of which extend to the water's edge, and are mounted with cannon. It is of little importance in a military point of view; at present it has no garrison, and the buildings are appropriated to public offices, and the residence of the president of the republic.

About a mile lower down, the high bank suddenly turns inland, leaving a vast level plain along the shore, traversed by a little stream, which makes a good harbour for small craft, its mouth forming a kind of circular basin.

Behind the castle is the piazza, or great square, which occupies a considerable space; it is divided into two parts by a long and

to describe the Tiruteru, or armed peacock, so admirably depicted by Uzara, or the innocent viscachas, little rodents, or creatures of the rat-tribe, but belonging to the family of chincillides, whose innumerable holes put the best constructed carriages in constant danger of being upset or breaking down. At Conchas they made acquaintance with a new form of suffering in the desert, the water was positively corrupt, and was drawn from a well the margin of which was pro-

low edifice, which serves as a kind of bazaar, and has a corridor along the whole length of each side, which is used as a shelter for the market people. The space between this bazaar and the fort is appropriated to the market, where all kinds of provisions, especially excellent fruits, are sold; but there are no stalls, and the goods are spread on the ground. The opposite side, which is much larger, is a kind of *place d'armes*, and contains a very fine edifice, called the cabildo, or town-house, in which the courts of justice hold their sessions, and the city council, or cabildo, meets. Near the centre of the square is a neat pyramid, erected in commemoration of the Revolution, by which the country was freed from the dominion of Spain. It has an emblematic figure at each corner, representing Justice, Science, Liberty and America; the whole is inclosed with a railing.

The streets are at regular intervals, and are open at right angles to the river, with a rather steep ascent from the shore; they are straight and regular; a few of them near the piazza are paved, but the greater part are unpaved. In the rainy season they are a slough of mud, and in the dry season the dust in them is still more insupportable. Most of them have footpaths, but they are narrow and inconvenient.

In the neighbourhood of the piazza there are many houses of two stories, but towards the outskirts the houses have only one story. They are built of bricks, have flat roofs, and are white-washed. Towards the street they have commonly two windows, which have seldom glass-sashes, and are generally protected by a reja, or iron railing, which gives the house the appearance of a prison. In the middle of this outer wall is a gate-way, the rooms on each side of which are generally occupied as places of business, or as merchants' counting-rooms. By the gateway the patio or court-yard is entered, which is surrounded on three sides by buildings, the wall of the adjoining house making up the fourth. The building at the back of the court is usually the dining room; that on the left or the right is the sitting room or parlour. The patio is usually paved with brick, and sometimes with black and white marble tesselated. In the better sort of houses a canvass awning is spread from the flat roof over the patio, and serves as a protection against the excessive heat of the sun. Grape vines are planted round the walls. The houses have as little wood as possible about them, both the first and second floors having brick pavements. There are no chimneys except in the kitchens, as the climate is not severe enough to render fire-places necessary in the rooms.

There are fifteen churches, of which the principal are the cathedral, which of itself covers almost a whole square, San Domingo, Santa Merceda, San Francisco, and the Recoleba; they are all large and handsome buildings, but of a somewhat gloomy aspect. In the time of the Spaniards these churches were ornamented with a profusion of gold and silver, but the revolutionary wars have drained them of their wealth.

The majority of the inhabitants are the descendants of Spaniards who have settled in that country during the last three centuries. The number of free negroes or slaves is small; that of native Indians is much greater; they compose the greater part of the lower classes, and speak only Spanish, having entirely forgotten the language of their ancestors. The whole population of the town is estimated by some at only 40,000, but by others at 60,000 and upwards.

No other town of South America has so many institutions for the promotion of science. The university, which has lately been modelled on more comprehensive principles, possesses a library of about 20,000 volumes. There is also a collection of objects of natural history, an observatory, a separate school of mathematics, a public school, and a school for painting and drawing. Since the Revolution there have also been established a literary society for the promotion of natural philosophy and the mathematics, an academy of medicine, and another of jurisprudence, a normal school for mutual instruction, a patriotic union for the promotion of agriculture, besides some charitable societies. A considerable number of newspapers is published in the town.

The town was founded by the Spaniards in 1535, but in 1539, being obliged by the neighbouring Indians to abandon it, they retired to Assumption, on the Paraguay. When the Spaniards were firmly settled in the country they rebuilt the town in 1580, and since that time it always has been increasing, though slowly. The climate is healthy, as its name, Buenos Ayres (good air), implies; an appellation which was bestowed on it by its founder, Mendoza.

In 1805 the town of Buenos Ayres was taken by the British, but they were soon expelled. The inhabitants of the Argentine Republic, like those of the other Spanish colonies, did not submit to the authority of Joseph Buonaparte, and, in 1810, they organised an independent government in the name of king Ferdinand VII. But after Ferdinand recovered the throne of Spain, his measures respecting the American colonies created such disgust, that the States united and declared their independence in the town of San Miguel de Tucuman, the 9th of July, 1816; and in 1819, a federal government was projected, but the states refused to accede to it because they were made too dependent on the federal government. At the same time disunion and civil war broke out, which were attended by a rapid succession of political changes. The provincial government of Buenos Ayres underwent twenty changes between the 10th of November, 1819, and the end of January, 1821. In 1821 the government seemed to have acquired some consistency, at least at Buenos Ayres. But the ascendancy which the military acquired in the war with Brazil, brought on other revolutions after the conclusion of peace (1828), which continued until 1836, when Rosas was created dictator for life.

The intervention of France and Brazil in procuring the expulsion of Rosas is said to have procured substantial results for the world. The free navigation of the Plata and its tributaries was secured, and an end was put to the system of isolation, which was the sole policy of the government overthrown. The success of France and Brazil was the stepping stone to power of Urquiza, and his elevation is said to have been beneficial in giving some idea of natural unity to the disjointed states of the Argentine confederation.

We have seen that when Spain held the country these provinces formed a vice-royalty, with Buenos Ayres as the capital town; and since the era of independence, commenced in 1810 and formally completed in 1816, the city and province of Buenos Ayres have claimed and retained, to a great extent, a metropolitan importance. As the obscure provinces of the interior developed in power, they resisted more and more the predominance of the maritime city; and it became, after a time, a bitter contest between town and country. Buenos Ayres is not only the largest province of the not very compact confederation, but it possesses the only great city, the only considerable port, the only *entrepôt* of foreign trade. The gauchos of the interior can catch with the lasso and ride without a saddle any number of wild horses; but that provinces with such men forming the mass of the population should dictate a government to Buenos Ayres is as absurd as if the graziers of our eastern counties ruled London, or the rail-splitters Illinois dictated to New York. Urquiza, after defeating President Rosas at Tasceros, ten years ago, was nominated captain-general of the federal forces; but, while retaining this mere title, he devoted himself to the actual government of Entre Rios, one of the smallest of the twelve or thirteen confederated provinces. Nearly the whole soil of the little State is his own land, and he is the great millionaire of the South. In San Juan, a neighbouring state, he placed a creature of his own; and his influence with President Derqui has given an absolutist tone to the governments of many provinces, and to the federal authority itself. The liberal government of Buenos Ayres has openly and honestly combated this retrograde policy—practically a return to the days of Rosas—and the federal clique so far resented this attitude that the deputies from Buenos Ayres were refused admission to the federal congress. This was forcing the maritime province into actual secession. Buenos Ayres prepared its forces for the worst, and Derqui, following Mr. Lincoln at a civil distance, urged Urquiza from his retirement, and sent him with a federal force to chastise the "rebels." The federal army and the Buenos Ayrans met at Pavon, in the province of Santa Fé, on the 17th of October, 1861. The fight did not last long, and was for some time—like all South American battles—doubtful as to its results. But, though he lost nearly all his cavalry, the Buenos Ayrean general remained on the field, Urquiza retired to Parana, and in a few days resigned his command, returning to rule his own province. The federal authority has thus received a heavy blow, and State rights have had good luck.

tected by heaps of whitened bones. Nor would it be of much interest in the present day, when the characteristics of the pampas and llanos of South America are almost as well known as those of the prairies in the North, to follow our travellers step by step to each relay of horses, and each more or less miserable station of repose. Nothing can better show the general characteristics of travelling over pampas, llanos, prairies, and steppes, than that, except when an occasional river presents itself on the way, the events of one day's journey on their wide and monotonous expanses are precisely repeated the next. If there is little or no variety in scenery then, there is, to compensate it, variety in suffering from want of water and food. If the charqui of the Peruvians—the pemmican of the South—should fail, the traveller's position becomes perilous, for it is only at rare distances that he can procure meat or maize.[1]

Our travellers revenged themselves for their culinary privations in the Pampas by a comfortable repast at San Pedro, but the lodgings do not appear to have been so *recherché* as the viands, for the pious traveller, who was destined one day to have the Vatican for a home, was obliged to pass the night in a shed without

[1] The pampas, llanos, and other plains, occupy about five-sixths of the surface of the provinces of La Plata. The most northern part of them, which is known under the name of El Gran Chaco, extends on the east of the mountain region [illegible] the banks of the Rio Paraguay, and from the northern [illegible] the republic to the confluence of the Rio Salado [illegible] Parana, occupying all the tract between these rivers. [illegible] immense country, which is about one-sixth of the whole Argent[illegible] Republic, or 120,000 square miles, is very little known, there being only a few families, and those mostly of Indian origin, settled on the banks of the rivers. The interior is possessed by several aboriginal tribes, who wander about in the woods, and live on the produce of the chase and wild fruits. The most northern part of the desert appears to have annual rains, and the country is accordingly pretty well wooded. In this part, which lies between the Rio Vermej and the Rio Paraguay on both sides of the Rio Pilcomayo, and which is called the Llanos de Manso, there is a considerable number of independent tribes, though the several families are generally small. The southern portion of the Gran Chaco, between 26° and 30° south latitude, is a complete desert for want of rain and water. The general character of the soil is sandy, and in many places it is covered with incrustations of salt; in others it is interspersed with small salt swamps. No part of it produces grass, but some tracts are covered with stunted prickly trees. It is uninhabited, except on the banks of the Rio Salado, where a few families have settled.

The country which lies west of the southern portion of the Chaco, and extends to the banks of the Rio Dulce, though not considered as forming a part of it, does not materially differ from it in features, soil, and vegetation, except along the banks of the Rio Dulce, the water of which, being sweet, can be used for irrigation, and is, in many places, used for that purpose.

West of the Rio Dulce, and between 28° 30' and 30° south latitude, a desert extends as far west as the neighbourhood of the Sierra Velasco, from which it is separated by a fertile tract, called La Costa, hardly twenty miles wide. Where the desert is traversed by the road between Cordova and Santiago del Estero, near its eastern extremity, it is about sixty miles wide, but further west it grows much wider. The surface is level, here and there interspersed with hillocks; for the most part covered with a thick salt efflorescence. Hence the desert has obtained the name of Great Salina. The vegetation is limited to a kind of salsola, from the ashes of which soda is extracted. The desert is probably the hottest part of America, the heat during the prevalence of the northern winds in summer being almost insupportable in those places which are built on the borders of this desert, as Santiago del Estero. This may be mainly attributed to the nature of the soil, but partly to the lowness of the country; it having been ascertained, by barometrical observations, that the surface of the desert is only a few feet above the level of the sea at the town of Buenos Ayres, though it is 700 miles distant from that point.

That part of the plain which lies between 30° and 33° south latitude exhibits a different character. Nearly in the middle of it is Sierra de Cordova, a system of heights which in another place would be called mountains, but in the neighbourhood of the snow-capped Andes can only be called hills. It was formerly supposed that this sierra was connected with the Andes, but it has been ascertained that a plain 200 miles wide lies between them. The most elevated and mountainous part of this system is between 30° and 32° south latitude, and extends more than 120 miles from north to south, but the width does not exceed 50 miles. The southern part, between 31° and 32°, is a small table-land, about 30 miles wide, and growing narrow towards the south. The declivity is gentle towards the base, but near the top it is steep. The plain is covered with grass, but is entirely devoid of trees. It may be about 2,500 or 3,000 feet elevated above its base, and perhaps 3,500 or 4,000 feet above the sea-level. In winter it is sprinkled with patches of snow. The short valleys, by which the western side is furrowed, produce abundance of maize and fruits, and this is also the case with the long valley which runs along the eastern unbroken declivity. Near 32° south latitude the table-land branches off into two ridges, of which the eastern is called the Sierra and the western the Serrezuela. They run north and north-westerly, and at their northern extremity are more than fifty miles from each other. The intervening country is a succession of stony or sandy ridges, flat at the top, and alternating with broad pastoral valleys interspersed with plantations of fig and peach trees.

The country which extends from the Sierra de Cordova to the Rio Parana is hilly, or strongly undulating along the base of the heights, and produces good crops of Indian corn in the lower tracts, where the fields can be irrigated. This hilly country extends about thirty miles, when the country sinks into somewhat irregular plains. Some parts of these plains are covered with trees, but others are without wood, which becomes more scarce as we proceed further east, until the woods reappear at some distance from the banks of the Parana. These woods chiefly consist of low mimosas or stunted prickly trees. The plains are generally covered with coarse grass, but in some parts, especially in the eastern districts, the soil is impregnated with salt. The numerous small streams which flow from the eastern declivity of the Sierra de Cordova, and unite into three rivers, the Primero, Segundo, and Tercero, do not join the Parana, but are lost in small salt lakes, with the exception of the Tercero, which, however, in the dry season, is very shallow, and has hardly water enough for small boats. The Rio Dulce, a large river which rises in the Sierra de Aconguija, and runs about 400 miles, is likewise lost in an extensive salt lake, called Laguna Salados de los Porongos. The salt lakes in which these rivers are lost occur between 30° and 32°, and are near the meridian of 62° west. It seems that a deep depression runs along this meridian, and that the country between it and the Rio Parana and Rio Salado is much more elevated. There are agricultural settlements in this country on the banks of the rivers, and small hamlets, inhabited by herdsmen, occur on the plains. Though the pasture is indifferent, a considerable number of cattle are reared. The country which surrounds the southern extremity of the Sierra de Cordova, and extends to 33° south latitude, resembles in its general character that which is to the east of it, except that it is traversed in several places by narrow ridges of low rocky hills, along the base of which vegetation is much more vigorous, and the soil more favourable to agriculture than in the wide plains which lie between them.

The country which lies on the west of the Sierra de Cordova, and extends in that direction for 120 or 130 miles from the range, is nearly altogether bare of grass. Rain is scarce in all the countries of South America, south of 24°, and this want of moisture is the chief reason why cultivation extends so slowly in these parts. In the country west of Sierra of Cordova it never rains, nor is the ground ever refreshed with dew, which falls abundantly in the pampas farther to the south-east. The soil of this region is composed of a loose and friable clayey loam, and the greater part of it contains stunted trees; tracts covered with salt incrustations, or with grass, are only occasionally met with, and never occupy a large surface. The grassy tracts are most numerous near the southern extremity of the Sierra Velasco, where they are called Los Llanos, and supply pasture for numerous herds of cattle.

That part of the plain which extends from 33° south lattitude to the banks of the Rio Negro, the southern boundary of the Argentine Republic, is known under the name of Pampas. Though generally considered as one plain, extending on a perfect level from the shores of the Atlantic to the base of the Andes, it

doorway or flooring, and with the thatch in so dilapidated a state that it was, the Abbé Sallusti says, a real astronomer's cabin, whence one could, without quitting one's bed, contemplate the stars. This airy habitation was, in reality, the pantry of the postmaster, a solitary sentinel placed at the extreme frontiers of civilisation. Coarse hewn and heavy planks, suspended by cords to the cross beams, swung from the roof, and upon these elegant shelves were placed quarters of meat, now some days gone, maize, cheese, leather, and undressed and untanned hides, so the character of the perfumes exhaled from above may be more easily

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has been observed that nature has divided it by some tracts of more elevated ground into several regions, which differ in soil and fertility. The most remarkable and best known of these elevated grounds begins on the shores of the Atlantic, between Cape Corrientes and Punta Andres, south of 38° south latitude, with rocks, which at some distance from the sea rise to the height of hills, having broad summits in the form of a table-land, and steep sides. This range of hills, which is called the Sierra del Vuulcan (opening), is only a few hundred feet high, and has excellent pasture on its summit. About forty miles from the sea, the ridge is interrupted by a wide gap, or opening (called by the aborigines Vuulcan), and on the west of this opening rises another ridge, which has various names, being broken by several other gaps, and extends, in a south-eastern and north-western direction, about 200 miles from the Atlantic. Where this elevated ground approaches 61° west longitude, it turns to the north, and runs in that direction to 35° south latitude, when it turns more to the west, and may be said to terminate where the parallel of 34° cuts the meridian of 62°. This part of the higher ground is a gentle swell, overtopped by low hills, which occur at great distances from one another, and by a few low ridges. Though most travellers describe the country north of 34°, in the direction of this swell, as a perfect level, it is somewhat higher than the plains lying east and west, and it extends to the banks of the Rio Parana, where the river is lined with cliffs about sixty feet above its level, between San Nicolas and Rosario. This elevated ground separates the eastern portion of the pampas from that farther west. All the rivers which water these eastern pampas have their origin in this elevated tract. It is remarkable that the water of most of them is salt, especially in summer, when the volume is much diminished, though they flow through a country which is not impregnated with saline matter. From this, it may be inferred that extensive deposits of salt must exist on the high ground in which they originate.

The Rio Salado, which rises near the point where the parallel of 34° cuts the meridian of 62°, runs in an east-south-eastern direction about 300 miles, and divides the eastern pampas into two nearly equal parts. Though numerous settlements have been made in the country north of the Rio Salado, by far the greatest part of it is still in its natural state. It is a continuous level plain, covered with coarse luxuriant grass, growing in tufts, and partially mixed with wild oats and tretoll. Extensive tracts are entirely overgrown with thistles from six to eight feet high, which are used for fuel, as the country is entirely devoid of trees and shrubs. Near the dwellings of the inhabitants only single trees are met with. The level plain contains shallow depressions, in which the rain-water is collected and forms pools. This water evaporating in the dry season, these depressions are then covered with rich grass, which supplies pasture during the hot weather. Thus this country is able to maintain immense herds of cattle and horses, and it is observed that the coarse grass and thistle gradually disappear when trodden down by the animals, and are replaced by a fine turf; this is especially observable in the neighbourhood of the town of Buenos Ayres. Though the rearing of cattle is still the principal object of agriculture, sheep have much increased of late years, and wheat has been more cultivated. The latter is now grown to such an extent, that not only the importation from the United States of North America has been entirely stopped, but flour and corn have been shipped to Brazil. Wool also forms an important article of export. Though the rivers are dry in summer, except the Rio Salado and the largest of its affluents, whose water cannot be used on account of its saltness, fresh water may be procured, at no great depth, by digging wells. Along the banks of the La Plata and Rio Parana, between Buenos Ayres and the small town of San Pedro, there is a broad belt of low ground, which is annually inundated by the freshets of the Rio Parana for several months, and fertilised by the muddy deposit of that river.

The country south of the Rio Salado is of a somewhat different character. Near the banks of the river it is on a level with the country north of it, which it resembles in every respect; but about ten miles from the river swamps begin, which extend over a great part of this region. Towards the sea, the swamps are nearly 100 miles wide; but farther west they grow narrower, until they terminate at the confluence of the Rio Salado with the Rio Flores. These swamps are thickly set with tall canes and reeds, and in many places interspersed with small lakes and ponds. They probably owe their existence to the circumstance of their surface constituting a perfect level, which receives numerous streams, the waters of which cannot make their way to the Rio Salado or to the sea. These swamps form a great obstacle to the extension of agricultural settlements; for, though the country along the base of the Sierra del Vuulcan, and the more western ranges of hills, appears in no respect to be inferior in fertility to the country north of the Rio Salado, no agricultural settlements have been established here.

North of the Bahia Blanca (near 39° south latitude) a mountain of considerable elevation rises abruptly over the plain: it is called Sierra Ventana, and its elevation above the sea-level is about 3,500 feet. This mountain extends north-west for about twenty miles, but grows lower towards the west, where it is separated by a depression from another and lower ridge, that runs in the same direction, and is called Sierra Guamini. So far this country is known, but farther west it has not been explored. It is, however, known that in the same direction there occurs a vast forest, three days' journey long, which covers a hilly tract, and other forests, of a similar description occur in the centre of the pampas, and lie in the same direction.

The country between the Sierra del Vuulcan and the Sierra Ventana, and the ridges dependent on them, resembles in its natural features the country south of the Rio Salado. Along the base of the Sierra Ventana extends a level country, interspersed with some low hills; the surface is dry, and fit for agricultural establishments. But in approaching the chain of the Sierra del Vuulcan, Darwin found the country, to the width of sixty miles, covered with swamps. In some parts there were fine moist plains, covered with grass, while others had a soft, black, and peaty soil. There were also many extensive but shallow lakes, and large beds of reeds. He compares this tract with the better part of the Cambridgeshire fens. These swamps probably owe their origin to the rivers which descend with a rapid course from the Sierra Ventana, and Sierra Guamini, to the level country.

The greatest part of the western pampas, namely, all the country west of 62° west longitude, and extending thence to the Andes between 34° south latitude, and the Rio Negro, is almost unknown, having only been explored along the courses of the rivers, except in one line, in which it has been traversed by land. The few points which have thus been examined are too isolated to authorise us to form an idea of the capabilities of this immense country. But we are well acquainted with that portion of the plain which lies between 33° and 34° south latitude, as it is traversed by the great road that leads from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, and thence over the Andes to Chili.

In the country which surrounds the sources of the Rio Salado, the soil of the plain begins to be impregnated with muriate of soda, and continues more or less so to the base of the Andes. But it has a different character east and west of 66° west longitude. East of that meridian a great part of the surface is covered with extensive saline swamps, overgrown with reeds; the more elevated spots of these swamps are covered with a saline efflorescence. The dry tracts which intervene between the swamps are overgrown with a coarse grass that attains a height of six feet, and resembles rye or wild oats. This grass grows in clumps, and is salt to the taste. The soil consists of a dark friable mould, without the smallest pebble in it. In every part of this country there are lakes containing salt water. Many of them are from ten to twenty miles long, and nearly as wide. These lakes are most numerous between 64° and 65° west longitude, where an extensive shallow depression occurs, perhaps fifty miles in length and twenty in width. The whole of this depression is filled with water, when the Rio Quinto, which originates in the Sierra de Cordova, is raised by a freshet from the mountains, at which time it sends a great portion of its waters into the depression. When the water has been evaporated by the heat of the summer it only remains in the numerous lakes and ponds with which the depression is interspersed. Where the plain approaches the hilly country that surrounds the south side of the Sierra de Cordova, the surface is broken in many places into low hills, with a steep ascent, and furrowed by ravines; the hills are

imagined than described. Don Giovanni Mastai, and his companion the Abbé Sallusti, had no other alternative, however, than to sleep in this repulsive spot, which we need hardly say how delighted they were to exchange the next day for the balmy odours wafted from the banks of the Parana; for they had reached the valley of that magnificent river, and which, with the Uruguay, constitutes one of the limits of what, in the present day, is designated as the Argentine Mesopotamia — an admirable country, of not less than 11,000 square leagues in extent.

It is there that, for these five years past, a new city,

separated from each other by grassy plains. The grass is smooth, short, and thick, and there are low bushes on it. The hills are partly clothed with thorny trees of a stunted growth, and with brushwood. The rivers which intersect this country run in beds from twenty to forty feet below its surface; their banks are very steep, but during the greater part of the year there is no water in them. It is only in the hilly tract of this part of the western pampas that there are any agricultural settlements; in the level country there are only cattle farms.

The plain, which extends from 66° west longitude to the base of the Andes, presents a less level surface. The soil consists of loose sand, impregnated with saline matter, and unfit for the growth of grass. The vegetation is limited to low thorny trees, some resinous bushes, and saline barilla plants. But this arid and sterile soil, when irrigated, is changed into the most fertile fields. The saline matter, as it seems, when applied to a soil so light, becomes, by the assistance of constant moisture, the most active stimulus to vegetation, and serves as a never-failing manure. The rivers in this region, being very little depressed below the general surface of the plain, are extensively used for irrigation, and the settlements on the Rio Tunuyan, Rio de Mendoza, and Rio de San Juan, are rather numerous, and rapidly increasing in extent and number. Indian corn and wheat are grown to a great extent, and exported to the neighbouring countries. The soil seems particularly adapted to fruit-trees. The plantations of vines, figs, peaches, apples, olives and nuts, are very extensive, and their produce goes to the neighbouring countries, especially to Chili.

The Argentine Republic contains also an extensive tract of hilly country, which lies between the Rivers Parana and Uruguay. In the northern part of this region is the Laguna de Ybera, which extends from north to south in some places nearly 100 miles, and nowhere less than 40, and from east to west about 80 miles. It covers an area of more than 3000 square miles. A narrow strip of elevated ground divides its northern border from the Rio Parana, and it is supposed that it is supplied with water from that river by infiltration, as no stream enters it, and it supplies with water four small rivers, one of which, the Mirinay, runs to the Uruguay, and three others to the Parana. The surface of this low tract, however, is only a deep swamp, interspersed with numerous small lakes. It is chiefly covered by aquatic plants and shrubs, but in most parts it is impassable. The country extending southward from this lake to the confluence of the Parana with the Uruguay has an undulating surface, the heights seldom rising into hills, except in the interior, and at a few places along the Parana. It is chiefly overgrown with trees, between which there are some savannas of moderate extent. On the plains numerous herds of cattle are pastured, which constitute the wealth of the country. Though the trees are of stunted growth, the entire want of forests in the surrounding countries makes this wood of great demand for the ordinary purposes of cabinet work, carriages, and as timber for small houses. The interior of the country appears to be much more hilly than along the rivers, and is occupied by the forest of Monteil, which extends more than 100 miles from north to south, with an average width of 40 miles. It is encumbered with brushwood and studded with small trees. At the southern extremity of the country, along the banks of the Parana, there is a low tract, which is subject to occasional inundations. That portion of this country which extends from the lake of Ybera in a north-eastern direction to the boundary-line of Brazil, is known under the name of the Missions, from the circumstance of the Jesuits having collected here a great number of aborigines, and accustomed them to a civilised life. The south western part, which is undulating, has a soil of great fertility, producing cotton, sugar, and other tropical productions. To the north-east of it the country rises into high hills and mountains, which are covered with high timber-trees, the most southern which occur east of the Andes from the Strait of Magalhaens.

The population of the Argentine Republic consists of descendants of Spaniards and of Indians. The whites have not settled here as masters, as in the countries farther north, where they have exempted themselves from agricultural labour. They are here cultivators of the ground, and chiefly look after cattle and horses. Those who look after the horses, and are called gauchos, live a wild life, and can hardly be said to be superior to the Indians. Their dress is a cloak (poncho), and they live exclusively on beef.

The Indians, who are subject to the dominion of the whites, are far from being numerous: the number probably falls short of 30,000 individuals. They are only found in the provinces north of the Great Salina. On the Despolado, and the valleys surrounding it, they seem to belong to the Peruvian nation, and to speak the Guichua language. In the valleys of Catamarca and Rioja they form distinct tribes, and live in villages distinct from the whites: their language is not the Guichua. Several families of the Guarani are still settled in the Missions, and others established themselves in Corrientes and Entre Rios. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Indians, who are not subject to the whites, and who are frequently at war with them, may be divided into the northern and southern Indians. The former inhabit the Gran Chaco, between the Salado and the Paraguay and Paraná, and the latter the countries south of 35° south latitude. Only one independent nation has maintained its ground surrounded by settlements of the whites—the Guaycurus, who inhabit the country between the towns of Cordova and Santa Fé, and as far north as the Great Lake, called Laguna Salados de Los Veronges. Twenty years ago this tribe was composed of only 800 or 900 individuals, and since that time they have probably been reduced to a still smaller number by the civil wars in the provinces; they seem to belong to the great nation of the Guaycurus, which inhabits the western banks of the Paraguay, between 16° and 26° south, and has rendered itself formidable both to the Spaniards and Portuguese. They have great numbers of horses, and dwell in low houses constructed of hides, which they move about with great facility. The attempts made to settle them in fixed places have hitherto proved abortive, as they are much attached to a wandering life.

The number of Indians in the southern districts of the Gran Chaco is small, and it seems that there are only a few families in the neighbourhood of the rivers; but on the banks of the Rio Vermejo, and between it and the Parana, there is a great number of wandering tribes, some of which are powerful. The most numerous of these tribes are the Tobas, Matagayos, and Matacos, on the banks of the Vermejo and the Guanas; Guaycurus Yagas, Lenguas, and Ivirayaras between the Piccomayo and Parana. All these, with the exception of the Guanas and Matacos, adhere to a nomadic life, and live on the produce of their flocks and of the chase. They have also many horses. The men go naked, with the exception of a girdle of cotton round their loins; the women cover themselves with a large cotton cloth. The men are always on horseback. Most of these nations seem to belong to the race from which the Guaycurus have sprung, and all their languages are only dialects of one. They raise some Indian corn. The Matacos, who had been for some time under the care of the Jesuits, have fixed habitations, cultivate the ground, and a considerable number of them go every year, in harvest-time, to the province of Salta, where they are employed in getting in the crops. Though these northern tribes have generally not a friendly intercourse with the whites who are settled near them, they are not in a state of continual war with them, as is the case with the southern Indians. Though in most other respects they resemble the southern tribes, they are not so tall, and on the average not taller than the inhabitants of southern Europe.

The southern tribes have their pasture grounds south of the Rio Salado of Buenos Ayres, and of 35° south latitude, which line was established, in 1740, between them and the Spanish government. This line was secured on the side of the Spaniards by a few military posts, and though the Indians from time to time made predatory incursions into the settlements, the whites lived in a state of comparative security. But during the confusion with which the establishment of the political independence of these provinces was attended, and during the war with Brazil, the Indians, becoming bolder, laid waste the country as far north as the Sierra de Cordova, killing the men and making women and children captives. After several attempts to bring about a peaceful arrangement had failed, the Government of Buenos Ayres sent a strong force against them, under the command of Rosas, the present dictator of Buenos Ayres, who scoured (from 1833 to

destined to be one of the great metropolises of the world—the flourishing federal city, capital of the Argentine States—is growing in peace; but Ciudad de la Vagada del Parana had no existence in the time of our missionaries, who passed by without almost deigning a notice of the future emporium of the south.

IX.

SAINT NICOLAS—ROSARIO—DESMOCHADOS, OR "THE MUTILATED"—INCURSIONS OF SAVAGES—DANGERS RUN BY THE MISSION.

FROM Saint Nicolas, which they attained on the 19th instant, our travellers were no longer in the territory of Buenos Ayres, but were advancing on that of Santa Fé. The first town of any importance that they met with was that of Rosario, which they reached on the 21st. This town, so flourishing in the present day, and which constitutes the port to the new State, did not contain at that epoch a population of more than 7,000 souls, whereas it now reckons 12,000. The priest of the city came forward to meet the Vicar Apostolic, and confirmation was solemnly given to thousands of the faithful.

On the morning of the 23rd they quitted this animated town, and it was at this point that they began to quit the valley of the majestic River Parana, which they had followed for so long a period. The dotted line in the map which marks the road now laid out is not the same as that followed by the Mission, which kept close to the banks of the river as far as Rosario. Passing Candelaria and Orqueta, it was at the latter place that they met with the first Pampas Indian they had seen. They were destined soon to make a better acquaintance with his race. Six leagues beyond that, they reached a post-house with the disagreeable name of Desmochados, which signifies the place of the mutilated. The name thus given to this ill-fated spot commemorated a frightful event. A few years previously some Indian horsemen surprised the master of the post and all his attendants, and the savages had, contrary to all expectations, granted them their lives, but had given to themselves the truly savage satisfaction of cutting off their hands and feet, and had left them in that frightful condition.

Accustomed to sanguinary incursions, Desmochados had still more recent reminiscences attached to it. Only ten days before, Don Giovanni Mastai and Monseigneur Muzi passed there, a troop of three hundred Indian horsemen had presented themselves in front of the tower that defends the passage. The brave postmaster had had time to shut himself up in it, and being armed with an excellent rifle, he had managed to kill one of them and wounded several others, who were carried away by their horses. These ferocious men, knowing the uselessness of their weapons, had withdrawn, but the blood spilt had to be repaid by other blood, and meeting with an unfortunate pastor by the way, they had put him to death with no less than twenty lance-wounds, after which the implacable savages had cut him up in little bits. A thing they were at that time ignorant of, but which oozed out afterwards, was that they reserved the same fate for every member of the Mission. Imperfectly informed by their spies, the Indians, reckoning upon a considerable booty, had hastily gathered together in order to pillage the caravan; only they made a mistake, as was afterwards satisfactorily ascertained, as to the precise moment when the strangers would pass by. The delay, which was experienced at Buenos Ayres, it turned out, had certainly saved their lives. But had it again extended to a full fortnight, the tragedy would have been enacted in all its details so horrible to contemplate. Three days after the travellers had gone by, the Indians came back to the same spot, and twenty unfortunate péons, whom they met, were pitilessly massacred by them; the merchandise that they escorted were carried off, and only one of these men, frightfully wounded and gashed, rose up from among the heap of dead, and survived to relate the event.

The tribes that ravage these regions in this sad manner, are the Puelches, the Pehuelches, and the Bankeles, and these warriors are among the most formidable of the Indians of the south. Sheltered

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1835) the whole country as far south as the Lusu Leubu, killed many thousands of the Indians, and rescued 1,500 whites who had been captured in the predatory expeditions of the natives. These active measures seem to have had a good effect, and, at the same time, the country, as far south as the Lusu Leubu, was annexed to the Argentine Republic. The Indians must accordingly now consider that they are only permitted to inhabit these countries with the consent of the republic. These southern tribes are divided into innumerable petty tribes of families, each governed by its own cacique, or ulmene, who occasionally claims, by hereditary title, but has little authority, except in time of war, when all submit implicitly to his direction. These tribes are frequently quarrelling and fighting with one another, and are only united in their predatory excursions against the whites. They speak a common language, and seem to descend from the same stock as the Araucanians in Southern Chili. All these tribes are comprehended under three denominations: the Pehuelches (Pine-tree Indians) inhabit the Andes, and the mountainous and hilly country along its eastern declivity; the Banqueles (Thistle Indians) occupy the central plains, and are more troublesome than the others to their neighbours; the Puelches inhabit the country along the Atlantic, between the Rio Salado of Buenos Ayres, and about 300 miles inland. This last-mentioned division of Indians is now on friendly terms with the whites. They are a tall race, averaging near six feet in height. They have numerous herds of horses. They eat the flesh of the mares and colts, and only occasionally eat bread of maize, which they obtain from the Spaniards in exchange for salt and cattle, and blankets made by their women. Their dwellings are made of hides sewn together, and are easily moved. They are always wandering about in the wide plains in quest of pasture for their horses; all of them, men, women, and children, live more on horseback than on foot.

Under the Spanish dominion, the countries now comprehended within the Argentine Republic were divided into four intendencias, Buenos Ayres, Cordova, Tucuman, and Salta. When these countries obtained their independence, a new division was made in 1823 and 1824, but, as the physical character of the country had not been attended to in making this division, some of the new states again divided: at present, there are thirteen republics. It was originally intended to unite them all under a central government, but the attempt that was made did not succeed. The States were dissatisfied with the authority and influence of the central government in their internal affairs, and they ceased to send deputies to the congress. We may, therefore, consider the Argentine Republic as an aggregate of thirteen republics, quite unconnected with one another; and it is possible that, for some time, they will form no union. The nature of the country renders any union by conquest very difficult, and in many cases impossible. Each of the thirteen States is separated from its neighbour by extensive tracts, either of desert or at least of uncultivated country, to penetrate which, even with a small army, is extremely dangerous. Though there has been some fighting among them for several years, we do not find that any two of these republics have united in one government. But the friends of liberty have to complain of another consequence of this division of the country into numerous small states. Deprived of assistance from their neighbours, most of them have already fallen under the authority of individuals, called dictators. To use the proper term, despotic governments have taken the place of republican institutions.

under leathern tents, which they transport at a moment's notice to the most distant part of the pampas, they live almost exclusively on horse's flesh, and they enrich themselves by plunder.

Let them be called Correrias, as in the bosom of the Argentine States, or Malons, as the Chilians are pleased to designate them, still these raids or predatory incursions are almost always attended by fierce struggles and frightful results. Handling their strong lances with so much ease and dexterity that they lift a man transfixed, in order the better to enjoy his agony, they turn round their heads the arm of their ancestors—the bolas—which never misses its aim, and with which they nail to the ground those who have escaped their pikes. But the days of these barbarous triumphs are nearly at an end; new and additional posts of well-equipped veterans, always ready to combat these barbarians, are founded every year, and civilization conquers new lands, from day to day, from these nomads. Urquiza will be the exterminator of their race, or he will reduce them to terms of peace. (*See* p. 230.)

At Frayle Muerto, a little place, but where they received a most hospitable reception, Monseigneur Muzi received, through Don José Cienfuegos, a message from the clergy of Cordoba or Cordova. The Vicar Apostolic felt it to be his duty to reply to this message himself, and not through any intermediary, an act that so hurt the feelings of the Chilian envoy, that he ever afterwards held aloof from the Mission, and travelled for the rest of the way by himself! His carriage broke down on two different occasions, and the annoyance to his health that was entailed by this line of conduct, no doubt led him to repent more than once for having adopted it. He was, nevertheless, found safe, and in tolerable good condition at Mendoza, whence the Mission had to start for its passage over the Cordillera of the Andes.

X.

Change of Road—New Aspect of the Landscape—Cordova—Mendoza—Santiago.

Monseigneur Muzi had been warned some time previous to this incident, when at l'Esquina de Medrano, that it was absolutely indispensable that he should change his route, in order to avoid the armed bands of Indians. They were thus placed under the necessity of changing their course for the time being from the north to the south, virtually turning their back upon the point which they proposed to reach. Literally overwhelmed with dust and fatigue, it was only after they had been refreshed by the limpid waters of the Arroyo de San José, that the members of the Mission were enabled to resume their original line of route.

The caravan was no longer preceded by an orderly, the luxury of a military courier had departed with Don José Cienfuegos. Our travellers did not the less continue to prosecute their rapid journey across these splendid solitudes. Accustomed to the exquisitely beautiful landscapes of Italy, ever fresh in their memory, still they admitted that these lands of Central South America as yet unclaimed by civilised communities, presented in the productions of nature, and the promises they held out to the future, new objects for admiration, and that at almost every step that they took.

They had been now many days travelling, when on the 25th of January they halted a moment to celebrate mass at Canada de Lucas, from whence, however, they proceeded without stopping on the way to Punta de Agua, where the road turned to the westward. The climate was now becoming delicious, and the country began to assume a more and more varied aspect. The plains, covered with beautiful flowering plants, were enlivened by the presence of the nandus, the stag of the country, deer, and hares, that, surprised by the unusual sound of the caravan, stopped a moment, and then perceiving the carriages, fled as if carried away by the wind. The Araucaria, so remarkable for the regularity of its branches, looking as if clipped and pruned, Dutch fashion, was visible in every direction.

The grasses became at the same time so abundant and so lofty as to completely hide the road; this was more particularly the case at Coral de Baranga. In the distance the mountains of Cordova were visible, and they felt that they were getting into the neighbourhood of the Andes.

Whenever the Mission arrived at an inhabited spot, they were comforted by a kindly and hospitable reception. At the station of Tambo, for example, an excellent supper was provided for them; but they were not always so fortunate, and they had often to seek their rest supperless on the naked ground, with the starry sky for a canopy. At the torrent of Barranquisa, the Abbé Sallusti examined the auriferous sands. At Cordova, capital of a province, hemmed in between two mountains, they were at once touched and edified by the enlightened piety of the clergy; and at San José del Moro they were entertained by so honest an hotel-keeper, that they insisted upon his looking over his bill again, but he was too disinterested to do anything of the kind.

Twelve leagues beyond this, at the station of Rio Quinto, they learnt the sad news of a disastrous accident that had befallen Don José Cienfuegos, and this intelligence induced them to change their route towards a small provincial capital, San Luiz de la Punta, so named after Saint Louis of France. The Mission was received with every demonstration of respect at this pretty little town. Founded in 1597, the travellers had reason not only to admire its churches and active piety, but also the advanced state of agriculture and the productiveness of the mines. They were more particularly struck with the magnificence of the nopals, all covered with cochineal.[1]

Our travellers progressed hence towards Mendoza,

[1] The province of San Luis comprehends that immense tract of country which extends between the state of Mendoza on the west, and that of Cordova on the east. Its north-western part runs northward to the boundary of Rioja and the border of the Great Salina, and it reaches southward to the old boundary line (35° south latitude). No part of it possesses any considerable degree of fertility. The greatest number of the widely-scattered and isolated settlements, consisting mostly of cattle-farms, occur along the road leading to Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, in the hilly country, where tracts of grassy land alternate with ridges of hills and sandy desert, overgrown with mimosas. As the grass is coarse and long, the pastures are indifferent; still cattle, horses, mules, and sheep, are abundant, and are exported to a small amount, together with some wool. The corn and maize which are raised are not sufficient for the consumption of the scanty population. The country between the Sierra du Cordova on one side, and Mendoza and San Juan on the other, is still worse. As no fresh-water streams run through it, it cannot be irrigated, and with the exception of a few spots, is a complete desert. San Luis de la Punta, the capital, is a poor village-like town, with 1,500 inhabitants.

but they had to pass on their way the extensive marshes of Chorillo, where one of their carriages broke down. They were thus detained for some time at the station of Chorillo, where they arrived worn out with fatigue under a burning sun, and where there is no fresh water. In these terrible marshes, formerly devastated by the Indians, it was with difficulty that shelter could be obtained for the Vicar-Apostolic, whilst Don Giovanni Mastai, and the Abbé Salusti, had no alternative but to seek for refuge in a roofless hut, of which the four walls alone remained standing, and even these seemed momentarily about to tumble down. Nevertheless, with such accommodation, they had to remain in this place for several days.

At Chorillo they also first heard that the Indians of the pampas had gathered together, to the number of eight thousand, to go and devastate the plains of Buenos Ayres, and that, coming up to a presidio erected on purpose to oppose their incursions, they had marched up to the very mouths of the cannon.

At length a new start was effected, and five leagues thence they reached the Bebedero, whose banks present inexhaustible salines. Dormido, the next station they came to, had nothing to present them with but a kind of soup, in which grains of maize swam in greasy water in company with shreds of charqui as tough as leather.

An agreeable change was experienced, however, at Catitas. There the delicious fruits of Europe abounded, and from thence our travellers first contemplated the Andes, covered with their eternal snows, and stretching far and wide in indescribable sublimity. That day, entirely devoted to pious admiration, was like a magnificent anticipation of the days of joy and repose that were now about to succeed to one another. After having passed through Retamo, where mass was celebrated in its small church—after having rested at Rodeo de un Medio—and after having forded the Tunuyan, another river and two torrents, the city of Mendoza made its appearance, and all the miseries of the journey were for a moment forgotten.

GRAND SQUARE AT SANTIAGO

This charming city, that leaves such delightful reminiscences with all who have been fortunate enough to visit it, put on a festal aspect to do honour to the Mission. Ladies waited upon the Vicar-Apostolic in full dress, triumphal arches of flowers and leaves were hastily raised, and it was amidst the acclamations of the entire population that Monseigneur Muzi and Don Giovanni Mastai were conducted to the house of Dona Emmanuela Corbalan, where Doctor Cienfuegos had preceded them, and where everything had been prepared to give them a magnificent reception.

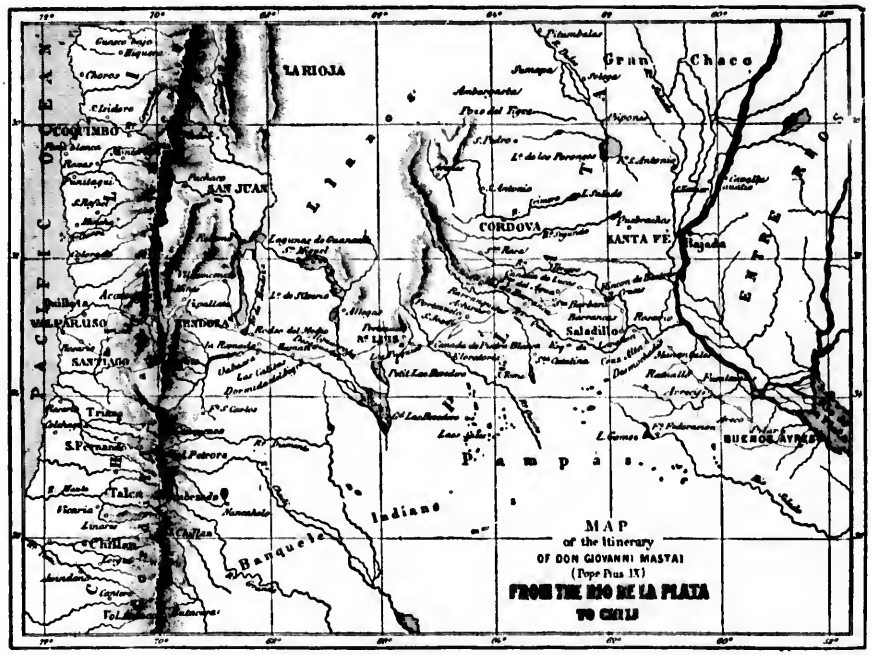
Mendoza is not an episcopacy; it is dependent upon the diocese of Cuyo, which comprises San Juan and San Luiz. The episcopate has since been instituted at San Juan, by a bull dating July 24th, 1834. Nevertheless, the most gorgeous religious solemnities, and numerous festivities held in honour of the Vicar-Apostolic, detained the Mission there for nine days. This brief period of repose constituted a halt in the journey;

it was far from constituting its termination. The formidable barrier that separates two regions equally favoured in point of climate remained to be crossed: the passage of the Andes can never be effected without running some dangers.

On the 24th of February our travellers set out from Mendoza, with this perilous ascent before them. But with good fresh horses, and a better road, they reached the mountain of Paramillo in fifteen hours, and found themselves fairly engaged in the Cordillera. The pampa has its monotonous aspect and its miseries, but the road across the Andes has its perils, at which even the most intrepid traveller may shudder. At the summit of the desolate mountains, in the region of mourning, where all vegetation ceases, and where the traveller may ride on in a funereal silence, the pious missionaries were several times threatened by numerous perils, but Providence was there to protect them. The worst day was the 29th of February, but it was gloriously succeeded by the 1st of March, when, for the first time, a terrestrial paradise seemed stretched at their feet. Arrived in this region of the Ronegua, those who had suffered so much felt themselves once more revived.

After having traversed Villa de Santa Rosa, after having halted for a time in the glorious plains of Chacabuco; after having said mass at Pellègue, at Colina, and in the convent of Dominicans which stands at the gate of the capital, at last they entered the city of Santiago. (*See* page 237.) The Ambrosian hymn was chanted pontifically on the 6th of March, in celebration of the happy termination of their journey.

Santiago received the pious travellers by surrounding them with all the pomps of the church, to which the acclamations of the people came to join themselves.



And here the record leaves them, its object having been simply to sketch the narrative of the journey from Genoa to the capital of Chili, a narrative to which the different works devoted to the record of travels have never yet directed public attention.[1]

[1] Santiago, the capital of the republic of Chili, in South America, is situated in a large plain which extends eighty miles north and south, and about fifty miles east and west. This plain borders on the east, on the high range of the Andes, which are covered with snow during the greater part of the year, and on the west on a range of hills called the Cuesta de Prado, which divides it from the shores of the Pacific. This plain is about 1850 feet above the level of the sea, and unfit for agricultural purposes, except where it is irrigated along the banks of some small rivers, and a canal, which brings water from the River Maypu to the vicinity of the town, and fertilises a tract more than twenty miles in length and several miles in width.

Santiago is one of the finest cities in America, in respect to buildings, convenience, and healthiness. It stands on a very gentle slope towards the west; and it is regularly laid out, being divided, like other Spanish towns, into rectangular and equal squares, called quadras. The principal streets, which are about forty-five feet wide, eight in number, run south-east and north-west, and are crossed by twelve other streets, all of equal width.

A JOURNEY TO THE WEST INDIES AND TO NEW ORLEANS.

I.

THE CARIBBEAN SEA—ISLAND OF MONTSERRAT—PASSAGE OF THE UNDIVIDED ISLANDS—LESSER ANTILLES—ANTIGUA—FRENCH CARIBBEAN ISLANDS—DOMINICA—ST. LUCIA—BARBADOS—ST. VINCENT—THE GRENADINES.

THE sea was calm and phosphorescent; the ship, propelled by steam-power through the slowly heaving ocean, made its way with a deep murmur like that of some gigantic cetaceous animal, and, like it, swung gently to and fro at each alternate rise and fall. I lay recumbent in one of the deck boats, contemplating the starry heavens above, and enjoying the fresh evening air; and as the ship bobbed up and down, the point of its tapering mast seemed to describe enormous circles, and the stars to be dancing in the sky. In the clear atmosphere of the tropics, instead of appearing, as with us, as if fixed in a solid vault, they seem to be so many luminous bodies suspended at various heights. It was the crystal vault of the Chaldeans contrasted with the great skull-cap of the Scandinavians, with the fleecy clouds representing emanations from the divine brain.

The pleasant motion, the monotony of sounds, and the impenetrable depths of the azure blue above, combined to throw me into a sleep as gentle and as soothing as had been my impressions when awake, and I did not rouse till a gruff voice disturbed my slumbers by the cry of land! I rose up, and out of the darkness of night was soon enabled to make out a great black mass, barely two miles off, in a north-westerly direction; it was the Island of Montserrat; a few minutes more and the sharp peaks of the twin mountains, that in reality constitute this island, could be distinctly made out rising above the horizon. (*See* p. 267.)

This volcanic rock of the Lesser Antilles was discovered by Columbus, and received its name from him in consequence of its resemblance to a mountain of the same name near Barcelona, and as being descriptive of its appearance, that of a broken mountain. The island is about twelve miles long, and about seven broad. The first settlement was made on it in 1632, by the English, under Sir Thomas Warner. It was taken from

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The streets are paved with small rounded stones, taken from the bed of the River Mapoiko, and leave a gutter in the middle, through which a current of water, flowing from the river, is suffered to run during two hours in the day, by which means the streets are kept clean. Most of the streets are paved on one side with slabs of red porphyry, quarried from the neighbouring hill of San Christoval; the width of this pavement is nine feet. The houses are usually only one storey high, on account of the earthquakes, but they are very large, and contain many rooms, arranged round three quadrangular squares, called patios. The entrance of the house is through a wide and lofty archway, which leads to the front patio, which is paved and separated from the second by a large sala and dormitorio. The second patio is laid out with flowers, and the third is used for domestic purposes. The windows of the rooms looking into the front patio, and especially the large windows of the sala, are protected by handsome, fancifully-wrought gratings, which are sometimes gilt, but the rooms in the other patios have no windows. The front of the house along the street is occupied by small rooms, which have no communication with the interior of the house, and serve as shops for mechanics and retailers. The walls of the houses are four feet thick, and built of large bricks made of baked mud, but they are all white-washed or painted, which gives them an agreeable appearance. They are roofed with red tiles. The Plaza, or great square, stands nearly in the middle of the city; it occupies the space of a whole quadra. It has a handsome bronze fountain in the centre, surrounded by a basin of hewn stone, from which the inhabitants are supplied with water by water-carriers. The buildings on the north-west side are, the government palaces, the prison, and the chamber of justice. On the south-west side stand the cathedral and the palaces of the bishop; on the south-east side are a number of little shops, and on the north-east there are private residences. The palace is an extensive building, in the Moorish style, of which it is a good specimen. The cathedral is the only stone building in Santiago; though somewhat heavy it is ornamental, but not finished. The other buildings of the town are in a good style, but they are not large, except the Casa de Moneda, or mint. This building occupies a whole quadra, or about 250 paces every way, is two stories high, has three court-yards, and a great number of apartments of those who were formerly officers of the establishment. But no money has been coined there for some years, and the machinery has been removed to Coquimbo. There are several handsome churches and convents in Santiago, especially those of San Domingo, San Francisco, and San Augustin.

At the eastern extremity of the town is a small rocky eminence, on which the fort of Santa Lucia is built, which is much visited by foreigners, on account of the beautiful views which it affords of the Andes. Adjacent to the hill on the north is the Tajamar, or breakwater. The River Mapocho skirts the northern side of the town, and though in the dry season a small river, it swells in the rainy season, and during the melting of the snow in the mountains, to such a formidable size, that it would inundate the town if it were not kept off by the Tajamar. This breakwater is of substantial brick and mortar masonry, about six feet across at the top, widening towards the ground, with a parapet of a single brick in thickness, and three feet high. It is nearly paved in the whole of its extent, which is two miles, with small black pebbles. It was formerly used as a public walk. At the western extremity of the Tajamar is a handsome bridge over the Mapocho, of eight arches, which leads to the suburb of Chimba. Along the south-western side of the city is the Canada, which is a large open place, planted with four magnificent rows of poplars, which are watered by small canals constantly full of clear running water. This is at present the public walk. The Canada separates the city from the large suburb called La Canadilla. At the western extremity of the city is the small suburb of Chuchunco. As no census has been taken, the population of Santiago is not exactly known. Thirty years ago it was estimated at 40,000, but modern travellers have made it 60,000. The inhabitants are nearly all of pure European blood; only a few have a slight mixture of Indian blood. The town owes its flourishing condition to the circumstance of its having been for many years the seat of government, and the residence of the great landed proprietors. The state of society has much improved since the country acquired its independence: many schools have been established, and there are even several schools for females, whose education is almost entirely neglected in the other countries of South America. It has also a college. Coarse ponchos and saddlery are made to some extent, and each sent to the other parts of Chili. Santiago exports the produce of its mines, and jerked beef-hides, and fruits, to Valparaiso, from which place it receives the manufactures of Europe, China, and the East Indies, with sugar, cocoa, and some other colonial productions from Peru and Central America. A good road leads from Santiago to Valparaiso, a distance of ninety miles: it is the best artificial road in South America, and practicable for carriages, though it crosses three ranges of steep hills. Santiago has some commercial intercourse with Mendoza, on the eastern side of the Andes. Two roads connect these towns. The northern traverses the Andes by the mountain pass of Portillo, south of Mount Tupungato, which attains an elevation of 14,365 feet above the sea-level, and is seldom open longer than from the beginning of January to the end of April. By these roads Santiago receives mules, hides, soap, tallow, dried fruits, and wine from Mendoza.

them in 1664 by the French, but was restored at the peace of Breda, and has since continued in the possession of the English. The mountains are in some places quite inaccessible, and are separated from each other by almost perpendicular chasms, which, with the sides of the mountains, to their summits, are clothed with a luxurious vegetation, including both lofty trees and tropical shrubs. On the south-west side, in a dell formed by the junction of three conical hills, and at a height of a thousand feet above the level of the sea, is a *Soufrière*, or boiling sulphurous spring.

The island has a small but well-built town, called Plymouth, and situated on its south-west side. The shipping has, however, to lie off the town in an open roadstead. There is, indeed, no available harbour or bay on any part of the shore, and it requires some skill on the part of those who manage the boats to land or embark with safety. Hence a peculiar kind of boat, called a Moses boat, is used for conveying produce and goods to and from the ships. The exports are simply sugar, molasses, rum, and a trifle of cotton. The inhabitants are, curiously enough, mostly Irish or the descendants of Irishmen, but there is an average of about 6,000 apprenticed negroes and 1,000 free blacks to some 300 whites.

Montserrat is a dependency of the Island of Antigua, but it has a separate legislature of its own, consisting of eight members of the House of Assembly, two of whom are returned from each of the four districts into which the island is divided, and six members of council. The island is esteemed to be so healthy that it has acquired the name of the Montpellier of the west. The average mortality of the troops stationed there is found to be far less than is experienced in any other of the West India Stations.

Mr. Anthony Trollope gives an amusing and sketchy account of the Passage of the Windward Islands, from which we shall take the liberty of borrowing an extract or two, as our way lay more directly into the Caribbean Sea.

In the good old days, when men called things by their proper names, those islands which run down in a stri from north to south, from the Virgin Islands to the mouth of the Orinoco River, were called the Windward Islands—the Windward or Caribbean Islands. They were also called the Lesser Antilles. The Leeward Islands were, and properly speaking are, another cluster lying across the coast of Venezuela, of which Curaçoa is the chief. Oruba and Margarita also belong to this lot, among which, England, I believe, never owned any.[1]

But now-a days we Britishers are not content to let the Dutch and others keep a separate name for themselves; we have, therefore, divided the Lesser Antilles, of which the greater number belong to ourselves, and call the northern portion of these the Leeward Islands. Among them Antigua is the chief, and is the residence of a governor supreme in this division.

After leaving St Thomas the first island seen of any note is St. Christopher, commonly known as St. Kitts, and Nevis is close to it. Both these colonies are prospering fairly. Sugar is exported, now I am told in increasing, though still not in great quantities, and the appearance of the cultivation is good. Looking up the side of the hills one sees the sugar-canes apparently in cleanly order, and they have an air of substantial comfort. Of course the times are not so bright as in the fine old days previous to emancipation; but nevertheless matters have been on the mend, and people are again beginning to get along. On the journey from Nevis to Antigua, Montserrat is sighted, and a singular island-rock called the Redonda is seen very plainly. Montserrat, I am told, is not prospering so well as St. Kitts or Nevis.

These islands are not so beautiful, not so greenly beautiful, as are those further south to which we shall soon come. The mountains of Nevis are certainly fine as they are seen from the sea, but they are not, or do not seem to be, covered with that delicious tropical growth which is so lovely in Jamaica and Trinidad, and, indeed, in many of the smaller islands.

Antigua is the next, going southward. This was, and perhaps is, an island of some importance. It is said to have been the first of the West Indian colonies which itself advocated the abolition of slavery, and to have been the only one which adopted complete emancipation at once, without any intermediate system of apprenticeship. Antigua has its own bishop, whose diocese includes also such of the Virgin Islands as belong to us, and the adjacent islands of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat.

Neither is Antigua remarkable for its beauty. It is approached, however, by an excellent and picturesque harbour, called English Harbour, which in former days was much used by the British navy; indeed, I believe it was at one time the head-quarters of a naval station. Premising, in the first place, that I know very little about harbours, I would say that nothing could be more secure than that. Whether or no it may be easy for sailing vessels to get in and out with certain winds, that, indeed, may be doubtful.

St. John's, the capital of Antigua, is twelve miles from English Harbour. I was in the island only three or four hours, and did not visit it. I am told that it is a good town—or city, I should rather say, now that it has its own bishop.

In all these islands they have queens, lords, and commons in one shape or another. It may, however, be hoped, and I believe trusted, that, for the benefit of the communities, matters chiefly rest in the hands of the first of the three powers. The other members of the legislature, if they have in them anything of wisdom to say, have doubtless an opportunity of saying it—perhaps also an opportunity when they have nothing of wisdom. Let us trust, however, that such opportunities are limited.

After leaving Antigua we come to the French island of Guadaloupe, and then passing Dominica, of which I will say a word just now, to Martinique, which is also French. And here we are among the rich green wild beauties of these thrice beautiful Caribbean islands. The mountain grouping of both these islands is very fine, and the hills are covered up to their summits with growth of the greenest. At both these islands one is struck with the great superiority of the French West Indian towns to those which belong to us. That in Guadaloupe is called Basseterre, and the capital of Martinique is St. Pierre. These towns offer remarkable

[1] The greater Antilles are Cuba, Jamaica, Hayti, and Porto Rico, though I am not quite sure whether Porto Rico does not more properly belong to the Virgin Islands. The scattered assemblage to the north of the greater Antilles are the Bahamas, at one of the least considerable of which, San Salvador, Columbus first landed. Those now named, I believe, comprise all the West India Islands.

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contrasts to Roseau and Port Castries, the chief towns in the adjacent English islands of Dominica and St. Lucia. At the French ports one is landed at excellently contrived little piers, with proper apparatus for lighting, and well-kept steps. The quays are shaded by trees, the streets are neat and in good order, and the shops show that ordinary trade is thriving. There are water conduits with clear streams through the towns, and everything is ship-shape. I must tell a very different tale when I come to speak of Dominica and St. Lucia.

The reason for this is, I think, well given in a useful guide to the West Indies, published some years since, under the direction of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Speaking of St. Pierre, in Martinique, the author says: "The streets are neat, regular, and cleanly. The houses are high, and have more the air of European houses than those of the English colonies. Some of the streets have avenues of trees, which overshadow the footpath, and on either side are deep gutters, down which the water flows. There are five booksellers' houses, and the fashions are well displayed in other shops. The French colonists, whether Creoles[1] or French, consider the West Indies as their country. They cast no wistful looks towards France. They marry, educate, and build in and for the West Indies, and for the West Indies alone. In our colonies it is different. They are considered more as temporary lodging-places, to be deserted as soon as the occupiers have made enough money by molasses and sugar to return *home*."

All this is quite true There is something very cheering to an English heart in that sound, and reference to the word home—in that great disinclination to the idea of life-long banishment But, nevertheless, the effect as shown in these islands is not satisfactory to the *amour propre* of an Englishman. And it is not only in the outward appearance of things that the French islands excel those belonging to England which I have specially named. Dominica and St. Lucia export, annually about 6,000 hogsheads of sugar each. Martinique exports about 60,000 hogsheads Martinique is certainly rather larger than either of the other two, but size has little or nothing to do with it It is anything rather than want of fitting soil which makes the produce of sugar so inconsiderable in Dominica and St. Lucia.

These French islands were first discovered by the Spaniards; but since that time they, as well as the two English islands above named, have passed backwards and forwards between the English and French, till it was settled, in 1841, that Martinique and Guadaloupe should belong to France, and Dominica and St. Lucia, with some others, to England. It certainly seems that France knew how to take care of herself in the arrangement.

There is another little island belonging to France, at the back of Guadaloupe, to the westward, called Marie-Galente; but I believe it is but of little value.

To my mind, Dominica, as seen from the sea, is by far the most picturesque of all these islands. Indeed, it would be difficult to beat it either in colour or grouping. It fills one with an ardent desire to be off and rambling among those green mountains—as if one could ramble through such wild, bush country, or ramble at all with the thermometer at 85°. But when one has only to think of such things without any idea of doing them, neither the bushes nor the thermometer are considered.

One is landed at Dominica on a beach. If the water be quiet, one gets out dry-shod by means of a strong jump; if the surf be high, one wades through it; if it be very high, one is of course upset. The same things happen at Jacmel, in Hayti; but then Englishmen look on the Haytians as an uncivilised, barbarous race. Seeing that Dominica lies just between Martinique and Guadaloupe, the difference between the English beach and surf and the French piers is the more remarkable.

And then, the perils of the surf being passed, one walks into the town of Roseau. It is impossible to conceive a more distressing sight. Every house is in a state of decadence. There are no shops that can properly be so called; the people wander about chattering, idle and listless; the streets are covered with thick, rank grass; there is no sign either of money made or of money making. Everything seems to speak of desolation, apathy, and ruin. There is nothing, even in Jamaica, so sad to look at as the town of Roseau.

The greater part of the population are French in manner, religion, and language, and one would be so glad to attribute to that fact this wretched look of apathetic poverty—if it were only possible. But we cannot do that after visiting Martinique and Guadaloupe. It might be said that a French people will not thrive under British rule. But if so, what of Trinidad? This look of misery has been attributed to a great fire which occurred some eighty years since; but when due industry has been at work great fires have usually produced improved towns. Now eighty years have afforded ample time for such improvement if it were forthcoming. Alas! it would seem that it is not forthcoming.

It must, however, be stated in fairness that Dominica produces more coffee than sugar, and that the coffee estates have latterly been the most thriving. Singularly enough, her best customer has been the neighbouring French island of Martinique, in which some disease has latterly attacked the coffee plants.

We then reach St Lucia, which is also very lovely as seen from the sea. This, too, is an island French in its language, manners, and religion; perhaps more entirely so than any other of the islands belonging to ourselves. The laws even are still French, and the people are, I believe, blessed (?) with no lords and commons. If I understand the matter rightly, St. Lucia is held as a colonial possession conquered from the French, and is governed, therefore, by a quasi-military governor, with the aid of a council. It is, however, in some measure dependent on the governor of Barbados, who is again one of your supreme governors. There has, I believe, been some recent change which I do not pretend to understand. If these changes be not completed, and if it would not be presumptuous in me to offer a word of advice, I would say that, in the present state of the island, with a Negro-Gallic population who do little or nothing, it

[1] It should be understood that a Creole is a person born in the West Indies, of a race not indigenous to the islands. There may be white Creoles, coloured Creoles, or black Creoles. People talk of Creole horses and Creole poultry; those namely which have not been themselves imported, but which have been bred from imported stock. The meaning of the word Creole is, I think, sometimes misunderstood.

might be as well to have as much as possible of the queen, and as little as possible of the lords and commons.

To the outward physical eye, St. Lucia is not so triste as Dominica. There is good landing there, and the little town of Castries, though anything but prosperous in itself, is prosperous in appearance as compared with Roseau.

St. Lucia is peculiarly celebrated for its snakes. One cannot walk ten yards off the road, so one is told, without being bitten. And if one be bitten, death is certain, except by the interposition of a single individual of the island, who will cure the sufferer—for a consideration. Such, at least, is the report made on this matter. The first question one should ask on going there is as to the whereabouts and usual terms of that worthy and useful practitioner. There is, I believe, a great deal that is remarkable to attract the visitor among the mountains and valleys of St. Lucia.

And then, in the usual course, running down the island, one goes to that British advanced post, Barbados—Barbados, that lies out to windward, guarding the other islands as it were! Barbados, that is and ever was entirely British! Barbados, that makes money, and is in all respects so respectable a little island! King George need not have feared at all; nor yet need Queen Victoria. If anything goes wrong in England—Napoleon coming there, not to kiss her Majesty this time, but to make himself less agreeable—let her Majesty come to Barbados, and she will be safe! I have said that Jamaica never boasts, and have on that account complained of her. Let such complaint be far from me when I speak of Barbados. But shall I not write a distinct chapter as to this most respectable little island—an island that pays its way?

St. Vincent is the next in our course, and this, too, is green and pretty, and tempting to look at. Here also the French have been in possession but comparatively for a short time. In settling this island, the chief difficulty the English had was with the old native Indians, who more than once endeavoured to turn out their British masters. The contest ended in their being effectually turned out by those British masters, who expelled them all bodily to the Island of Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras; where their descendants are now giving the Anglo-American diplomatists so much trouble in deciding whose subjects they truly are. May we not say that, having got rid of them out of St. Vincent, we can afford to get rid of them altogether?

Kingston is the capital here. It looks much better than either Roseau or Castries, though by no means equal to Basseterre or St. Pierre.

This island is said to be healthy, having in this respect a much better reputation than its neighbour, St. Lucia, and, as far as I could learn, it is progressing—progressing slowly, but progressing—in spite even of the burden of queens, lords, and commons. The lords and commons are no doubt considerably modified by official influence.

And then the traveller runs down the Grenadines, a pretty cluster of islands lying between St. Vincent and Grenada, of which Becquia and Cariacou are the chief. They have no direct connection with the mail steamers, but are, I believe, under the governor of Barbados. They are very pretty, though not, as a rule, very productive. Of one of them I was told that the population were all females. What a paradise of houris, if it were but possible to find a good Mahommedan in these degenerate days!

Grenada will be the last upon the list; for I did not visit or even see Tobago, and of Trinidad I have ventured to write a separate chapter, in spite of the shortness of my visit. Grenada is also very lovely, and is, I think, the head-quarters of the world for fruit. The finest mangoes I ever ate I found there; and I think the finest oranges and pine-apples.

The town of St. Georges, the capital, must at one time have been a place of considerable importance, and even now it has a very different appearance from those that I have just mentioned. It is more like a goodly English town than any other that I saw in any of the smaller British islands. It is well built, though built up and down steep hills, and contains large and comfortable houses. The market-place also looks like a market-place, and there are shops in it, in which trade is apparently carried on and money made.

Indeed, Grenada was once a prince among these smaller islands, having other islands under it, with a governor supreme, instead of tributary. It was fertile also, and productive—in every way of importance.

But now here, as in so many other spots among the West Indies, we are driven to exclaim, Ichabod! The glory of our Grenada has departed, as has the glory of its great namesake in the old world. The houses, though so goodly, are but as so many Alhambras, whose tenants now are by no means great in the world's esteem.

All the hotels in the West Indies are, as I have said, or shall say in some other place, kept by ladies of colour; in the most part by ladies who are no longer very young. They are generally called familiarly by their double name. Betsey Austen, for instance; and Caroline Lee. I went to the house of some such lady in St. Georges, and she told me a woful tale of her miseries. She was Kitty some thing, I think—soon, apparently, to become Kitty of another world. "An hotel," she said. "No; she kept no hotel now-a-days—what use was there for an hotel in St. Georges? She kept a lodging-house; though, for the matter of that, no lodgers ever came nigh her. That little grand-daughter of hers sometimes sold a bottle of ginger-beer; that was all." It must be hard for living eyes to see one's trade die off in that way.

II.

THE BAHAMAS — THE SAN JACINTO AND THE TRENT — CAPE TIBURON — PORT ROYAL — KINGSTON — SPANISH TOWN — THE COUNTRY IN JAMAICA — PORT ANTONIO — ST. ANN'S BAY — FALMOUTH AND MONTEGO BAY — COUNTRY LIFE IN JAMAICA — MILITARY STATION AT NEWCASTLE — BLUE MOUNTAIN PEAK.

LEAVING the windward passage to the right, as also the Bahama Channel, which has attained so sad a notoriety of late, from the American steam-frigate San Jacinto lying in wait and boarding there a British mail steamer, in time of peace, in order to carry away by force four non-belligerent passengers, commissioned to a neutral state, and placed under the protection of our flag. As geographers, we regret this outrage, all the more as it was perpetrated by an officer who has received honours in this country. Her Majesty the

Queen's medal, as Patron of the Royal Geographical Society, was awarded, in 1847, to Captain Charles Wilkes, U.S.N., for his voyage of discovery in the south hemisphere, and in the antarctic regions in the years 1838–42. A philosopher is expected to do everything in his power to allay, not to arouse, natural antipathies, the more especially so when not otherwise inconsistent with his duty. Captain Wilkes loses all interest or sympathy as such, for he had it in his power to have claimed the despatches in the most courteous manner, without either insulting the Commissioners or outraging the British flag. He preferred the latter course, and must therefore take the responsibilities that history may have to attach to his name.

Our way lay across the Caribbean Sea, and soon Montserrat was like a cloud in the horizon. The sun rose, and almost as soon made its tropical heat so sensible, as to drive all those exposed to its fiery beams, and who yet did not care to exchange the chances of the faintest of sea-breezes for the close and sickly atmosphere below, to seek shade wherever it could be found, even in the rear of the temporary protection of a spreading sail. The hopes of seeing land as we were coasting Puerto, or Porto Rico and Haiti, cheered us on the way and kept attention alive; but we were too far out at sea, and it was not till Cape Tiburon came in sight that our anxiety was gratified. The peninsula that terminates at the Cape of Sharks is in reality a narrow chain of mountains that advances boldly into the sea, and the peaks that dominate over the rugged outline of its coast have a wild and magnificent appearance. The loftiest of these peaks is nearly 9,000 feet in elevation, and from it the chain descends by a series of terraces down to Cape Tiburon, where the last rocks dive into the blue depths below with a fierce aspect of resistance, like a bull succumbing to an assault, yet still lifting up its horns in defiance. (*See page 247.*)

If Cape Tiburon could speak (and it can roar enough at times), or if nature's hieroglyphs had recorded upon its rocky surface the scenes that it has witnessed, it would indeed be a sad story to hear or to peruse. Few ships bound to Jamaica, except those carried by force of steam past the currents of the windward passage between Cuba and Haiti or St. Domingo, but its passengers have seen Cape Tiburon in peace or in wrath, but still in safety; but how many have been wrecked off those iron-bound coasts? Some have been burnt down to the water's edge within sight of those ominous rocks, and not only was this a notorious place of look-out for buccaneers of old, whence to issue forth and seize their lawless unoffending galleons and prizes, but in war time Cape Tiburon has seen many a hard-fought action. Would that such things were no longer to be!

Early next morning the Blue Mountains of Jamaica were in sight, and before many hours had elapsed we were at anchor in Port Royal, an officer of the Board of Health having boarded us as we rounded the Point, and ruffled our patience by delaying us for some thirty minutes under a broiling sun. Kingston Harbour is a large lagune, formed by a long narrow bank of sand which runs out into the sea, commencing some three or four miles above the town of Kingston, and continuing parallel with the coast on which the town is built till it reaches a point some five or six miles below. This sand-bank is called "The Palisades," and the point or end of it is called Port Royal. This is the seat of naval supremacy for Jamaica, and, as far as England is concerned, for the surrounding islands and territories. And here lies our flag-ship; and here we maintain a commodore, a dock-yard, a naval hospital, a pile of invalided anchors, and all the usual adjuncts of such an establishment.

The communication between Port Royal and Kingston, as indeed between Port Royal and any other part of the island, is by water. It is on record that adventurous subs. and still more enterprising mids. have ridden along the Palisades, and not died from sunstroke. But the chances were much against them. The ordinary ingress and egress is by water. The ferry boats usually take about an hour, and the charge is a shilling. They are sometimes, however, upwards of two hours in the transit.

Were it arranged by Fate, says Mr. Anthony Trollope, that my future residence should be in Jamaica, I should certainly prefer the life of a country mouse. The town mice, in my mind, have but a bad time of it. Of all the towns that I ever saw, Kingston is perhaps, on the whole, the least alluring, and is the more absolutely without any point of attraction for the stranger than any other.

It is built down close to the sea—or rather, on the lagune which forms the harbour, has a southern aspect, and is hot even in winter. I have seen the thermometer considerably above eighty in the shade in December, and the mornings are peculiarly hot, so that there is no time at which exercise can be taken with comfort. At about 10 A.M. a sea-breeze springs up, which makes it somewhat cooler than it is two hours earlier—that is, cooler in the houses. The sea-breeze, however, is not of a nature to soften the heat of the sun, or to make it even safe to walk far at that hour. Then, in the evening, there is no twilight, and when the sun is down it is dark. The stranger will not find it agreeable to walk much about Kingston in the dark.

Indeed, the residents in the town, and in the neighbourhood of the town never walk. Men, even young men, whose homes are some mile or half-mile distant from their offices, ride or drive to their work as systematically as a man who lives at Watford takes the railway.

Kingston, on a map—for there is a map even of Kingston—looks admirably well. The streets all run in parallels. There is a fine large square, plenty of public buildings, and almost a plethora of places of worship. Everything is named with propriety, and there could be no nicer town anywhere. But this word of promise to the ear is strangely broken when the performance is brought to the test. More than half the streets are not filled with houses. Those which are so filled, and those which are not, have an equally ragged, disreputable, and bankrupt appearance. The houses are mostly of wood, and are unpainted, disjointed, and going to ruin. Those which are built with brick not unfrequently appear as though the mortar had been diligently picked out from the interstices.

But the disgrace of Jamaica is the causeway of the streets themselves. There never was so odious a place in which to move. There is no pathway or trottoir to the streets, though there is very generally some such—I cannot call it accommodation—before each individual house; but as these are all broken from each other by steps up and down, as they are of different levels, and sometimes terminate abruptly without any steps, they cannot be used by the public. One is driven, therefore

into the middle of the street; but the street is neither paved nor macadamized, nor prepared for traffic in any way. In dry weather it is a bed of sand, and in wet weather it is a watercourse. Down the middle of this the unfortunate pedestrian has to wade, with a tropical sun on his head; and this he must do in a town which, from its position, is hotter than almost any other in the West Indies. It is no wonder that there should be but little walking.

But the stranger does not find himself naturally in possession of a horse and carriage. He may have a saddle-horse for eight shillings; but that is expensive as well as dilatory if he merely wishes to call at the post office, or buy a pair of gloves There are articles which they call omnibuses, and which ply cheap enough, and carry man to any part of the town for sixpence; that is, they will do so if you can find them. They do not run from any given point to any other, but meander about through the slush and sand, and are as difficult to catch as the mosquitoes.

The city of Havana, in Cuba, is lighted at night by oil-lamps. The little town of Cien Fuegos, in the same island, is lighted by gas. But Kingston is not lighted at all.

We all know that Jamaica is not thriving as once it throve, and that one can hardly expect to find there all the energy of a prosperous people. But still I think that something might be done to redeem this town from its utter disgrace. Kingston itself is not without wealth. If what one hears on such subjects contains any indications towards the truth, those in trade there are still doing well. There is a mayor, and there are aldermen. All the paraphernalia for carrying on municipal improvements are ready. If the inhabitants have about themselves any pride in their locality, let them, in the name of common decency, prepare some sort of causeway in the streets; with some drainage arrangement, by which rain may run off into the sea without lingering for hours in every corner of the town. Nothing could be easier, for there is a fall towards the shore through the whole place. As it is now, Kingston is a disgrace to the country that owns it.

One is peculiarly struck also by the ugliness of the buildings—those buildings, that is, which partake in any degree of a public character—the churches and places of worship, the public offices, and such like. We have no right, perhaps, to expect good taste so far away from any school in which good taste is taught; and it may, perhaps, be said by some that we have sins enough of our own at home to induce us to be silent on this head. But it is singular that any man who could put bricks and stones and timber together should put them together in such hideous forms as those which are to be seen here.

I never met a wider and a kinder hospitality than I did in Jamaica, but I neither ate nor drank in any house in Kingston except my hotel, nor, as far as I can remember, did I enter any house except in the way of business. And yet I was there—necessarily there, unfortunately for some considerable time. The fact is, that hardly any Europeans, or even white Creoles, live in the town. They have country seats, pens as they call them, at some little distance. They hate the town, and it is no wonder they should do so.

That which tends in part to the desolation of Kingston—or rather, to put the propositions in a juster form, which prevents Kingston from enjoying those advantages which would naturally attach to the metropolis of the island—is this: the seat of government is not there, but at Spanish Town. Then our naval establishment is at Port Royal.

When a city is in itself thriving, populous, and of great commercial importance, it may be very well to make it wholly independent of the government. New York, probably, might be no whit improved were the national congress to be held there; nor Amsterdam, perhaps, if the Hague were abandoned; but it would be a great thing for Kingston if Spanish Town were deserted.

The governor lives at the latter place, as do also those satellites or moons who revolve round the larger luminary—the secretaries, namely, and executive officers. These in Jamaica are now so reduced in size that they could not perhaps do much for any city; but they would do a little, and to Kingston any little would be acceptable. Then the legislative council and the house of assembly sit at Spanish Town, and the members—at any rate of the latter body—are obliged to live there during some three months of the year, not generally in very comfortable lodgings.

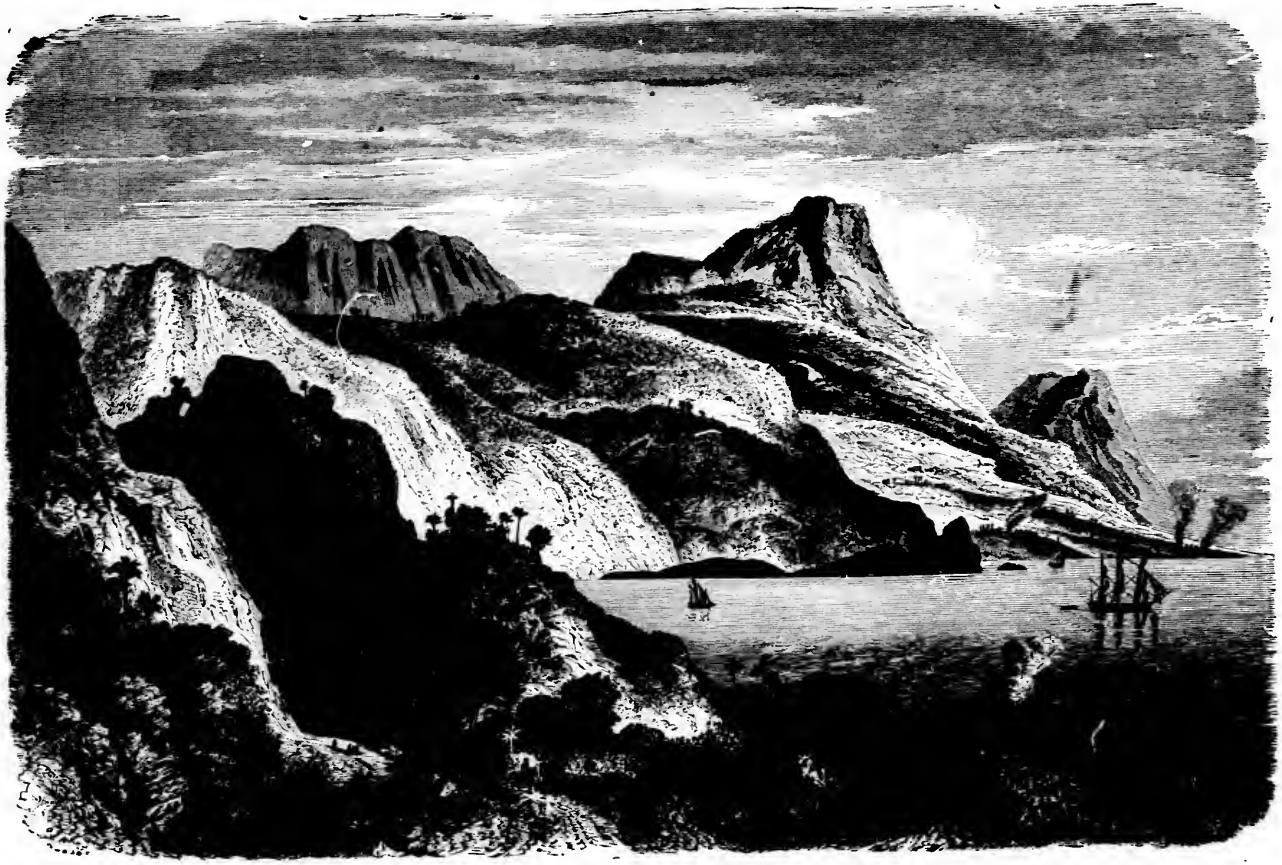
Respectable residents in the island, who would pay some attention to the governor if he lived at the principal town, find it impossible to undergo the nuisance of visiting Spanish Town, and in this way go neither to the one nor the other, unless when passing through Kingston on their biennial or triennial visits to the old country.

And those visits to Spanish Town are indeed a nuisance. In saying this, I reflect in no way on the governor or the governor's people. Were Gabriel governor of Jamaica, with only five thousand pounds a year, and had he a dozen angels with him as secretaries and aides-de-camp, mortal men would not go to them at Spanish Town after they had once seen of what feathers the wings were made.

It is like the city of the dead. There are long streets there in which no human inhabitant is ever seen. In others a silent old negro woman may be sitting at an open door, or a child playing, solitary, in the dust. The governor's house—King's House as it is called—stands on one side of a square; opposite is the house of the assembly; on the left, as you come out from the governor's are the executive offices and house of the council, and on the right some other public buildings. The place would have some pretension about it did it not seem to be stricken with an eternal death. All the walls are of a dismal dirty yellow, and a stranger cannot but think that the colour is owing to the dreadfully prevailing disease of the country. In this square there are no sounds; men and women never frequent it; nothing enters it but sunbeams—and such sunbeams! The glare from those walls seems to forbid that men and women should come there.

The parched, dusty, deserted streets are all hot and perfectly without shade. The crafty Italians have built their narrow streets so that the sun can hardly enter them, except when he is in the mid heaven; but there has been no such craft at Spanish Town. The houses are very low, and when there is any sun in the heavens it can enter those streets; and in those heavens there is always a burning, broiling sun.

But the place is not wholly deserted. There is here the most frightfully hideous race of pigs that ever made a man ashamed to own himself a bacon-eating



BAY OF ST. ANN'S, COAST OF JAMAICA.

biped. I have never done much in pigs myself, but I believe that pigly grace consists in plumpness and comparative shortness—in shortness, above all, of the face and nose. The Spanish Town pigs are never plump. They are the very ghosts of swine, consisting entirely of bones and bristles. Their backs are long, their ribs are long, their legs are long, but, above all, their heads and noses are hideously long. These brutes prowl about in the sun, and glare at the unfrequent strangers with their starved eyes, as though doubting themselves whether, by some little exertion, they might not become beasts of prey.

The necessity which exists for white men going to Spanish Town to see the governor results, I do not doubt, in some deaths every year. I will describe the first time I was thus punished. Spanish Town is thirteen miles from Kingston, and the journey is accomplished by railway in somewhat under an hour. The trains run about every four hours. On my arrival a public vehicle took me from the station up to King's House, and everything seemed to be very convenient. The streets, certainly, were rather dead, and the place hot; but I was under cover, and the desolation did not seem to affect me. When I was landed on the steps of the government-house, the first idea of my coming sorrows flitted across my mind. "Where shall I call for you?" said the driver; "the train goes at a quarter past four." It was then one: and where was he to call for me? and what was I to do with myself for three hours? "Here," I said, "on these steps." What other place could I name? I knew no other place in Spanish Town.

The governor was all that was obliging—as governors now-a-days always are—and made an appointment for

CAPE TIBURON, HAYTI.

me to come again on the following day, to see some one or say something, who or which could not be seen or said on that occasion. Thus some twenty minutes were exhausted, and there remained two hours and fifty minutes more upon my hands.

How I wished that the big man's big men had not been so rapidly courteous—that they had kept me waiting for some hour or so, to teach me that I was among big people, as used to be done in the good old times! In such event, I should at any rate have had a seat, though a hard one, and shelter from the sun. But not a moment's grace had been afforded me. At the end of twenty minutes I found myself again standing on those glaring steps.

What should I do? Where should I go? Looking all around me, I did not see as much life as would serve to open a door if I asked for shelter? I stood upon those desolate steps till the perspiration ran down my face with the labour of standing. Where was I to go? What was I to do? "Inhospitalum caucasum?" I exclaimed, as I slowly made my way down into the square.

When an Englishman has nothing to do, and a certain time to wait, his one resource is to walk about. A Frenchman sits down and lights a cigar, an Italian goes to sleep, a German meditates, an American invents some new position for his limbs as far as possible asunder from that intended for them by nature, but an Englishman always takes a walk. I had nothing to do. Even under the full fury of the sun walking is better than standing still. I would take a walk.

I moved slowly round the square, and by the time that I had reached an opposite corner all my clothes were wet through. On I went, however, down one dead street and up another. I saw no one but the pigs, and almost envied them their fleshlessness. I

turned another corner, and I came upon the square again. That seemed to me to be the lowest depth of all that fiery pandemonium, and with a quickened step I passed through but a corner of it; but the sun blazed even fiercer and fiercer. Should I go back and ask for a seat, if it were but on a bench in the government scullery, among the female negroes?

Something I must do, or there would soon be an end of me. There must be some inn in the place, if I could only find it. I was not absolutely in the midst of the Great Sahara. There were houses on each side of me, though they were all closed. I looked at my watch, and found that ten minutes had passed by since I had been on my legs. I thought I had wandered for an hour.

And now I saw an old woman—the first human creature I had seen since I left the light of the Governor's face; the shade I should say, meaning to speak of it in the most complimentary terms. "Madam," said I, "is there an inn here; and if so, where may it be?" "Inn!" repeated the ancient negress, looking at me in a startled way. "Me know noting, massa;" and so she passed on. Inns in Jamaica are called lodging-houses, or else taverns; but I did not find this out till afterwards.

And then I saw a man walking quickly with a basket across the street, some way in advance of me. If I did not run I should miss him; so I did run; and I hallooed also. I shall never forget the exertion. "Is there a public house," I exclaimed, feverishly, "in this ——— place?" I forget the exact word which should fill up the blank, but I think it was "blessed."

"Pubberlic-house, massa, in dis d—m place," said the grinning negro, repeating my words after me, only that I know *he* used the offensive phrase which I have designated. "Pubberlic-house! what dat?" and then he adjusted his basket on his head, and proceeded to walk on.

By this time I was half blind, and my head reeled through the effects of the sun. But I could not allow myself to perish there, in the middle of Spanish Town, without an effort. It behoved me as a man to do something to save my life. So I stopped the fellow, and at last succeeded in making him understand that I would give him sixpence if he would conduct me to some house of public entertainment.

"Oh, de Vellington tavern," said he; and taking me to a corner three yards from where we stood, he showed me the sign-board. "And now de two quatties," he said. I knew nothing of quatties then, but I gave him the sixpence, and in a few minutes I found myself within the "Wellington."

It was a miserable hole, but it did afford me shelter. Indeed, it would not have been so miserable had I known at first, as I did some few minutes before I left, that there was a better room up-stairs. But the people of the house could not suppose but what everyone knew the "Wellington;" and thought, doubtless, that I preferred remaining below in the dirt.

I was over two hours in this place, and even that was not pleasant. When I went up into the fashionable room above, I found there, among others, a negro of exceeding blackness. I do not know that I ever saw skin so purely black. He was talking eagerly with his friends, and after a while I heard him say, in a voice of considerable dignity, "I shall bring forward a motion on de subject in de house to-morrow." So that I had not fallen into bad society.

But even under these circumstances, two hours spent in a tavern without a book, without any necessity for eating or drinking, is not pleasant; and I trust that when I next visit Jamaica, I may find the seat of government moved to Kingston. The Governor would do Kingston some good; and it is on the cards that Kingston might return the compliment.

The inns in Kingston rejoice in the grand name of halls. Not that you ask which is the best hall, or inquire at what hall your friend is staying; but such is the title given to the individual house. One is the Date-tree Hall, another Blundle's Hall, a third Barkly Hall, and so on. I took up my abode at Blundle Hall, and found that the landlady in whose custody I had placed myself was a sister of good Mrs. Seacole. "My sister wanted to go to India," said my landlady, "with the army, you know. But Queen Victoria would not let her; her life was too precious." So that Mrs. Seacole is a prophet, even in her own country.

Much cannot be said for the West Indian hotels in general. By far the best that I met was at Cien Fuegos, in Cuba. This one, kept by Mrs. Seacole's sister, was not worse, if not much better, than the average. It was clean, and reasonable as to its charges. I used to wish that the patriotic lady who kept it could be induced to abandon the idea that beefsteaks and onions, and bread and cheese and beer composed the only diet proper for an Englishman. But it is to be remarked all through the island that the people are fond of English dishes, and that they despise, or affect to despise, their own productions. They will give you ox-tail soup when turtle would be much cheaper. Roast beef and beefsteaks are found at almost every meal. An immense deal of beer is consumed. When yams, avocado pears, the mountain cabbage, plantains, and twenty other delicious vegetables, may be had for the gathering, people will insist on eating bad English potatoes; and the desire for English pickles is quite a passion. This is one phase of that love for England which is so predominant a characteristic of the white inhabitants of the West Indies.

At the inns, as at the private houses, the household servants are almost always black. The manners of these people are to a stranger very strange. They are not absolutely uncivil, except on occasions; but they have an easy, free, patronising air. If you find fault with them, they insist on having the last word, and are generally successful. They do not appear to be greedy of money; rarely ask for it, and express but little thankfulness when they get it. At home in England, one is apt to think that an extra shilling will go a long way with boots and chambermaid, and produce hotter water, more copious towels, and quicker attendance than is ordinary. But in the West Indies a similar result does not follow in a similar degree. And in the West Indies it is absolutely necessary that these people should be treated with dignity; and it is not always very easy to reach the proper point of dignity. They like familiarity, but are singularly averse to ridicule; and though they wish to be on good terms with you, they do not choose that these shall be reached without the proper degree of antecedent ceremony.

"Halloo, old fellow! how about that bath?" I said one morning to a lad who had been commissioned to see a bath filled for me. He was cleaning boots at the time, and went on with his employment, sedulously,

as though he had not heard a word. But he was over sedulous, and I saw that he heard me.

"I say, how about that bath?" I continued. But he did not move a muscle.

"Put down those boots, sir," I said, going up to him; "and go and do as I bid you."

"Who do you call fellor? You speak to a gen'lman gen'lmanly, and den he fill de bath."

"James," said I, "might I trouble you to leave those boots, and see the bath filled for me?" and I bowed to him.

"'Es, sir," he answered, returning my bow, "go at once." And so he did, perfectly satisfied. Had he imagined, however, that I was quizzing him, in all probability he would not have gone at all.

There will be those who will say that I had received a good lesson; perhaps I had. But it would be rather cumbersome if we were forced to treat our juvenile servants at home in this manner—or even those who are not juvenile.

I must say this for the servants, that I never knew them to steal anything, or heard of their doing so from anyone else If anyone deserves to be robbed, I deserve it; for I leave my keys and my money everywhere, and seldom find time to lock my portmanteau. But my carelessness was not punished in Jamaica. And this I think is the character of the people as regards absolute personal property—personal property that has been housed and garnered—that has, as it were, been made the possessor's very own. There can be no more diligent thieves than they are in appropriating to themselves the fruits of the earth while they are still on the trees. They will not understand that this is stealing. Nor can much be said for their honesty in dealing. There is a great difference between cheating and stealing in the minds of many men, whether they be black or white.

There are good shops in Kingston, and I believe that men in trade are making money there. I cannot tell on what principle prices range themselves as compared with those in England. Some things are considerably cheaper than with us, and some much, very much dearer. A pair of excellent duck trousers, if I may be excused for alluding to them, cost me eighteen shillings when made to order. Whereas, a pair of evening white gloves could not be had under four-and-sixpence. That, at least, was the price charged, though, I am bound to own that the shop-boy considerately returned me sixpence, discount for ready money.

The men in the shops are generally of the coloured race, and they are also extremely free and easy in their manners. From them this is more disagreeable than from the negroes. "Four-and-sixpence for white gloves!" I said; "is not that high?" "Not at all, sir; by no means. We consider it rather cheap. But in Kingston, sir, you must not think about little economies." And he leered at me in a very nauseous manner as he tied his parcel However, I ought to forgive him, for did he not return to me sixpence discount, unasked?

There are various places of worship in Kingston, and the negroes are fond of attending them. But they love best that class of religion which allows them to hear the most of their own voices. They are therefore fond of Baptists; and fonder of the Wesleyans than of the Church of England. Many are also Roman Catholics. Their singing-classes are constantly to be heard as one walks through the streets. No religion is worth anything to them which does not offer the allurements of some excitement.

Very little excitement is to found in the Church-of-England Kingston parish church. The church itself, with its rickety pews, and creaking doors, and wretched seats made purposely so as to render genuflexion impossible, and the sleepy, droning, somnolent service, are exactly what was so common in England twenty years since; but which are common no longer, thanks to certain much-abused clerical gentlemen. Not but that it may still be found in England if diligently sought for.

But I must not finish my notice on the town of Kingston without a word of allusion to my enemies, the mosquitoes. Let no European attempt to sleep there at any time of the year without mosquito-curtains. If he do, it will only be an attempt; which will probably end in madness and fever before morning.

Nor will mosquito-curtains suffice unless they be brushed out with no ordinary care, and then tucked in; and unless, also, the would-be-sleeper, after having cunningly crept into his bed at the smallest available aperture, carefully pins up that aperture. Your Kingston mosquito is the craftiest of insects, and the most deadly.

I have spoken in disparaging terms of the chief town in Jamaica, but I can atone for this by speaking in very high terms of the country. In that island one would certainly prefer the life of a country mouse. There is scenery in Jamaica which almost equals that of Switzerland and the Tyrol; and there is also, which is more essential, a temperature among the mountains in which a European can live comfortably.

I travelled over the greater part of the island, and was very much pleased with it. The drawbacks on such a tour are the expensiveness of locomotion, the want of hotels, and the badness of the roads. As to cost, the tourist always consoles himself by reflecting that he is going to take the expensive journey once, and once only. The badness of the roads forms an additional excitement; and the want of hotels is cured, as it probably has been caused, by the hospitality of the gentry.

And they are very hospitable—and hospitable, too, under adverse circumstances. In olden times, when nobody anywhere was so rich as a Jamaica planter, it was not surprising that he should be always glad to see his own friends and his friends' friends, and their friends. Such visits dissipated the ennui of his own life, and the expense was not appreciable—or, at any rate, not undesirable. An open house was his usual rule of life. But matters are much altered with him now. If he be a planter of the olden days, he will have passed through fire and water in his endeavours to maintain his position. If, as is more frequently the case, he be a man of new date on his estate, he will probably have established himself with a small capital; and he also will have to struggle. But, nevertheless, the hospitality is maintained, perhaps not on the olden scale, yet on a scale that by no means requires to be enlarged.

"It is rather hard on us," said a young planter to me, with whom I was on terms of sufficient intimacy to discuss such matters—"We send word to the people at home that we are very poor. They won't quite believe us, so they send out somebody to see The somebody comes, a pleasant mannered fellow, and we kill our little fatted calf for him; probably it is only a

ewe lamb. We bring out our bottle or two of the best, that has been put by for a gala day, and so we make his heart glad. He goes home, and what does he say of us? These Jamaica planters are princes—the best fellows living; I like them amazingly. But as for their povery, don't believe a word of it. They swim in claret, and usually bathe in champagne. Now that is hard, seeing that our common fare is salt fish and rum and water." I advised him in future to receive such inquirers with his ordinary fare only. "Yes," said he, "and then we should get it on the other cheek. We should be abused for our stinginess. No Jamaica man could stand that."

It is of course known that the sugar-cane is the chief production of Jamaica; but one may travel for days in the island and only see a cane piece here and there. By far the greater portion of the island is covered with wild wood and jungle—what is there called bush. Through this, on an occasional favourable spot, and very frequently on the roadsides, one sees the gardens or provision-grounds of the negroes. These are spots of land cultivated by them, for which they either pay rent, or on which, as is quite as common, they have squatted without payment of any rent.

These provision grounds are very picturesque. They are not filled, as a peasant's garden in England or in Ireland is filled, with potatoes and cabbages, or other vegetables similarly uninteresting in their growth; but contain cocoa-trees, breadfruit-trees, oranges, mangoes, limes, plantains, jack fruit, sour-sop, avocado pears, and a score of others, all of which are luxuriant trees, some of considerable size, and all of them of great beauty. The breadfruit-tree and the mango are especially lovely, and I know nothing prettier than a grove of oranges in Jamaica. In addition to this, they always have the yam, which is with the negro somewhat as the potato is with the Irishman; only that the Irishman has nothing else, whereas the negro generally has either fish or meat, and has also a score of other fruits besides the yam.

The yam, too, is picturesque in its growth. As with the potato, the root alone is eaten, but the upper part is fostered and cared for as a creeper, so that the ground may be unencumbered by its thick tendrils. Support is provided for it as for grapes or peas. Then one sees also in these provision-grounds patches of coffee and arrowroot, and occasionally also patches of sugar-cane.

A man wishing to see the main features of the whole island, and proceeding from Kingston as his head-quarters, must take two distinct tours, one to the east and the other to the west. The former may be best done on horseback, as the roads are, one may say, non-existent for a considerable portion of the way, and sometimes almost worse than non-existent in other places.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of Jamaica is the copiousness of its rivers. It is said that its original name, Xaymaca, signifies a country of streams; and it certainly is not undeserved. This copiousness, though it adds to the beauty, as no doubt it does also to its salubrity and fertility, adds something too to the difficulty of locomotion. Bridges have not been built, or, sad to say, have been allowed to go to destruction. One hears that this river or that river is "down," whereby it is signified that the waters are swollen; and some of the rivers when so down are certainly not easy of passage. Such impediments are more frequent in the east than elsewhere, and on this account travelling on horseback is the safest as well as the most expeditious means of transit. I found four horses to be necessary, one for the groom, one for my clothes, and two for myself. A lighter weight might have done with three.

An Englishman feels some bashfulness in riding up to a stranger's door with such a cortége, and bearing as an introduction a message from somebody else, to say that you are to be entertained. But I always found that such a message was a sufficient passport. "It is our way," one gentleman said to me, in answer to my apology. "When four or five come in for dinner after ten o'clock at night, we do think it hard, seeing that meat won't keep in this country."

Hotels, as an institution, are, on the whole, a comfortable arrangement. One prefers, perhaps, ordering one's dinner to asking for it, and many men delight in the wide capability of finding fault which an inn affords. But they are very hostile to the spirit of hospitality. The time will soon come when the backwoodsman will have his tariff for public accommodation, and an Arab will charge you a fixed price for his pipe and cup of coffee in the desert. But that era has not yet been reached in Jamaica.

Crossing the same river four-and-twenty times is tedious; especially if this is done in heavy rain, when the road is a narrow track through thickly-wooded ravines, and when an open umbrella is absolutely necessary. But so often had we to cross the Waag-water in our route from Kingston to the northern shore.

It was here that I first saw the full effect of tropical vegetation, and I shall never forget it. Perhaps the most graceful of all the woodland productions is the bamboo. It grows either in clusters, like clumps of trees in an English park, or, as is more usual when found in its indigenous state, in long rows by the river-sides. The trunk of the bamboo is a huge hollow cane, bearing no leaves except at its head. One such cane alone would be uninteresting enough. But their great height, the peculiar graceful curve of their growth, and the excessive thickness of the drooping foliage of hundreds of them clustering together produce an effect which nothing can surpass.

The cotton-tree is almost as beautiful when standing alone. The trunk of this tree grows to a magnificent height, and with magnificent proportions: it is frequently straight; and those which are most beautiful throw out no branches till they have reached a height greater than that of any ordinary tree with us. Nature, in order to sustain so large a mass, supplies it with huge spurs at the foot, which act as buttresses for its support, connecting the roots immediately with the trunk as much as twenty feet above the ground. I measured more than one, which, including the buttresses, were over thirty feet in circumference. Then from its head the branches break forth in most luxurious profusion, covering an enormous extent of ground with their shade.

But the most striking peculiarity of these trees consists in the parasitic plants by which they are enveloped, and which hang from their branches down to the ground with tendrils of wonderful strength. These parasites are of various kinds, the fig being the most obdurate with its embraces. It frequently may be seen that the original tree has departed wholly from sight, and I should imagine almost wholly from existence; and then the very name is changed, and the cotton-

tree is called a fig-tree. In others the process of destruction may be observed, and the interior trunk may be seen to be stayed in its growth and stunted in its measure by the creepers which surround it. This pernicious embrace the natives describe as "The Scotchman hugging the Creole." The metaphor is sufficiently satirical upon our northern friends, who are supposed not to have thriven badly in their visits to the Western islands.

But it often happens that the tree has reached its full growth before the parasites have fallen on it, and then, in place of being strangled, it is adorned. Every branch is covered with a wondrous growth.—with plants of a thousand colours and a thousand sorts. Some droop with long and graceful tendrils from the boughs, and so touch the ground; while others hang in a ball of leaves and flowers, which swing for years, apparently without changing their position.

The growth of these parasite plants must be slow, though it is so very rich. A gentleman with whom I was staying, and in whose grounds I saw by far the most lovely tree of this description that met my sight, assured me that he had watched it closely for more than twenty years, and that he could trace no difference in the size or arrangement of the parasite plants by which it was surrounded.

We went across the island to a little village called Annotta Bay, traversing the Waag-water twenty-four times, as I have said; and from thence, through the parishes of Metcalf and St. George, to Port Antonio, "Fuit illum et ingens gloria." This may certainly be said of Port Antonio and the adjacent district. It was once a military station, and the empty barracks, standing so beautifully over the sea, on an extreme point of land, are now waiting till time shall reduce them to ruin. The place is utterly desolate, though not yet broken up in its desolation, as such buildings quickly become when left wholly untenanted. A rusty cannon or two still stand at the embrasures, watching the entrance to the fort; and among the grass we found a few metal balls, the last remains of the last ordnance supplies.

But Port Antonio was once a goodly town, and the country round it, the parish of Portland, is as fertile as any in the island But now there is hardly a sugar estate in the whole parish. It is given up to the growth of yams, cocoa, and plantains. It has become a provision-ground for negroes, and the palmy days of the town are of course gone.

The largest expanse of unbroken cane-fields in Jamaica is at the extreme south-east, in the parish of St. George's in the East. Here I saw a plain of about four thousand acres under canes. It looked to be prosperous; but I was told by the planter with whom I was staying that the land had lately been deluged with water; that the canes were covered with mud; and that the crops would be very short. Poor Jamaica! It seems as though all the elements are in league against her.

I was not sorry to return to Kingston from this trip, for I was tired of the saddle. In Jamaica everybody rides, but nobody seems to get much beyond a walk. Now to me there is no pace on horseback so wearying as an unbroken walk. I did goad my horse into trotting, but it was clear that the animal was not used to it.

Shortly afterwards I went to the west. The distances here were longer, but the journey was made on wheels, and was not so fatiguing. Moreover, I stayed some little time with a friend in one of the distant parishes of the island. The scenery during the whole expedition was very grand. The road goes through Spanish Town, and then divides itself, one road going westward by the northern coast, and the other by that to the south. I went by the former, and began my journey by the bog or bogue walk, a road through a magnificent ravine, and then over Mount Diabolo. The Devil assumes to himself all the finest scenery in all countries. Of a delicious mountain turn he makes his punch-bowl; he loves to leap from crag to crag over the wildest ravines; he builds picturesque bridges in most impassable sites; and makes roads over mountains at gradients not to be attempted by the wildest engineer. The road over Mount Diabolo is very fine, and the view back to Kingston very grand.

From thence I went down into the parish of St. Ann's, on the northern side. They all speak of St. Ann's as being the most fertile district in the island. The inhabitants are addicted to grazing rather than sugarmaking, and thrive in that pursuit very well. But all Jamaica is suited for a grazing-ground, and all the West Indies should be the market for their cattle.

We give an illustration of the Bay of St. Ann's, with its noble mountains in the background, at page 245.

On the northern coast there are two towns, Falmouth and Montego Bay, both of which are, at any rate in appearance, more prosperous than Kingston I cannot say that the streets are alive with trade; but they do not appear to be so neglected, desolate, and wretched as the metropolis or the seat of government. They have jails and hospitals, mayors and magistrates, and are, except in atmosphere, very like small country towns in England.

The two furthermost parishes of Jamaica are Hanover and Westmoreland, and I stayed for a short time with a gentleman who lives on the borders of the two. I certainly was never in a more lovely country. He was a sugar planter; but the canes and sugar, which, after all, are ugly and by no means savoury appurtenances, were located somewhere out of sight. As far as I myself might know, from what I saw, my host's ordinary occupations were exactly those of a country gentleman in England. He fished and shot, and looked after his estate, and acted as a magistrate; and over and above this, was somewhat particular about his dinner, and the ornamentation of the land immediately round his house. I do not know that Fate can give a man a pleasanter life. If, however, he did at unseen moments inspect his cane-holes, and employ himself among the sugar hogsheads and rum puncheons, it must be acknowledged that he had a serious drawback on his happiness.

Country life in Jamaica certainly has its attractions. The day is generally begun at six o'clock, when a cup of coffee is brought in by a sable minister. I believe it is customary to take this in bed, or rather on the bed; for in Jamaica one's connection with one's bed does not amount to getting into it. One gets within the mosquito net, and then plunges about with a loose sheet, which is sometimes on and sometimes off. With the cup of coffee comes a small modicum of dry toast.

After that the toilet progresses, not at a rapid pace. A tub of cold water and dilettante dressing will do something more than kill an hour, so that it is half-past seven or eight before one leaves one's room

When one first arrives in the West Indies, one hears much of early morning exercise, especially for ladies; and for ladies, early morning exercise is the only exercise possible. But it appeared to me that I heard more of it than I saw. And even as regards early travelling, the eager premise was generally broken. An assumed start at five A.M. usually meant seven; and one at six, half-past eight. This, however, is the time of day at which the sugar grower is presumed to look at his canes, and the grazier to inspect his kine. At this hour—eight o'clock, that is—the men ride, and sometimes also the ladies. And when the latter ceremony does take place, there is no pleasanter hour in all the four-and-twenty.

At ten or half past ten the nation sits down to breakfast; not to a meal, my dear Mrs. Jones, consisting of tea and bread and butter, with two eggs for the master of the family and one for the mistress; but a stout, solid banquet, consisting of fish, beefsteaks—a breakfast is not a breakfast in the West Indies without beefsteaks and onions, nor is a dinner so to be called without bread and cheese and beer—potatoes, yams, plantains, eggs, and half a dozen "tinned" productions, namely, meats sent from England in tin cases. Though they have every delicacy which the world can give them of native production, all these are as nothing, unless they also have something from England. Then there are tea and chocolate upon the table, and on the sideboard beer and wine, rum and brandy. 'Tis so that they breakfast at rural quarters in Jamaica.

Then comes the day. Ladies may not subject their fair skin to the outrages of a tropical sun, and therefore, unless on very special occasions, they do not go out between breakfast and dinner. That they occupy themselves well during the while, charity feels convinced. Sarcasm, however, says that they do not sin from over-energy. For my own part, I do not care a doit for sarcasm. When their lords reappear, they are always found smiling, well-dressed, and pretty; and then after dinner they have but one sin—there is but one drawback—they will go to bed at nine o'clock.

But by the men during the day it did not seem to me that the sun was much regarded, or that it need be much regarded. One cannot and certainly should not walk much; and no one does walk. A horse is there as a matter of course, and one walks upon that; not a great beast sixteen hands high, requiring all manner of levers between its jaws, capricoling and prancing about, and giving a man a deal of work merely to keep his seat and look stately; but a canny little quiet brute, fed chiefly on grass, patient of the sun, and not inclined to be troublesome. With such legs under him, and at a distance of some twenty miles from the coast, a man may get about in Jamaica pretty nearly as well as he can in England.

I saw various grazing farms—pens they are here called—while I was in this part of the country; and I could not but fancy that grazing should in Jamaica be the natural and most beneficial pursuit of the proprietor, as on the other side of the Atlantic it certainly is in Ireland. I never saw grass to equal the guinea grass in some of the parishes; and at Knockalva I looked at Hereford cattle which I have rarely, if ever, seen beaten at any agricultural show in England. At present the island does not altogether supply itself with meat; but it might do so, and supply, moreover, nearly the whole of the remaining West Indies. Proprietors of land say that the sea transit is too costly. Of course it is at present; the trade not yet existing; for indeed, at present there is no means of such transit. But screw steamers now always appear quickly enough wherever freight offers itself; and if the cattle were there, they would soon find their way down to the Windward Islands.

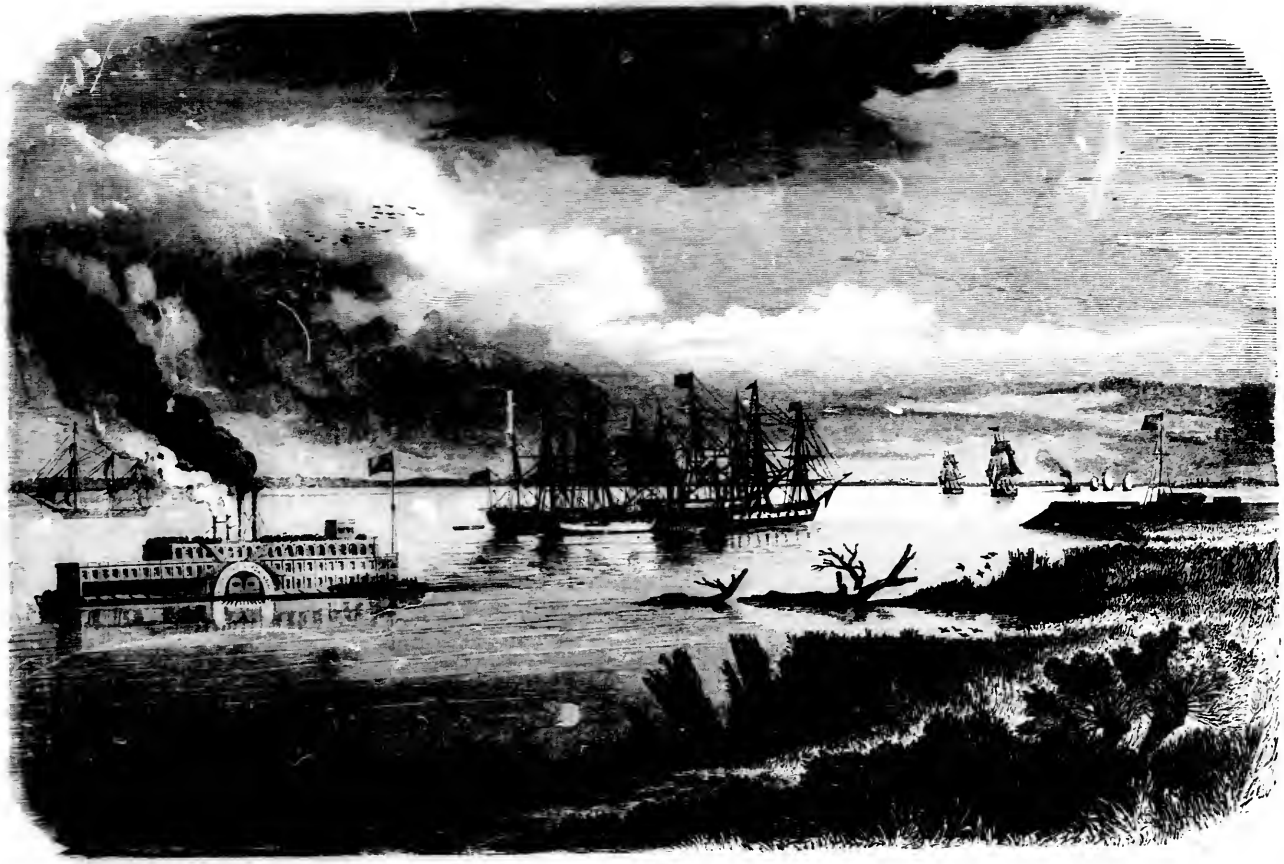
But I am running away from my day. The inspection of a pen or two, perhaps occasionally of the sugar works when they are about, soon wears through the hours, and at five preparations commence for the six o'clock dinner. The dressing again is a dilettante process, even for the least dandified of mankind. It is astonishing how much men think, and must think, of their clothes when within the tropics. Dressing is necessarily done slowly, or else one gets heated quicker than one has cooled down. And then one's clothes always want airing, and the supply of clean linen is necessarily copious, or, at any rate, should be so. Let no man think that he can dress for dinner in ten minutes because he is accustomed to do so in England. He cannot brush his hair, or pull on his boots, or fasten his buttons at the same pace he does at home. He dries his face very leisurely, and sits down gravely to rest before he draws on his black pantaloons.

Dressing for dinner, however, is *de rigeur* in the West Indies. If a black coat, &c., could be laid aside anywhere as barbaric, and light loose clothing adopted, this should be done here. The soldiers, at least the privates, are already dressed as Zouaves; and children and negroes are hardly dressed at all. But the visitor, victim of tropical fashionable society, must appear in black clothing, because black clothing is the thing in England. "The governor won't see you in that coat," was said to me once on my way to Spanish Town, "even on a morning." The governor did see me, and as far as I could observe, did not know whether or no I had on any coat. Such, however, is the feeling of the place: but we shall never get to dinner.

This again is a matter of considerable importance, as, indeed, where is it not? While in England we are all writing letters to the *Times*, to ascertain how closely we can copy the vices of Apicius on eight hundred pounds a year, and complaining because in our perverse stupidity we cannot pamper our palates with sufficient variety, it is not open to us to say a word against the luxuries of a West Indian table. We have reached the days when a man not only eats his best, but complains bitterly and publicly because he cannot eat better; when we sigh out loud because no Horace will teach us where the sweetest cabbage grows; how best to souse our living poultry, so that their fibres, when cooked, may not offend our teeth. These lessons of Horace are accounted among his Satires. But what of that? That which was satire to Augustine Rome shall be simple homely teaching to the subject of Victoria with his thousand a year.

But the cook in the Jamaica country-house is a person of importance, and I am inclined to think that the lady whom I have accused of idleness does during those vacant interlunar hours occasionally peer into her kitchen. The results at any rate are good—sufficiently so to break the hearts of some of our miserable eight hundred a year men at home.

After dinner no wine is taken—none, at least, beyond one glass with the ladies, and if you choose it, one after they are gone. Before dinner, as I should



STEAM-PACKET AND TUG-BOAT ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

have mentioned before, a glass of bitters is as much *de rigeur* as the black coat. I know how this will disgust many a kindly friend in dear good old thickly-prejudiced native England. Yes, ma'am, bitters! No, not gin and bitters, such as the cabmen take at the gin-palaces; not gin and bitters at all, unless you specially request it, but sherry and bitters; and a very pretty habit it is for a warm country. If you don't drink your wine after dinner, why not take it before? I have no doubt that it is the more wholesome habit of the two.

Not that I recommend, even in the warmest climate, a second bitter, or a third. There are spots in the West Indies where men take third bitters, and long bitters, in which the bitter time begins when the soda-water and brandy time ends, in which the latter commences when the breakfast beer-bottles disappear. There are such places, but they must not be named by me in characters plainly legible. To kiss and tell is very criminal, as the whole world knows. But while on the subject of bitters, I must say this: Let no man ever allow himself to take a long bitter such as men make at ————. It is beyond the power of man to stop at one. A long bitter duly swiggled is your true West Indian syren.

And then men and women saunter out on the verandah, or perhaps, if it be starlight or moonlight, into the garden. Oh, what stars they are, those in that western tropical world! How beautiful a woman looks by their light, how sweet the air smells, how gloriously legible are the constellations of the heavens! And then one sips a cup of coffee, and there is a little chat, the lightest of the light, and a little music, light enough also, and at nine one retires to one's light slumbers. It is a pleasant life for a short time, though the flavour of the *dolce far niente* is somewhat too prevalent for Saxon energies fresh from Europe.

Such are the ordinary evenings of society, but there are occasions when no complaint can be made of lack of energy. The soul of a Jamaica lady revels in a dance. Dancing is popular in England—is popular almost everywhere, but in Jamaica it is the elixir of life; the Medea's cauldron, which makes old people young; the cup of Circe, which neither man nor woman can withstand. Look at that lady who has been content to sit still and look beautiful for the last two hours; let but the sound of a polka meet her, and she will awake to life as lively, to motion as energetic, as that of a Scotch sportsman on the 12th of August. It is singular how the most listless girl, who seems to trail through her long days almost without moving her limbs, will continue to waltz and polk and rush up and down a galopade from ten till five, and then think the hours all too short!

And it is not the girls only, and the boys—begging their pardon—who rave for dancing. Steady matrons of five-and-forty are just as anxious, and grave senators, whose years are past manning. See that gentleman with the bald head and grizzled beard, how sedulously he is making up his card! "Madam, the fourth polka," he says to the stout lady in the turban and the yellow slip, who could not move yesterday because of her rheumatism. "I'm full up to the fifth," she replies, looking at the MS. hanging from her side; "but shall be so happy for the sixth, or perhaps the second schottische." And then, after a little grave conference, the matter is settled between them.

"I hope you dance quick dances," a lady said to me. "Quick!" I replied in my ignorance; "has not one to go by the music in Jamaica?" "Oh, you goose! don't you know what quick dances are? I never dance anything but quick dances, quadrilles are so deadly dull." I could not but be amused at this new theory as to the quick and dead—new at least to me, though, alas! I found myself tabooed from all the joys of the night by this invidious distinction.

In the West Indies, polkas and the like are quick dances; quadrilles and their counterparts are simply dead. A lady shows you no compliment by giving you her hand for the latter; in that you have merely to amuse her by conversation. Flirting, as any practitioner knows, is spoilt by much talking. Many words make the amusement either absurd or serious, and either alternative is to be avoided.

And thus I soon become used to quick dances and long drinks—that is, in my vocabulary. "Will you have a long drink or a short one?" It sounds odd, but is very expressive. A long drink is taken from a tumbler, a short one from a wine-glass. The whole extent of the choice thus becomes intelligible.

Many things are necessary, and many changes must be made, before Jamaica can again enjoy all her former prosperity. I do not know whether the total abolition of the growth of sugar be not one of them. But this I do know, that whatever be their produce, they must have roads on which to carry it before they can grow rich. The roads through the greater part of the island are very bad indeed: and those along the southern coast, through the parishes of St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Clarendon, are by no means among the best. I returned to Kingston by this route, and shall never forget some of my difficulties. On the whole, the south-western portion of the island is by no means equal to the northern.

I took a third expedition up to Newcastle, where are placed the barracks for our white troops, to the Blue Mountain peak, and to various gentlemen's houses in these localities. For grandeur of scenery this is the finest part of the island. The mountains are far too abrupt, and the land too much broken for those lovely park-like landscapes of which the parishes of Westmoreland and Hanover are full, and of which Shuttlestone, the property of Lord Howard de Walden, is perhaps the most beautiful specimen. But nothing can be grander, either in colour or grouping, than the ravines of the Blue Mountain ranges of hills. Perhaps the finest view in the island is from Raymond Lodge, a house high up among the mountains, in which—so local rumour says—*Tom Cringle's Log* was written.

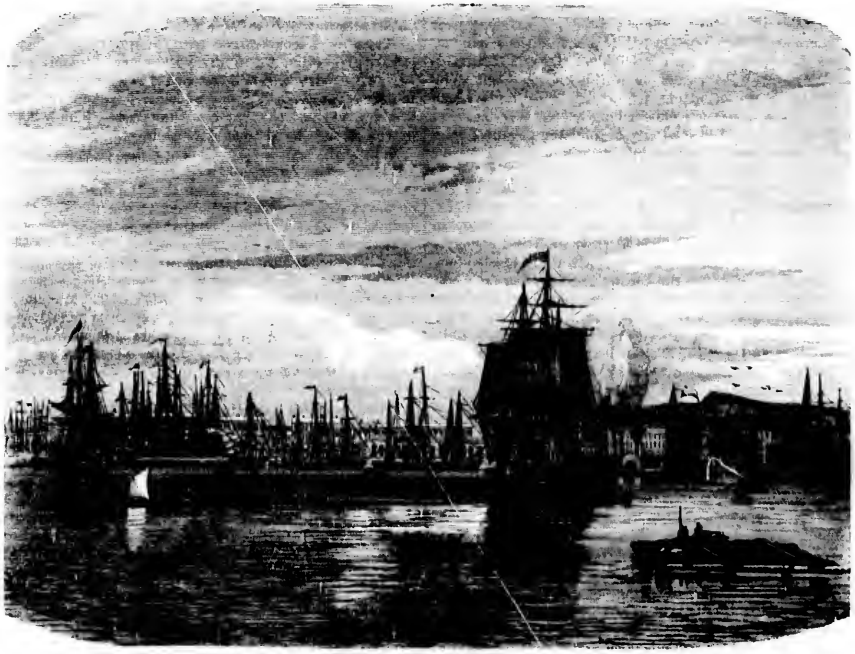
To reach these regions a man must be an equestrian—as must also a woman. No lady lives there so old but what she is to be seen on horseback, nor any child so young. Babies are carried up there on pillows, and whole families on ponies. Tis here that bishops and generals love to dwell, that their daughters may have rosy cheeks, and their sons stalwart limbs. And they are right. Children that are brought up among these mountains, though they live but twelve or eighteen miles from their young friends down at Kingston, cannot be taken as belonging to the same race. I can imagine no more healthy climate than the mountains round Newcastle.

I shall not soon forget my ride to Newcastle. Two ladies accompanied me and my excellent friend who was pioneering me through the country; and the

were kind enough to show us the way over all the break-neck passes in the country. To them and to their horses, these were like easy high-roads; but to me, ——! It was manifestly a disappointment to them that my heart did not visibly faint within me.

I have hunted in Carmarthenshire, and a man who has done that ought to be able to ride anywhere; but in riding over some of these razorback crags, my heart, though it did not faint visibly, did almost do so invisibly. However, we got safely to Newcastle, and our fair friends returned over the same route with no other escort than that of a black groom. In spite of the crags the ride was not unpleasant.

One would almost enlist as a full private in one of her Majesty's regiments of the line if one were sure of being quartered for ever at Newcastle—at Newcastle, Jamaica, I mean. Other Newcastles of which I wot have by no means equal attraction. This place also is accessible only by foot or on horseback; and is therefore singularly situated for a barrack. But yet it consists now of a goodly village, in which live colonels, and majors, and chaplains, and surgeons, and purveyors, all in a state of bliss—as it were in a second Eden. It is a military paradise, in which war is spoken of, and dinners and dancing abound. If good air and fine scenery be dear to the heart of the British soldier, he ought to be happy at Newcastle. Nevertheless, I



PORT OF NEW ORLEANS.

prefer the views from Raymond Lodge to any that Newcastle can afford.

And now I have a mournful story to tell. Did any man ever know of any good befalling him from going up a mountain; always excepting Albert Smith, who we are told, has realised half a million by going up Mont Blanc? If a man can go up his mountains in Piccadilly, it may be all very well; in so doing he perhaps may see the sun rise, and be able to watch nature in her wildest vagaries. But as for the true ascent—the nasty, damp, dirty, slippery, boot destroying, shin-breaking, veritable mountain! Let me recommend my friends to let it alone, unless they have a gift for making half a million in Piccadilly. I have tried many a mountain in a small way, and never found one to answer. I hereby protest that I will never try another.

However, I did go up the Blue Mountain Peak, which ascends—so I was told—to the respectable height of 8,000 feet above the sea-level. To enable me to do this, I provided myself with a companion, and he provided me with five negroes, a supply of beef, bread and water, some wine and brandy, and what appeared to me to be about ten gallons of rum; for we were to spend the night on the Blue Mountain Peak, in order that the rising sun might be rightly worshipped.

For some considerable distance we rode, till we came indeed to the highest inhabited house in the island. This is the property of a coffee planter who lives there,

and who divides his time and energies between the growth of coffee and the entertainment of visitors to the mountain. So hospitable an old gentleman, or one so droll in speech, or singular in his mode of living, I shall probably never meet again. His tales as to the fate of other travellers made me tremble for what might some day be told of my own adventures. He feeds you gallantly, sends you on your way with a God-speed, and then hands you down to derision with the wickedest mockery. He is the gibing spirit of the mountain, and I would at any rate recommend no ladies to trust themselves to his courtesies.

Here we entered and called for the best of everything—beer, brandy, coffee, ringtailed doves, salt fish, fat fowls, English potatoes, hot pickles, and Worcester sauce. "What, C——, no Worcester sauce! Gammon; make the fellow go and look for it." 'Tis thus hospitality is claimed in Jamaica; and in process of time the Worcester sauce was forthcoming. It must be remembered that every article of food has to be carried up to this place on mules' backs, over the tops of mountains for twenty or thirty miles.

When we had breakfasted and drunk and smoked, and promised our host that he should have the pleasure of feeding us again on the morrow, we proceeded on our way. The five negroes each had loads on their heads and cutlasses in their hands. We ourselves travelled without other burdens than our own big sticks.

I have nothing remarkable to tell of the ascent. We soon got into a cloud, and never got out of it. But that is a matter of course. We were soon wet through up to our middles, but that is a matter of course also. We came to various dreadful passages, which broke our legs and our nails and our hats, the worst of which was called Jacob's ladder—also a matter of course. Every now and then we regaled the negroes with rum, and the more rum we gave them the more they wanted. And every now and then we regaled ourselves with brandy and water, and the oftener we regaled ourselves the more we required to be regaled. All which things are matters of course. And so we arrived at the Blue Mountain Peak.

Our first two objects were to construct a hut and collect wood for firing. As for any enjoyment from the position, that, for that evening, was quite out of the question. We were wet through and through, and could hardly see twenty yards before us on any side. So we set the men to work to produce such mitigation of our evil position as was possible.

We did build a hut, and we did make a fire; and we did administer more rum to the negroes, without which they refused to work at all. When a black man knows that you want him, he is apt to become very impudent, especially when backed by rum; and at such times they altogether forget, or at any rate disregard, the punishment that may follow in the shape of curtailed gratuities.

Slowly and mournfully we dried ourselves at the fire; or rather did not dry ourselves, but scorched our clothes and burnt our boots in a vain endeavour to do so. It is a singular fact, but one which experience has fully taught me, that when a man is thoroughly wet he may burn his trousers off his legs and his shoes off his feet, and yet they will not be dry—nor will he. Mournfully we turned ourselves before the fire—slowly, like badly-roasted joints of meat; and the result was exactly that: we were badly roasted—roasted and raw at the same time.

And then we crept into our hut, and made one of those wretched repasts in which the collops of food slip down and get sat upon; in which the salt is blown away and the bread saturated in beer; in which one gnaws one's food as Adam probably did, but as men need not do now, far removed as they are from Adam's discomforts. A man may cheerfully go without his dinner and feed like a beast when he gains anything by it; but when he gains nothing, and has his boots scorched off his feet into the bargain, it is hard then for him to be cheerful. I was bound to be jolly, as my companion had come there merely for my sake; but how it came to pass that he did not become sulky, that was the miracle. As it was, I know full well that he wished me—safe in England.

Having looked to our fire and smoked a sad cigar, we put ourselves to bed in our hut. The operation consisted in huddling on all the clothes we had. But even with this the cold prevented us from sleeping. The chill damp air penetrated through two shirts, two coats, two pairs of trousers. It was impossible to believe that we were in the tropics.

And then the men got drunk, and refused to cut more firewood, and disputes began which lasted all night; and all was cold, damp, comfortless, wretched, and endless. And so morning came.

That it was the morning our watches told us, and also a dull dawning of muddy light through the constant mist; but as for sunrise ——! The sun may rise for those who get up decently from their beds in the plains below, but there is no sunrising on Helvellyn, or Righi, or the Blue Mountain Peak. Nothing rises there; but mists and clouds are for ever falling.

And then we packed up our wretched traps, and again descended. While coming up, some quips and cranks had passed between us and our sable followers; but now all was silent as grim death. We were thinking of our sore hands and bruised feet; were mindful of the dirt which clogged us, and the damp which enveloped us; were mindful also a little of our spoilt raiment, and ill requited labours. Our wit did not flow freely as we descended.

A second breakfast with the man of the mountain, and a glorious bath in a huge tank, somewhat restored us, and as we regained our horses the miseries of our expedition were over. My friend fervently and loudly declared that no spirit of hospitality, no courtesy to a stranger, no human eloquence should again tempt him to ascend the Blue Mountains; and I cordially advised him to keep his resolution. I made no vows aloud, but I may here protest that any such vows were unnecessary.

I afterwards visited another seat, Flamstead, which, as regards scenery, has rival claims to those of Raymond Lodge. The views from Flamstead were certainly very beautiful; but on the whole I preferred my first love.

III.

THE GRAND CAYMAN—DELTA OF THE MISSISSIPPI—BALIZE, OR PILOT-TOWN—THE ISLINGUES—CYPRESS FORESTS—FORT JACKSON—FIRST PLANTATIONS—TUG-BOATS AND STEAM-PACKETS—DEFENCES OF NEW ORLEANS—IMPRESSIONS ON FIRST LANDING—SOCIETY—CREOLES AND QUADROONS—A PEG BY WHICH TO LET AMERICAN PRIDE DOWN A LITTLE.

LEAVING the magnificent panorama of mountains and forests presented by Jamaica to the traveller—as he treads the deck of a ship bound to the Gulf of Mexico

behind us, we passed next day the Caymans, of which the largest, known as the Grand Cayman, is twenty-four miles long by two and-a-half broad; it is low, and covered with trees, chiefly cocoa-nut. On the western side is a large village, called George's Town; but the other portion of the island is thinly inhabited. These islands—they are three in number, including Little Cayman and Cayman Brack—were much favoured by the buccaneers of old, and there are among the inhabitants many of their descendants. Produce is raised more than sufficient for their own consumption, and vessels touching here may obtain supplies; but there are no cattle or sheep, and water is scarce. The natives employ themselves chiefly in catching turtle for the supply of Jamaica and other islands. The climate is considered to be healthy. Little Cayman and Cayman Brack are small, low, barren, and uninhabited.

Passing thence Cape Antonio, the south-west extremity of Cuba, we entered the Gulf of Mexico, and after what, to a man anxious to exchange the routine of a deck promenade for the more varied scene presented by the streets, levee, and quays of New Orleans, appeared a very tedious navigation, the deep blue sea was suddenly seen to assume a yellow tinge, and shortly afterwards the low line of land became perceptible on the horizon. It was time, for a few minutes more and our vessel came with a jerk to a sudden stand-still. It had stuck in the mud of the Mississippi!

The position would have been one full of interest to a geologist, who might have speculated at his ease, with Lyell in his hand, upon the progress of the vast alluvial deposits, and the future fertile and inhabited lands that have yet to rise out of the gulf; but the rolling of the ship during what appeared an unusually long and dark night, in a bed of filthy mud, which could not be improved by calling it alluvium in a semi fluid state, was by no means so to a sea sick traveller. Glad were we then, when, by dawn of day, the captain despatched a boat in search of a pilot. The little messenger was soon lost in the fog that at that early hour enveloped everything to the northward, but it almost as suddenly re-appeared, as if suspended on a cloud. It had got into a space free from fog, and thus appeared beyond it. This alternation of parallel zones of fog and of transparent atmosphere is not uncommon at the mouth of the Mississippi, where currents of fresh and salt water meet at different temperatures.

After waiting a few hours, we saw a black point issuing forth from the semi-obscurity, and as it came nearer we could make out the outline of a tug-boat. Fearlessly, and in a most business-like manner, it came along, and to our surprise, instead of accepting a rope fastened to the stern and proffered to clear us from off the mud in which we were imbedded, she lashed herself to our sides, and reversing her engines, took us off, almost as quickly as the master could jump on board, deign what can scarcely be designated a salute to our captain, and get hold of the tiller-wheel. Thanks to her power, we were soon after carried into the south-west passage, now the principal mouth of the Mississippi, but once engaged in this it slackened speed, for the navigation is not void of danger, the depth varying often, and frequent recourse was had to the lead. Soon, to our infinite satisfaction, we were on the bed of the river itself, and we heard the rippling of its waters against our flanks; but still we could not make out its shores. We seemed to be streaming up a river in the middle of the sea. But gradually banks of mud could be distinguished to the right and left, and as we proceeded these became more numerous and more continuous, till at length they seemed to have become permanently united to form a long line of low shore.

It is just at this point that the bar of the river presents itself, and the water is most shallow. Up to this time the paddles of the tug-boat had turned up blue and salt water from beneath the yellow surface waters, but now they turned up nothing but yellow water, mixed with mud. Once over the bar, the scene of many wrecks, the pilot took his money and left, with as little courtesy as he had come, but we soon forgot his New World presence and manners in a swarm of little boats that made their appearance along-side, offering fruit, oranges, spirits, sugar, and other comestibles for sale.

A group of wooden huts, with a flag flying above, and built where the mud begins first to be clad with anything like permanent vegetation, announced the presence of Balize. (*See* p. 263.) This was on the left bank (coming down the river). The true Balize was on the right bank on the south-east passage, but since the south-west passage has become the principal mouth of the river, the pilots removed to the new site, also known as Pilotsville and Pilot-town. It is, however, a most melancholy site, the houses are in momentary danger of being swept away, whilst fever and death emanate from the miasmatic fogs that spread over the marshes. The electric wire, however, carried on lofty poles above the rank vegetation below, conveys news from thence to New Orleans of all arrivals or departures, as also of the frequent catastrophes that occur at the mouth of the river. A few wandering buffaloes pick up a scanty pasturage on the Delta of the Mississippi, and they are tended by a race of people who we must suppose are as proof against fever as the ancient Guanches were said to be against fire. The French of New Orleans call them Islingues or Islanders, and they are described as semi-savage descendants of the Islenos or Camariots, who are so numerous in Cuba and in the Antilles.

A little more than an hour's steaming brought us to the point where the river ramifies into different branches. For the last hundred miles and upwards of its course, the Mississippi resembles a gigantic arm projected into the sea and having its fingers spread out on the surface of the water. To the west is the Gulf of Baratana, to the east that of Chandeleur and Lake Pontchartrain.

To the south the sea makes its way as a little gulf between each of the mouths, so that land consists at every point only of so many narrow bands of mud, incessantly carried away by the waves, and as incessantly renewed by the alluvial matters brought down by the river. In some places the banks are so frail that, were it not for the binding roots of the canes, the dyke would be carried away and a new mouth given to the river. The only vegetation of these moist lands is a kind of cane, and the river has to be ascended a distance of thirty miles before the first stunted willow trees are met with. These, however, soon constitute a littoral band, and are themselves succeeded by the Louisanian cypress tree, which grows in marshy soil. It is a splendid tree, very upright, and not throwing off branches for some fifty or sixty feet from the ground. Like the mangrove, it throws out enormous roots, partly on the surface partly below the soil, and across little sheets of water, to interlace beyond and

form a formidable and tenacious network, that reclaims the land against any extent of inundation. The roots of the Louisanian cypress are further fed by conical growths some feet in height, while the leaves above are needle-shaped, smaller than the fir or pine, and sometimes almost entirely wanting, leaving for only ornament to the naked branches masses of floating hair-like moss, known in the country as Spanish beard or moss. Water fowl abound in the savanahs that extend between the cypress forests and the seashore; and notwithstanding the destruction involved to these protecting forests, they are often set fire to in the pursuit of game.

Fort Jackson stands in the central channel of the river, at the head of the more recent alluvia, where the land is still wide at both sides, and the first plantations make their appearance. These are all modelled after the same plan: fallen trunks of trees on the shore, a bank of earth to keep out the water; behind, a roadway parallel to the river, then a plank fence and fields of canes, followed by cultivation, amidst which here and there are wooden houses, painted red and white, and raised upon frameworks that stand a foot or two above the still, marshy soil below, while the more humble huts of the negroes are dispersed like bee-hives amidst the trees and plantations, the great forest of cypress trees still constituting the background. The landscape is thus very uniform, but it becomes imposing by its continuous majesty, although not striking in its details. In the midst of one of these plantations, on the left bank of the river, rises a column commemorative of General Pakenham's folly—and that, indeed, should be its name—in leading a handful of devoted men through an almost impassable bog to where the Americans had cut a deep ditch from the river to the impenetrable cypress groves, and then posting themselves behind bales of cotton, impervious to balls, they were thus enabled to pick off their victims at their leisure.

The river was enlivened in this part of its course by sailing vessels of all sizes, forms, and descriptions, by those well-known moving hotels yclept steam-packets, than which nothing so remarkable of its kind is to be met with in the New World; and by, if possible, the still more singular spectacle of a single tug-boat taking up as many as four three-masted vessels at once against the current (See page 253). There was something very striking in the spectacle thus presented to us of four ships, so closely approximating as to form as it were one gigantic vessel with its twelve masts, its sails flapping listlessly in the calm air, its signals hoisted and flags flying, and its sheets and gear all interlaced like some great network, whilst from its very heart came forth a dense smoke, which, with the heavy sound of steam propulsion, betrayed the moving power lost amidst the very vessels which it was conveying upwards with resistless force against the rapid current of the Mississippi. Well may these little Titans of the flood designate themselves as such, and as Briareus, Hercules, Jupiter and Enceladus.

A letter from New Orleans, dated October 25th, gives, as might naturally be expected, a highly-coloured account of the preparations being made in the present warlike times in the Mississippi for the defences of that great navigable river. It begins by declaring that the Mississippi is fortified so as to be impassable for any hostile fleet or flotilla. Forts Jackson and St. Philip are armed with 170 heavy guns (68-pounders, rifled by Bashley Britten, and received from England). The navigation of the river is stopped by a dam at about a quarter of a mile from the above forts. No flotilla on earth could force that dam in less than two hours, during which it would be within short and cross range of 170 guns of the largest calibre, many of which would be served with red-hot shot, numerous furnaces for which have been erected in every fort and at every battery.

And the patriotic writer then goes on to say:—

"In a day or two we shall have ready two iron-cased floating batteries. Their plates are four and a half inches thick, of the best hammered iron, received from England and France. Each iron-cased battery will mount twenty 68-pounders, placed so as to skim the water and strike the enemy's hull between wind and water. We have an abundant supply of incendiary shells, cupola furnaces for molten iron, Congreve rockets, and fire-ships.

"Between New Orleans and the forts there is a constant succession of earthworks. At the plain of Chalmette, near Janin's property, there are redoubts armed with rifled cannon, which have been found to be effective at five miles' range. A ditch, thirty feet wide and twenty feet deep extends from the Mississippi to La Cypriene.

"In Forts St. Philip and Jackson there are 3,000 men, of whom a goodly portion are experienced artillerymen and gunners who have served in the navy.

"At New Orleans itself we have 32,000 infantry, and as many more quartered in the immediate neighbourhood. In discipline and drill they are far superior to the Northern levies. We have two very able and active generals, who possess our entire confidence—General Mansfield Lovell and and Brigadier-General Ruggles. For commodore we have old Hollins—a Nelson in his way.

"We are ready to give the Yankees a hot reception when they come. I write you in a very sedate though confident mood. Around me all are mad with excitement and rage. Their only fear is that the Northern invaders may not appear. We have made such extensive preparations to receive them that it were vexatious if their 'invincible armada' escaped the fate we have in store for it."

To compare past and present impressions—the most instructive of all—it is impossible, said the much abused, but, at the time she wrote, perfectly veracious, Mrs. Trollope, not to feel considerable excitement and deep interest in almost every object that meets us on first touching the soil of a new continent. New Orleans presents very little that can gratify the eye of taste, but nevertheless there is much of novelty and interest for a newly arrived European. The large proportion of blacks seen in the streets, all labour being performed by them; the grace and beauty of the elegant Quadroons, the occasional groups of wild and savage-looking Indians, the unwonted aspect of the vegetation, the huge and turbid river, with its low and slimy shore, all help to afford that species of amusement which proceeds from looking at what we never saw before.

The town has much the appearance of a French ville de province, and is, in fact, an old French colony taken from Spain by France. The names of the streets are French, and the language about equally French and English. The market is handsome and well supplied, all produce being conveyed by the river. We

were much pleased by the chant with which the Negro boatmen regulate and beguile their labour on the river; it consists of very few notes, but they are sweetly harmonious, and the negro voice is almost always rich and powerful.

By far the most agreeable hours I passed at New Orleans were those in which I explored with my children the forest near the town. It was our first walk in "the eternal forests of the western world," and we felt rather sublime and poetical. The trees, generally speaking, are much too close to be either large or well grown; and, moreover, their growth is often stunted by a parasitical plant, of which I could learn no other name than "Spanish moss;" it hangs gracefully from the boughs, converting the outline of all the trees it hangs upon into that of weeping willows. The chief beauty of the forest in this region is from the luxuriant under-growth of palmetos, which is decidedly the loveliest-coloured and most graceful plant I know. The pawpaw, too, is a splendid shrub, and in great abundance. We here, for the first time, saw the wild vine, which we afterwards found growing so profusely in every part of America, as naturally to suggest the idea that the natives ought to add wine to the numerous productions of their plenty-teeming soil. The strong pendant festoons made safe and commodious swings, which some of our party enjoyed, despite the sublime temperament above mentioned.

Notwithstanding it was mid winter when we were at New Orleans, the heat was much more than agreeable, and the attacks of the mosquitos incessant and most tormenting; and yet I suspect that, for a short time, we would rather have endured it, than not have seen oranges, green peas, and red pepper growing in the open air at Christmas. In one of our rambles we ventured to enter a garden, whose bright orange hedge attracted our attention; here we saw green peas fit for the table, and a fine crop of red pepper ripening in the sun. A young negress was employed on the steps of the house; that she was a slave made her an object of interest to us. She was the first slave we had ever spoken to, and I believe we all felt we could hardly address her with sufficient gentleness. She little dreamed, poor girl, what deep sympathy she excited; she answered us civilly and gaily, and seemed amused at our fancying there was something unusual in red pepper pods; she gave us several of them, and I felt fearful lest a hard mistress might blame her for it. How very childish does ignorance make us! and how very ignorant we are upon almost every subject, where hearsay evidence is all we can get!

I left England with feelings so strongly opposed to slavery, that it was not without pain I witnessed its effects around me. At the sight of every negro man, woman, or child that passed, my fancy wove some little romance of misery as belonging to each of them; since I have known more on the subject, and become better acquainted with their real situation in America, I have often smiled at recalling what I then felt.

The first symptom of American equality that I perceived, was my being introduced in form to a milliner; it was not at a boarding house, under the undistinct outline of "Miss C.....," nor in the street through the veil of a fashionable toilette, but in the very penetralia of her temple, standing behind her counter, giving laws to ribbon and to wire, and ushering caps and bonnets into existence. She was an English woman, and I was told that she possessed great intellectual endowments, and much information; I really believe this was true. Her manner was easy and graceful, with a good deal of French tournure; and the gentleness with which her fine eyes and sweet voice directed the movements of a young female slave, was really touching: the way, too, in which she blended her French talk of modes with her customers, and her English talk of metaphysics with her friends, had a pretty air of indifference in it, that gave her a superiority with both.

I found with her the daughter of a judge, eminent, it was said, both for legal and literary ability, and I heard from many quarters, after I had left New Orleans, that the society of this lady was highly valued by all persons of talent. Yet were I, traveller like, to stop here, and set it down as a national peculiarity, or republican custom, that milliners took the lead in the best society, I should greatly falsify facts. I do not remember the same thing happening to me again, and this is one instance among a thousand, of the impression every circumstance makes on entering a new country, and of the propensity, so irresistible, to class all things, however accidental, as national and peculiar. On the other hand, however, it is certain that if similar anomalies are unfrequent in America, they are nearly impossible elsewhere.

In the shop of Miss C—— I was introduced to Mr. M'Clure, a venerable personage, of gentlemanlike appearance, who in the course of five minutes propounded as many axioms, as "Ignorance is the only devil;" "Man makes his own existence;" and the like. He was of the New Harmony school, or rather the New Harmony school was of him. He was a man of good fortune (a Scotchman, I believe), who, after living a tolerably gay life, had "conceived high thoughts, such as Lycurgus loved, who bade flog the little Spartans," and determined to benefit the species, and immortalise himself, by founding a philosophical school at New Harmony. There was something in the hollow square legislations of Mr. Owen that struck him as admirable, and he seems, as far as I can understand, to have intended aiding his views by a sort of incipient hollow square drilling; teaching the young ideas of all he could catch, to shoot into parallelogramic form and order. This venerable philosopher, like all of his school that I ever heard of, loved better to originate lofty imaginings of faultless systems, than to watch their application to practice. With much liberality he purchased and conveyed to the wilderness a very noble collection of books and scientific instruments; but not finding among men one whose views were liberal and enlarged as his own, he selected a woman to put into action the machine he had organised. As his acquaintance with this lady had been of long standing, and, as it was said, very intimate, he felt sure that no violation of his rules would have place under her sway; they would act together as one being: he was to perform the functions of the soul, and will everything; she, those of the body, and perform everything.

The principal feature of the scheme was, that (the first liberal outfit of the institution having been furnished by Mr. M'Clure) the expense of keeping it up should be defrayed by the profits arising from the labours of the pupils, male and female, which was to be performed at stated intervals of each day, in regular rotation in learned study and scientific research. But unfortunately the soul of the system found the climate of Indiana uncongenial to its peculiar formation, and,

therefore, took its flight to Mexico, leaving the body to perform the operations of both, in whatever manner it liked best; and the body, being a French body, found no difficulty in setting actively to work without troubling the soul about it; and soon becoming conscious that the more simple was a machine, the more perfect were its operations, she threw out all that related to the intellectual part of the business (which, to do poor soul justice, it had laid great stress upon), and stirred herself as effectually as ever body did, to draw wealth from the thews and sinews of the youths they had collected. When last I heard of this philosophical establishment, she and a nephew-son were said to be reaping a golden harvest, as many of the lads had been sent from a distance by indigent parents, for gratuitous education, and possessed no means of leaving it.

Our stay in New Orleans was not long enough to permit our entering into society, but I was told that it contained two distinct sets of people, both celebrated, in their way, for their social meetings and elegant entertainments. The first of these is composed of Creole families, who are chiefly planters and merchants, with their wives and daughters; these meet together, eat together, and are very grand and aristocratic; each of their balls is a little Almack's, and every portly dame of the set is as exclusive in her principles as a lady patroness. The other set consists of the excluded but amiable Quadroons, and such of the gentlemen of the former class as can by any means escape from the high places, where pure Creole blood swells the veins at the bare mention of any being tainted in the remotest degree with the negro stain.

Of all the prejudices I have ever witnessed, this appears to me the most violent, and the most inveterate. Quadroon girls, the acknowledged daughters of wealthy American or Creole fathers, educated with all of style and accomplishments which money can procure at New Orleans, and with all the decorum that care and affection can give; exquisitely beautiful, graceful, gentle, and amiable, these are not admitted, nay, are not on any terms admissible, into the society of the Creole families of Louisiana. They cannot marry; that is to say, no ceremony can render an union with them legal or binding; yet such is the powerful effect of their very peculiar grace, beauty, and sweetness of manner, that unfortunately they perpetually become the objects of choice and affection. If the Creole ladies have privilege to exercise the awful power of repulsion, the gentle Quadroon has the sweet but dangerous vengeance of possessing that of attraction. The unions formed with this unfortunate race are said to be often lasting and happy, as far as any union can be so to which certain degree of disgrace is attached.

There is a French and an English theatre in the town; but we were too fresh from Europe to care much for either; or, indeed, for any other of the town delights of this city, and we soon became eager to commence our voyage up the Mississippi.

Miss Wright, then less known (though the author of more than one clever volume) than she has since become, was the companion of our voyage from Europe; and it was my purpose to have passed some months with her and her sister at the estate she had purchased at Tennessee. This lady, since become so celebrated as the advocate of opinions that make millions shudder, and some half-score admire, was, at the time of my leaving England with her, dedicated to a pursuit widely different from her subsequent occupations. Instead of becoming a public orator in every town throughout America, she was about, as she said, to seclude herself for life in the deepest forests of the western world, that her fortune, her time, and her talents might be exclusively devoted to aid the cause of the suffering Africans. Her first object was to show that nature had made no difference between blacks and whites, excepting in complexion; and this she expected to prove by giving an education perfectly equal to a class of black and white children. Could this fact be once fully established, she conceived that the negro cause would stand on firmer ground than it had yet done, and the degraded rank which they have ever held amongst civilised nations would be proved to be a gross injustice.

This question of the mental equality, or inequality between us and the negro race, is one of great interest, and has certainly never yet been fairly tried; and I expected for my children and myself both pleasure and information from visiting her establishment, and watching the success of her experiment.

It is to be remarked, in connection with these liberal, humane, and enlightened views, to which Mrs. Trollope was willing to give a fair consideration, which is so much more than any white resident in the New World would concede to them, that Mr. Anthony Trollope has gone much further, for he says, "My theory—for I acknowledge to a theory—is this: that Providence has sent white men and black men to these regions (the intertropical lands and islands) in order that from them may spring a race fitted by intellect for civilisation; and fitted also by physical organisation for tropical labour. The negro in his primitive state is not, I think, fitted for the former; and the European white Creole is certainly not fitted for the latter.

Such views are not only borne out by every consideration connected with the subject, but it must not also be lost sight of that many ethnologists are of opinion that the white races, both Saxon and Celtic, deteriorate rapidly in the New World. Dr. Knox, for example, says, in his very original work on the *Races of Men* (p. 51), that, under the influence of climate, the Saxon decays in northern America, and he rears his offspring with difficulty. He has changed his continental locality, and a physiological law is against his naturalisation there. Were the supplies from Europe not incessant, he could not stand his ground. A real native American race, of pure Saxon blood, is a dream that never can be realised. Dr. Knox thus goes even further than Mr. Trollope; he does not believe that, the supplies being stopped, as was the case in Mexico and Peru, that, as Barton Smith foretold, the American whites would pass into Red Indians; or that, as Mr. A. Trollope hopes, and we hope with him, a mixed population may supplant an effete and impossible Saxon or Celtic stock; but he argues, from physiological proofs of deterioration, as shown in the loss of fat, and other symptoms of premature decay, that there will be extinction—never conversion!

IV.

Importance of New Orleans—General Description—Peculiar and Picturesque Architecture—Places of Recreation and Amusement—Origin of this City—Various Population—Agricultural Products—Market—Levee—Places of Worship—Vast Commerce—Prevailing Demoralisation—Climate and Seasons—Slavery—The Mississippi.

To turn to later and more detailed and satisfactory accounts of New Orleans, we must consult the pages

of Phillippo and of Captain Hamilton. New Orleans, says the first able advocate of the cause of progress of what was at the time he wrote the United States of America, is the capital of the State of Louisiana, and is called "the Crescent City." It is situated on the banks of the Mississippi, about 100 miles from the mouth of the river, 1644 miles from New York by the shortest route, and is one of the most flourishing cities of the republic. As a commercial depot it is unrivalled, as are also the activity and bustle on the river and on the shore. It is built on a level bed of alluvium, on a surface that slightly dips southward, which was formerly a cypress swamp, and is at high water but from two to four feet above the surface of the river. The plain on which the city is built rises only nine feet above the level of the sea. Excavations are often made far below the level of the Gulf of Mexico To prevent inundations, a high bank, called "the Levee," has been raised, extending along the city, and reaching a considerable distance beyond it, forming an extensive and pleasant promenade.

The city stands on the left bank of the river, being a tongue of land between the Mississippi and Lake Pontchartrain, into which great inland sea the waters of the Gulf of Mexico enter. It extends round the elbow of the stream, forming a curve nearly in the shape of a half-moon, and has from this latter circumstance received the designation of "the Crescent City," as intimated above.

The city is in the form of a parallelogram, extending a distance of five miles on a line parallel with the river, and may be said to be divided into two portions, French and Anglo-American, or, politically, into three municipalities.

It was originally formed of heavy roofed, old French and Spanish houses, and the streets were laid out as nearly as possible at right angles, running the whole length and depth of this great city. They are still in general narrow, a style which was judged by the Spaniards, and not without reason, best adapted to a warm climate. But at the same time they are always filthy; their condition is an absolute nuisance, and in wet weather they are almost impassable. There are brick causeways (the *trottoirs* of the French), but the carriage-ways are left in a state of nature.

The houses are principally constructed of wood, and the architecture of the older sections of the city is Spanish. When Louisiana came into possession of the French, the original taste in building seems to have been retained and to have preponderated for a long time.

As a security against hurricanes, as is supposed, the houses in general are but one story high; they are ornamented with green verandahs and balconies, and the principal apartments open to the street. While, however, most of the houses are built of wood, and exhibit the architecture of an earlier day, there are edifices of greater pretensions covered with stucco, adorned with verandahs, centred in plots of garden-ground, half-hidden with oleanders, magnolias, palms, aloes, and the yucca gloriosa, which, added to the orange trees disposed in rows on each side, covered throughout almost the entire year with beautiful aromatic blossoms or brilliant fruit, and these again relieved by acacias and other flowering trees and shrubs, render the appearance of this part of the city truly beautiful and picturesque. The vine and various species of convolvulus grow wild on every side; while the orange, the myrtle, and the arbutus, loading the air with perfume, are often mingled with red-blossomed aloes, the prickly cactus, and variegated hollies; together with all the varieties of rubiaceæ, euphorbiæ, and legumes.

There is something in the general air and *tout ensemble*—the style of building, the mingling of the foliage, particularly that of the palm tree, with the quaint architecture—when seen through the vistas of the straiter streets, which calls up a confused remembrance of some of the best Spanish and French West India towns, though in some other respects they are greatly dissimilar, and more allied to towns in Flanders.

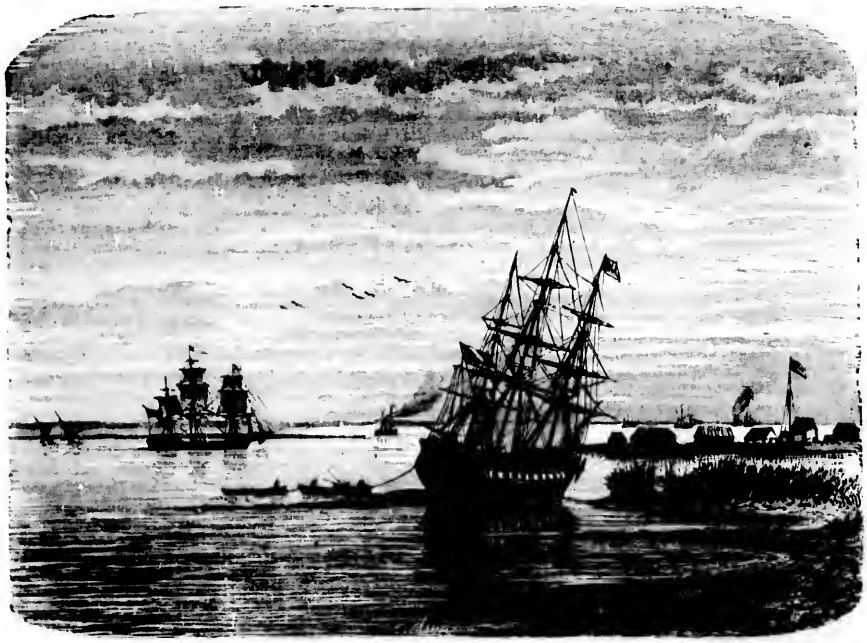
This quarter of the city is the residence of the Spanish and French part of the population. That occupied by the Anglo-Americans has but little attraction of any kind, being built in a plain, monotonous line, with but little embellishment from art or nature. The streets are wider, and the houses larger, higher, and the stores more capacious; but the internal superiority of the latter, as to comfort, has been attained at the expense of external effect.

The city now contains a considerable number of public buildings, some of which, particularly the cathedral of the Roman Catholics, and the Charles's Hotel, are of very respectable architecture. Among those of the second class are the town house, the churches and chapels, the military and general hospitals, the barracks, the custom-house, and the theatres.

One of the hotels, called Charles's Hotel, or the French Restaurant, the property, in whole or in part, of a Frenchman, is said to be the most splendid of its kind that is to be found in the Southern States, resembling in its exterior architecture the Pantheon at Rome. When at its full complement, five hundred and sixty persons dine there at the ordinary every day, three hundred and fifty of whom sleep in the house. There are one hundred and sixty servants, and seven French cooks. All the waiters are whites—Irish, English, French, German, and American. The proprietor or manager assembles them every day at noon, when they go through a regular drill and rehearse the service of dinner. This magnificent building was finished in 1838, and cost 600,000 dollars. The gentlemen's dining room is one hundred and twenty-nine feet by fifty feet, and is twenty-two feet high, having four ranges of tables capable of accommodating five hundred persons. The ladies' dining-room measures fifty-two feet by thirty-six. There are, altogether, three hundred and fifty rooms, which might be made to contain, with little inconvenience, between six and seven hundred people. The front consists of a projecting portico, supported by six fine Corinthian columns resting upon a rustic basement. The whole is surmounted by a large dome forty-six feet in diameter, and crowned by a beautiful Corinthian turret. This dome is the most conspicuous object in the whole city. Viewed at a distance, the whole building seems to stand in the same relation to New Orleans at St. Paul's to London. The furnishing of the establishment cost 150,000 dollars. The cooking at this mammoth hotel or boarding-house is performed by a steam-engine and other apparatus. The charge for board and lodging is three dollars per day; but there are others in New Orleans scarcely inferior in all the requisites for respectable inmates, where they could be accommodated for about, or even for less than half that amount.

There are several other hotels in the city of considerable size, but all conducted in a style far inferior to that of the French Restaurant.

There are in this city six public squares laid out with taste, filled with the luxuriant foliage of the south. Magnolias, myrtles, oleanders, jessamines, the fragrant clematis, with roses and flowering trees and shrubs of endless variety, flourishing, it may almost be said, in all the affluence and magnificence of the tropics; while here and there, from amid the masses of verdure, are seen towering the cypress, the ceiba, and the fig, some of them spreading their vast arms over the lower tribes of vegetation, and clothed with heavy draperies of parasite orchis, and innumerable other parasitic plants, creeping from tree to tree, or flinging their long tendrils above a hundred feet from the ground. The most magnificent, as well as the most abundant, of all the trees here, is the live-oak, an evergreen, from the branches of which, as from the ceiba, are seen depending mosses and other bereals hanging down in rich festoons. These pendant, gray mosses upon the heavy branches, particularly when the trees have been planted with any regularity, produce an almost unimaginably picturesque effect. From all these circumstances, the city wears an appearance of comfort, and convenience, and beauty, seldom enjoyed amidst a dense population, and very unusual in American cities in general.



BALIZE, MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

New Orleans was originally founded by a small number of Spaniards in 1719, and in 1782 remained little more than a village, containing only about 4,000 inhabitants, being injured in its trade by the monopoly of the Spanish rule. In 1801 it was conceded to France, who allowed the Americans to use it as a place of deposit for marketable produce. Through the consummate policy of Jefferson, it was at length purchased by the United States Government for 15,000,000 dollars and thus became annexed to the Union, having its own provincial government, and sending its own representatives to the general Congress. At this period (1803), the population of the whole state numbered to more than 8,000 souls, who were almost entirely French and Spanish.

The present population, considering the infancy of its existence under the government of America, is amazing, being now upwards of 100,000; and it continues to augment with such astonishing rapidity, as to justify the expectation of its becoming in a few years the greatest emporium of commerce in the whole of the New World, so admirably is its situation adapted to the purpose. As New York is called the London, so New Orleans is called the Liverpool of the United States; and it must also be to the South what New York is to the North and centre of the Union. At the same time it has communication with New York and the more northern ports, both by the Atlantic sea board and by means of canals which connect Ohio with Lake Erie and Lake Erie with the Hudson; thereby

commanding a portion of the commerce of the whole Eastern and Western, as well as of the Northern and Southern States. Thus holding the keys of the whole West, and commanding the commerce of 20,000 miles of river navigation, as well as along the whole Atlantic coast, it has during the last few years leaped into prodigious activity and life. No longer since than 1812, the first steamboat arrived from Pittsburg, when the trade of the place commenced. Enterprise increased at a rate unprecedented. In twenty years it contained 50,000 inhabitants, and in ten succeeding years the population was doubled.

The cotton and sugar of Arkansas, Missouri, and Louisiana,—the grain of the vast fertile Western States,—the lead of Illinois,—the peltry of the Oregon,—with all their active trains of owners and supercargoes, pour into the city continuously during eight months of each year.

Enterprise and industry, stimulated to incredible activity by brilliant success, has thus been richly rewarded; whilst wealth and the means of subsistence naturally and speedily augmented the population. The inland trade has become immense; from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand flat boats, fifty or sixty steam-boats, and a vast mass of steam-vessels of extraordinary tonnage, may be seen as though constantly lying along its Levee. During the ten years between 1835 and 1844, the average receipts of duties at the custom-house were 905,196 dollars; and in the eight years from 1845 to 1852 inclusive, the average was 1,648,298 dollars. There has also been, as a consequence of the prosperity of New Orleans, a remarkable increase in the trade of the other Gulf ports, including Mobile, Pensacola, St. Mark, Apalachicola, and the ports of Texas. Nor must the fact be omitted as to the facilities of travelling, that the advantages afforded by the conveyance of passengers and goods, as also the comparative inexpensiveness of both, are immense. A passage from New Orleans to Louisville, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, is accomplished in four days, at the cost of a few dollars.

It may not be irrelevant to add, that those States have progressed most rapidly in which improvements in the accommodation afforded for traffic and locomotion have been most vigorously carried out. The only States, indeed, which show a decline in population are Missouri and one or two of the slave States, in which the formation of railroads and other public works and facilities of intercommunication have been neglected. The plantations of these States (as may be said of the Southern States generally), which once attested the operations of human skill and industry, will soon be nothing but a luxuriant wilderness, inhabited by the brutalised descendants of a race of slaves.

The varied character of the inhabitants of New Orleans, both in personal appearance and dress, adds greatly to the picturesque effect which the city presents to a stranger. The southern planter, with his broad-brimmed panama, or neatly plaited grass hat; the clean and neatly apparelled American native tradesman; the long-haired French creole, with his black tresses waving over his shoulders; the tall, dark Spaniard; the unpolished Irishman; the gaily clothed people of colour; with here and there Sclaves, Chinamen, and Polynesians; and lastly the slave population—white, black, yellow, together with indigenous red men—exhibiting almost every variety of shade of colour, from the jet black through all conceivable transitions to white almost as pure as that of Europeans. These are peculiarities calculated to create an interest in ethnological facts and disquisitions unknown in Europe; while probably no city in the world, in an equal number of human beings, presents greater contrasts of national manners and language.

In the two last respects, what assimilation exists is principally with the French. Many of the Creole ladies are really beautiful, both as to person and figure—light and graceful—with fine teeth, and eyes large, dark, and lustrous. The native ladies generally, however, are without energy, animation, or vivacity. Few of these can speak English, and still fewer of the slaves. The latter are said to speak the French language, but it is a kind of *patois*, unlike anything ever heard in France.

The proportion between the whites and men of mixed cast and blacks is nearly equal. As a nation the French, among the whites, are considered the most numerous and wealthy; next, the Anglo-American; and thirdly, the natives of the British islands. There are but few Spaniards and Portuguese in New Orleans; but Italians, with individuals of all the civilised nations of Europe, are scattered among the population.

The principal agricultural products are sugar-cane, maize, rice, cotton, indigo, and tobacco, with various textile and oleaginous plants, wines, and tropical fruits. Taking into consideration the amazing variety of the produce, together with the great diversity of the character and dress of the populace as here exhibited on a market day, a more curious spectacle can hardly be conceived. Domestic animals, many of them of novel descriptions to a stranger, together with both European and tropical fruits and vegetables of great variety and of almost all kinds, are seen here in the greatest profusion. Parrots of diverse size and plumage; various beautifully coloured birds in cages; gigantic herons; wild ducks and geese, of all sizes and colours; pigeons, owls; with squirrels, white and gray; fish of indescribable varieties and colours, such as are never seen in European waters; together with cray, and other varieties of shell-fish, equally new and indescribable, are here found *ad infinitum*.

The Levee outside the market is crowded with itinerant vendors of many races—English, Irish, Germans, Spanish, Negroes, and Indians—exhibiting all their characteristic phases of manners, customs, and language, and surrounded by symbols of the products of their own labour.

The market here, as always within the tropics, is opened with the earliest dawn of day, and may be considered as over by seven or eight o'clock in the morning. The meat is killed during the preceding night, and brought to the stalls in a state that may be properly termed yet warm with life. Even with this necessary, though disagreeable haste, unless it be cooked almost immediately, it will, during the hottest weather, turn green and putrify in the course of a few hours. At any time, as in the West Indies, to purchase more than is needful for the day's consumption is useless, as all beyond what is necessary for the day is wasted. It will be easily conceived, therefore, that economical housewives, as in some places in England, though for other reasons, have often to test their ingenuity to devise the most ingenious dinners which will not leave any cold perishable viands for the following day.

Although there are numerous places of religious worship in New Orleans, belonging to different religious

denominations, whose pulpits are mostly occupied by pious and respectable ministers of the gospel, yet such is the influence of slavery and other related circumstances in a city so rapidly formed, and of such diverse and rude materials, that in morals and religion, as well as in the virtues and accomplishments of social life, it presents on the whole a very different picture to the cities of the North.

There are some benevolent institutions and schools in the city; but they are not numerous, and but a few are in a healthy, flourishing condition. The schools, however, are said to have recently improved, teachers, both male and female, having come hither from the North-eastern States, bringing with them that educational life, and benevolence, and energy, which so evidently distinguished the descendants of the sturdy Puritans.

Institutions for higher intellectual and moral culture appear to be in little demand. There are no ennobling artistic enjoyments here. New Orleans is beyond everything else a business and trading city. The object of all appears to be to amass wealth, and to retire with it to a more congenial atmosphere and home. They have bound the negro slave, and the negro slave has bound them—preventing them from developing education, and every good institution that gives strength and greatness to a nation; if it has not obliterated the affections that are necessary to constitute a home.

And the chief causes of the prevailing demoralisation it is as little difficult to conjecture. It is traceable to the same source; it arises, principally, there can be little doubt, from the existence and operation of slavery, as the state of society is in some respects similar in almost all the Southern States where this enormity exists.

Such a result is perfectly natural; as slavery, by presenting human nature in a state of moral debasement, and affording constant opportunities for the exercise of uncontrolled dominion, must lead insensibly to impatience of contradiction and irritability of temper—to a frequent display, indeed, of all the worst passions of the depraved heart.

Neither their sickly climate, nor their familiarity with sudden death, nor their mild landscapes, have softened the spirits of the slave-holders, or lulled their nervous irritability. "The whole commerce between master and slave," says Mr. Jefferson, himself a slave-holder, "is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism, on one part, and of degrading submission on the other. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of the smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions; and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."

Duelling is awfully prevalent in New Orleans. Only a few years since, several persons called "gentlemen" arrived at Natchez, from Alexandria, in Louisiana, to settle some personal differences long standing by personal combat. Two of them had a duel, and were about leaving the ground unharmed when others arrived and insisted on a renewal of the fight. A desperate contest ensued, during which two of the number were killed, and two dangerously wounded. And such occurrences are common along the whole shores of the Mississipi, and in all the States where the influence of slavery is felt, as well as at New Orleans. Bowie knives and pistols constitute a part of the equipment of those who frequent the gambling hells with which the city of New Orleans abounds. The state of society in regard to the last-named atrocities may be in some degree conceived by the following announcement in a late American paper:—"For the first time in the annals of Louisiana a duellist has been convicted of manslaughter. The case was a very horrible one, the combatants having fought with knives; but the jury recommended the culprit to mercy."

That sacred day which is set apart in other States of the Union for the rest of the body and the refreshment of the soul, is here shamefully dishonoured and profaned. With multitudes, especially the Catholics, Sunday is the great day for amusements of all kinds. Shops are open,—the markets display unusual attractions,—and the sounds of merriment and music are heard in every street. In the morning, a very considerable part of the population are seen at mass, and the cathedral is crowded with people of all colours in their best and gayest attire; but in the after parts of the day and in the evening, their time and attention are transferred to the occupations of worldly pleasure, or they are found in the pandemoniums of profligacy and dissipation. It is, however, but just to say, that a stranger may learn something from the great difference exhibited between the Catholics and Protestants in their treatment of slaves and poor in their places of public worship.

Vice, in every form which a diabolical invention can devise, is become habitual to a large portion of the community, especially in the dregs of the French and American population which here find a refuge. Every degree of profligacy is exhibited that is degrading to the individual and injurious to society.

Unwholesome as are the material elements by which the atmosphere is tempered, New Orleans contains a malaria yet more dreadful than its swamps, tainting and poisoning the whole social state and inner life.

The feelings prevalent among what are termed the higher or more aristocratic portion of the community, in points of violated morality, resemble those formerly current in the fashionable world in Europe, only being less fastidious. The stigma attached to profligacy and licentiousness is so slight, that often people do not hesitate to accuse one another of laxity of conduct on the most fallacious grounds; and the utmost purity of life and correctness of manners sometimes prove insufficient to secure even a female from being suspected of errors and levities which are alike repugnant to her principles and to her inclinations.

Although situated so near the glowing line, the seasons in Louisiana admit of spring and summer as in Europe; but the winter seasons are much milder. The nights are uniformly temperate. Droughts are common, and thunder-storms and rains are frequent and excessive. The advantages of New Orleans, as to climate, are great. At some seasons of the year it is delicious, but its disadvantages are proportionate to its benefits, for the district is awfully subject to yellow fever and other infectious diseases. Sometimes the whole city appears under the influence of the former dreadful epidemic. At no season of the year is it healthy. The exhalations from the Mississippi, as well as from the vast swamp by which it is surrounded, taint the atmosphere continually. The variation at

different seasons is only in degree, while on every inundation, when the river runs to a higher level than the town, the putrid swamp is ever ready to ooze through the thin layer of rank soil above it, and thus spread infection on every hand.

The rainy seasons, it may be supposed, as is the case generally within the tropics, are the most sickly of the year, from the abundance of the exhalations, which then form a kind of faint vaporous bath, from which only those who live in apartments the highest from the ground are least in danger, the atmosphere growing gradually clearer and purer in proportion to the ascent.

This awful scourge, the yellow fever, however, though partially caused by the malaria of the swampy ground on which the city stands, and the frequent inundations occasioned by the bursting of the Levee, or embankments, is not so much attributable to these causes as to the intemperance that prevails, to the quality of the food that is consumed, and to the want of cleanliness, on the part of the lower classes, both as to houses and persons. "An effectual remedy of these evils," says an eminent medical practitioner of the city, "is cleanliness, which would contribute more to secure cities and countries in general from pestilence than all the quarantine regulations that were ever framed."

From what has thus been said, it must not be supposed that New Orleans, morally and physically, is without any redeeming features. It is neither without its natural attractions, as a place of residence, nor destitute of the charms of social life. Amidst much that is forbidding and corrupt in general society, there is much that may be pronounced refined and unexceptionable. There are many elements of good in real, powerful, practical operation in the public mind; and evil influences decrease in proportion to the wealth and numerical strength possessed by the resident north-eastern Anglo-American.

One of the most interesting objects to be seen in New Orleans by an European stranger is the public cemetery, situated about two miles and a half from the city, where the dead are buried in water, or in tombs above the ground, the tombs and graves consisting of whole streets and squares. It appears like what it really is, "a place to bury strangers in," strongly contrasting with the cemeteries of the other States,—"no trees, no grass plots, no fountains, nothing green, no flowers, nothing which testifies of life, of memory, of love. All is dead, stony, desolate, and no back-ground, except the clear blue heaven."

The most revolting spectacles beheld in New Orleans are the slave auctions. They occur every day in the City Exchange, and the man who wants an excuse for his misanthropy will nowhere discover better reason for hating and despising his species than at this spectacle of fiends in the shape of humanity.

"God of Goodness! God of Justice!" exclaimed a spectator of some recent tragedy perpetrated in the heart of this city, "there must be a future state to redress the wrongs of this, or I am almost tempted to say there must be no future state and no God."

"Mothers of New England!"—I will add, mothers of England! of Jamaica!—"Christians and philanthropists of every sex and name, teach your children to hate slavery, to pity its victims! Never cease your prayers nor your efforts until the blighting curse is driven from the world!"

"While almost every country in the civilised world can respond to the proud boast of the English common law, 'that the moment a slave sets his foot on her soil he is free,'" says an enlightened, right-hearted American traveller in Europe, "I do not hesitate to say that slavery stands as a dark blot on our nation-character. That it will not admit of any palliation; it stands in glaring contrast with the spirit of free institutions: it belies our words and our hearts; and the American who would be most prompt to refute any calumny upon his country withers under this reproach, and writhes with mortification when the taunt is hurled at the otherwise stainless flag of the free republic."

Even some planters speak of it as a noxious exhalation, with which the whole atmosphere is poisoned, and that the fear is that it will only be eradicated by some terrible convulsion—that the sword is already suspended. By the perpetuity of this unnatural and revolting system Americans lay under the imputation of being petty despots and tyrants, who "call that freedom when themselves are free." In their conduct with regard to slavery they deny the first principles of republicanism, and descend to the morals of common filibusterers, pirates, or buccaneers. Slavery involves the slave trade, and the slave trade, under the laws of civilised nations, involves piracy.

As if in mockery of the unhappy victims of this accursed system, and really in condemnation of the hypocrisy of the perpetrators of the atrocities that system produces, often in the very purlieus of the inhuman auction mart, where floats the "star-spangled banner," as well as from the shipping in the harbour—wafted to every part of the city by the evening breeze—is heard the loud chorus of the national song, "The land of the Brave and the land of the Free!"

But let us turn from these depressing features of the scene before us, and consider the brightest parts of the picture. And foremost amongst these is that parent of commerce and wealth to New Orleans—the magnificent Mississippi.

The flow of a noble stream is at all times an interesting object; but when its banks are occupied by long ranges of imposing and handsome buildings, shaded by palm groves, and enlivened by boats and vessels of all descriptions, with all the other signs of a vast and prosperous traffic, the *coup d'œil* formed by such a combination can hardly fail of producing a very animated picture: and such is the view of the Mississippi from anyone of the many points upon its banks from whence a spectator can command the whole space occupied by the city. A more vivid scene, indeed, can hardly be conceived than that presented by the forest of masts and steamboats that crowd the crescent outline of New Orleans.

Below the city, towards the Gulf of Mexico, a vast forest extends on either side as far as the eye can reach, opened here and there by the axe of the settler, where the scene is enlivened by the happy-looking rustic homesteads, and the more village-like establishments of the planter. Still farther on, the river disembogues itself into the Gulf of Mexico, through three mouths, or "passes," as they are called by sailors, which throw a wide and deep volume of fresh water far into the ocean, wholly untainted by the saline matter of the heavier fluid through which it flows. The whole extent between these passes is occupied with islands and shoals, on which countless pelicans assemble, and monstrous alligators disport themselves.

The river at New Orleans is about eight or nine

hundred yards, or three quarters of a mile broad, increasing rather than diminishing towards Louisville. Its greatest depth is twenty-three fathoms; the general velocity of the current has been estimated at about two nautical miles per hour. The navigation of the river is difficult and dangerous, owing to the perpetual shifting of the sands, and the vast and ever-increasing accumulation of islands formed by trees and earthy deposits brought down by the stream. Sometimes large islands entirely disappear; at other times they attach themselves to the main land; or, rather, the intervals are filled up by myriads of logs and masses of coral cemented together with mud and rubbish.

About eighteen miles from St. Louis, and four miles below the city, the Missouri and Mississippi rivers blend their giant currents, forming a mighty confluence; and for several miles down the stream of the latter, can be seen on one side the dark, pulpy, yellowish, muddy, angry waves of the Missouri, and on the other, the pure crystal waters of the Upper Mississippi, both having swept alternately through beautiful meadows, ancient hoary lime-stone bluffs, marshes, and deep forests, swelled in their advancing march by the beautiful waters of the Ohio, and the tributes of a hundred minor streams.

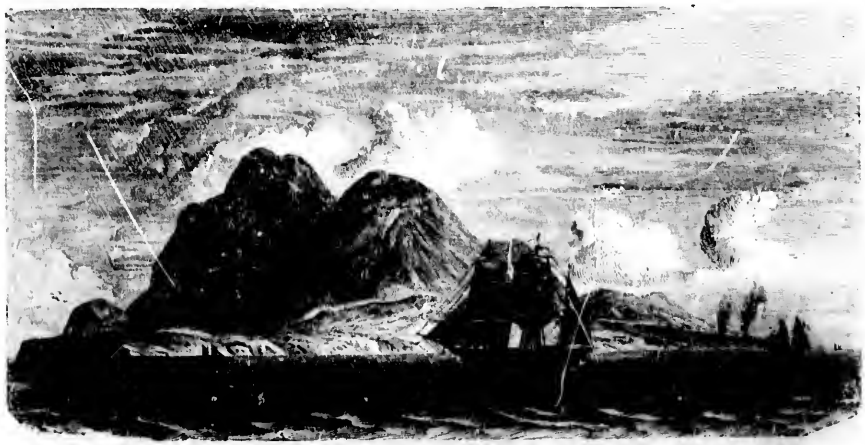
These gigantic rivers flow side by side for a considerable distance without entirely commingling, until, at last, the earth-laden tide from the far-west gains the mastery, and thence united in one wide, dark, turbid, and perpetual torrent, the "Father of Waters" rolls his accumulated floods in lonely majesty through the deltas formed by the diluvium of his own waters to the Gulf of Mexico, and thence far onward into the Atlantic Ocean.

No thinking mind can contemplate this mighty and resistless swollen current, as if bearing away the superfluous waters of the world, sweeping, in proud course from point to point, curving round its bends of leagues in extent, rolling in silence through the dark forests, watering a tract of country containing millions of square miles, extending from the cold climate of Canada to the sunny regions of the tropics,—no one, I repeat, can contemplate this vast phenomenon of nature, without feeling that he has before him one of the most striking instances of the sublime that the whole world affords.

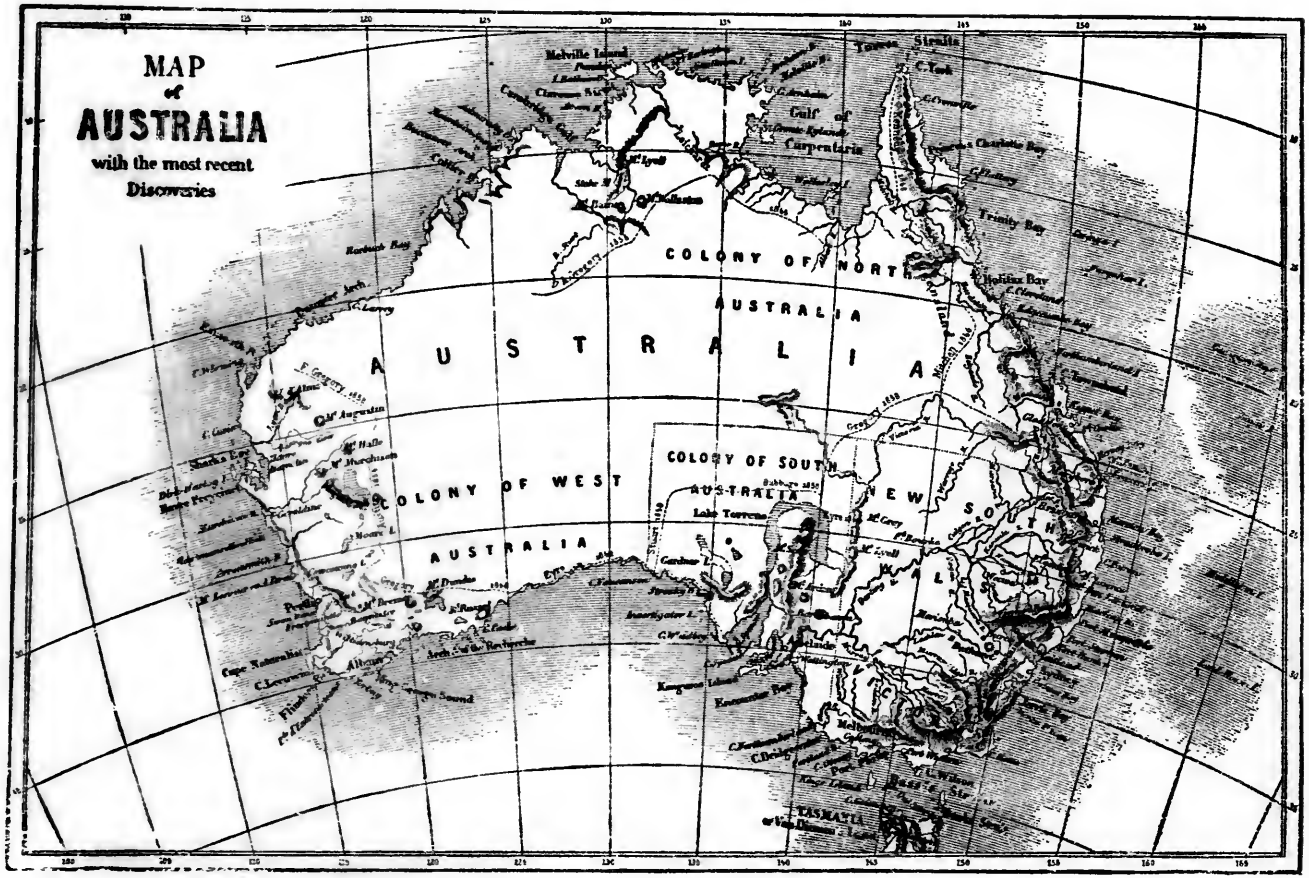
This vast river, which in its greatest extent for navigation, is eleven hundred miles in length—a traveller from its primal source of more than three thousand one hundred and sixty miles—that is, more than two-thirds of the diameter of the globe—nine hundred yards in medial breadth, and draining a far larger tract of country than any other river on our globe, is estimated at one million square miles in surface, and, in one feature, resembles the Nile of the Old World, as it rises periodically, and then suddenly inundates the whole vast magnificent valley through which it flows. It further opens a maritime communication with all the fertile countries through which it passes, and even, as already intimated, with Lake Erie and the Hudson—reaching Lake Erie by the Ohio, and the Hudson by canals.

"It has been the fashion of travellers," says Captain Hamilton, "to talk of the scenery of the Mississippi as wanting in grandeur and sublimity. Most certainly it has neither; but there is no scenery on earth more striking. The dreary and pestilential solitudes, untrodden save by the foot of the Indian; the absence of all living objects, save the huge alligators which float past, apparently asleep on the drift-wood, and an occasional vulture, attracted by its impure prey on the surface of the waters; the trees with a long and hideous drapery of pendent moss floating on the wind, and the giant river rolling onward the vast volume of its dark and turbid waters through the wilderness, forming the features of the most dismal and impressive landscape on which the eye of man ever rested. Rocks and mountains are fine things, undoubtedly, but they could add nothing to the sublimity of the Mississippi.

"Pelion might be piled on Ossa, Alps on Andes, and still, to the perceptions and heart of the spectator, the Mississippi would be alone. It could brook no rival and it could find none."



ISLAND OF MONTSERRAT, WEST INDIES.


MAP
of
AUSTRALIA
with the most recent
Discoveries
COLONY OF NORTH
AUSTRALIA
A U S T R A L I A
COLONY OF WEST
AUSTRALIA
COLONY OF SOUTH
AUSTRALIA
N E W S O U T H
W A L E S
Melville Island
Gulf of
Carpentaria
Trinity Bay
Holliday Bay
Shark's Bay
Cape Naturaliste
Kangaroo Island
Kangaroo Bay
Lake Torrens
TASMANIA
or Van Diemen's Land

AUSTRALIA.

I.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS IN AUSTRALIA — SYDNEY IN OLDEN TIMES—A CONVICT ESTABLISHMENT—BOTANY BAY—PARAMATTA—VINEYARDS—EARLY ATTEMPTS AND FAILURES TO CROSS THE BLUE MOUNTAINS.

THE first English establishment in Australia dates from the year 1788. In less than seventy-four years the European population alone has increased to upwards of a million. Although it has now been satisfactorily determined that the Portuguese discovered lands in the sixteenth century, which, from their position in old MS. maps, must have been Australia, and that previous to the discoveries of the Dutch circumnavigators, our great navigator, Cook, was really the first to discover, examine, and describe large portions of the coast of this vast continent, and notoriously the sea-board of New South Wales.

After remaining for a long time among the "*terræ reclusæ*" of the world, this vast region, the interior of which was at first believed to be a great inland sea or marsh, and is now supposed by some to be a worthless desert, notwithstanding that Providence seems, with a few exceptional cases, to abhor such things, as much as it does a vacuum, now offers to the world the glorious spectacle of five great British colonies or separate governments on its eastern, southern, western and northern shores; and whilst it pours forth on the old countries of Europe a shower of mineral wealth, far exceeding in amount anything hitherto recorded in the history of mankind, from the south it holds out promises of supplying a large proportion of, with iron, the chief materials of our manufacturing industry—wool and cotton—the latter more especially from the new colony of Queensland.

In 1787, the British government had determined to form an establishment in Australia, in order "to empty the gaols and houses of correction; to transplant the criminals to a place where, by labour, with moral and religious instruction, their conduct may be reformed; to afford, at the same time, an asylum for free emigrants; and to provide a present relief and future benefit to the mother country."

With these objects in view, Captain Arthur Philip, of the Royal Navy, sailed from Portsmouth, May 13th, 1787, with eleven ships, intending to settle the colony at Botany Bay, where he arrived January 20th, 1788. Botany Bay, however, was found to be by no means an eligible harbour, being open to the easterly winds, which, whenever they blow violently, roll in a heavy sea from the Pacific; besides that, the land which Sir Joseph Banks had represented as a series of beautiful meadows, was found to be nothing but swamps and sand.

Captain Philip sailed immediately in search of a more suitable place of settlement, and fixed, in a few days, on the locality of the shores of Sydney Cove, in the Bay of Port Jackson. This harbour is said to have derived its name from a sailor of the name of Jackson, who first discovered the entrance between the two headlands; and the name of Sydney was given to the new town in honour of Lord Sydney, who was a Lord of the Admiralty at the time when Captain Philip settled the colony on its present site. Such is the origin, only seventy-three years ago, of what is now one of the great cities of the earth!

It will be not uninteresting, in connection with the rapid progress of the colony, as also with the history of the progress of discovery in the interior, to introduce here a picture of New South Wales, as presented to us by the French Naturalist, Peron, in 1802, that is to say, only fourteen years after its settlement. The expedition of which Peron was a member had been several days abreast of Port Jackson, decimated by scurvy, and without being able, owing to the extreme weakness of the crew, to navigate the vessel into the harbour. How great then, says Peron, was the general joy when, on the 20th, we distinguished a large English boat making towards us! We learnt, from the officer by whom it was commanded, that we had been seen from different parts of the coast by persons on the look-out for three days before; and that the governor, rightly imagining by our manœuvres that we were in the most pressing need of succour, had expedited this boat, with a pilot and the men necessary to conduct us into port. There, thanks to this powerful assistance, we speedily found ourselves at anchor.

Our arrival at Port Jackson, M. Peron goes on to say, could then be no subject of wonder; but how much reason had we for astonishment on beholding the flourishing state of this singular and distant colony. The beauty of the port was the admiration of every one. "From an entrance," says Commodore Phillips, nor is there any exaggeration in this description, "from an entrance not more than two miles broad, Port Jackson widens gradually into a great basin, with sufficient depth of water for the largest ships, and spacious enough to contain, in perfect safety, all that could ever be collected here, nay, a thousand sail of the line could manœuvre in it with the greatest ease. It stretches inland about thirteen miles in a western direction, and contains at least a hundred small creeks, formed by very narrow tongues of land, which furnish excellent shelter from all winds. For spaciousness and safety, Port Jackson is incontestably one of the finest ports in the world."

About the middle of this magnificent harbour, and on the shore of one of its principal coves on the southern side, rises the town of Sydney, the capital of the county of Cumberland, and all the English colonies in Australasia. Built on the slope of two neighbouring hills, and traversed lengthwise by a small rivulet, this rising town has a pleasing and picturesque appearance. To the right, and on the northern point of Sydney Cove, is seen the Signal Battery, built on a rock of difficult access; six pieces of cannon, protected by a trench of turf, cross the fire of another battery, and thus defend, in a most efficacious manner, the approach

to the town and its peculiar port. Beyond, the large buildings of the hospital present themselves, capable of containing two or three hundred sick: among these buildings, that especially is worthy of notice, of which all the pieces, fashioned in Europe, were brought in the vessels of Commodore Phillips, and which, a few days after his arrival, was in a state to receive all the sick he had on board. On this same side of the town, on the sea shore, is a very handsome warehouse, close to which the largest vessels come to discharge their cargoes. In different private dock-yards, small craft, and brigs of various tonnage, are on the stocks, intended for the internal or exterior commerce of the colony: these vessels, of from 30 to 300 tons burthen, are exclusively constructed of country timber, their masts even being the produce of the Austral forests. The discovery of the strait which separates New Holland from Diemen's Land, was effected by a simple whale-boat, commanded by M. Bass, surgeon of the ship Reliance. Consecrated, as I may say, by this grand discovery, this bold navigation M. Bass's boat is preserved in this port with a kind of religious respect. Snuff-boxes made of its keel are relics, of which the possessors are as proud as they are careful, and the governor himself imagined he could not make a more respectful present to our chief than a piece of wood from this boat set in a large silver etui, round which were engraven the particulars of the discovery of Bass's Strait.

Vessels belonging to individuals unload at the dock, called the hospital: beyond the hospital, and on a line with it, is the prison, in which are several cells capable of containing from 150 to 200 prisoners; it is surrounded by a lofty and strong wall, and protected night and day by a strong guard At a little distance thence is the warehouse for wines, spirits, salt provisions, and other similar articles; fronting is the parade, where the garrison every morning muster to the sound of a numerous and well appointed band belonging to the regiment of New South Wales. The whole of the western side of the square is occupied by the house of the lieutenant-governor, behind which is a vast garden, equally interesting to the philosopher and the naturalist, on account of the great number of useful vegetables transported thither from all quarters of the globe by its present respectable proprietor, M. Paterson, member of the Royal Society of London, and a distinguished traveller. Between the house and the magazine of which I am speaking, is the public school: there are instructed in the principles of religion, morality and virtue, those young girls, the hopes of the growing colony, whose parents, of nature too corrupt or too poor, could not themselves educate with sufficient care; there, under respectable tutoresses, they have at an early age inculcated into them to know, respect, and cherish the duties of a good mother.

At the rear of the house of the lieutenant-governor, in a very large warehouse, are deposited all the dry provisions and flour belonging to the government: this is a sort of public granary, especially designed for the maintenance of the troops, and those who receive their subsistence from the state. Along the whole extent of the principal square, called Sydney-square, are the barracks, in front of which are several pieces of field artillery: the buildings containing the apartments of the officers, form the lateral parts of this square, and the powder-magazine is in the middle. Near this spot, in a small house belonging to an individual, the chief civil and military officers are accustomed to assemble; it is a kind of coffee-house maintained by general subscription, in which different games are played, especially billiards.

Behind the parade rises a large square tower which serves as an observatory for such of the English officers as study astronomy: at the foot of this tower are laid the foundations of the church, of which it is intended for the belfry; but a structure of this description, exacting a large expense, many hands, and much time, the governors have hitherto neglected to prosecute it, preferring the formation of those establishments more immediately indispensable for the existence and prosperity of the colony. Till the church shall be completed, divine service is performed in one of the halls of the large wheat magazine belonging to government. Two handsome wind-mills on the summit of the western hill terminate on this side the series of the principal public buildings.

On the small rivulet that runs through the town, at the time we were there, was a wooden bridge, which, by means of a substantial causeway, occupied as I may say, the bottom of the valley, through which the stream flows.[1] We shall cross this bridge, in order to take a cursory view of the eastern portion of Sydney town.

At the eastern point of the cove is a second battery, the fire of which, as we have before observed, crosses that of the signal battery. On the shore, proceeding towards the town, small salt-ponds are seen, at which some Americans, settled for this purpose at Port Jackson ever since 1795, manufacture by evaporation part of the salt employed in the colony. Beyond, and towards the bottom of the port, is the dock called Government Dock, on account of its being exclusively appropriated for the vessels of government. Between this dock and the salt-ponds, is the careening place for shipping. The wharf naturally slopes in such a manner that, without any labour or expense on the part of the English, the largest vessels can be laid up without danger.

Near the Government Dock are three public magazines: in one are stowed all articles requisite for domestic use, such as potter's-ware, furniture, utensils of all kinds for the kitchen, &c., farming instruments, &c., &c. The number of articles is truly immense, and the mode of delivery is marked by wisdom and liberality. On these distant shores, in fact, European merchandize bears such an extravagant price, that it would have been next to impossible for the populace here to procure those articles indispensable for obtaining the first wants of life; the English government, to remedy this, delivers from its plentiful stock whatever is required, at stated prices, some even inferior to those given for the same articles in Europe. But, in order to prevent the speculations of greedy men, and dilapidation, no one can receive any thing from these stores without an order specifying what is to be delivered to him. In a neighbouring store-house are kept different clothing, as well for the troops as convicts; here also is store of sail-cloth and cordage for the government

[1] This wooden bridge has been removed since our leaving Sydney town to make room for a new stone bridge; at the same time a water-mill has been constructed at this spot by government, and strong sluices have been made, as well to keep back the fresh water, as to restrain the incursion of the tide which used to flow a considerable distance up the valley.

ships. The last of the three edifices is a public workhouse, where the female convicts and prisoners are kept at labour.

Behind these warehouses stands the governor's house, built in the Italian style, surrounded by a colonnade equally simple and elegant, and having in front a very beautiful plantation which slopes down to the sea-shore; already in this plantation are combined a great variety of trees; the pine of Norfolk Island, and the superb columbia, rise by the side of the bamboo of Asia; farther on, the orange of Portugal and the fig of the Canaries ripen beneath the shade of the apple-tree from the banks of the Seine; the cherry, peach, pear, and apricot are confounded with the banksia, metrosideros, corneas, melateucas, casuarinas, eucalypti, and a number of other indigenous trees. Beyond the government garden, and on the back of a neighbouring hill, is the windmill, slaughter-house, and ovens belonging to Government; the last especially designed for baking of sea-biscuit, and capable of furnishing daily from 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. Not far from a neighbouring cove, at a spot called by the natives Wallamoola (now a suburb of Sydney), is the charming dwelling of the commissary-general of Government, Mr. Palmer: the grounds are watered by a rivulet of fresh water, which falls into the extremity of a cove that forms a very safe and commodious port. Here it is that Mr Palmer causes those small vessels to be built he employs in the whale and seal fishery off New Zealand, and in Bass's Strait. The neighbouring brick-ground, like

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN NATIVES.

wise, furnishes a considerable number of tiles, bricks, and square tiles for the public and private buildings of the colony.

At a little distance to the south of Sydney Town, on the left of the high road to Paramatta, are the remains of the first gallows raised in New Holland. Driven from its site, as I may say, by the spreading of the house, this gallows has been replaced by another in the same direction, contiguous to the village of Brick Field. This village, composed of about two score houses, has several manufactories of tiles, pottery, Fuenza ware, &c.; its position is pleasing, and the neighbouring lands, less sterile than the vicinage of Sydney Cove, repay with greater interest the various culture introduced into these distant climates. The great road to Paramatta passes through the middle of Brick Field, which also is crossed by a small rivulet before its fall into the extremity of a neighbouring cove. Between this village and Sydney Town is the public burial-ground, already remarkable for some very large tombs, executed in a style much superior to what could be expected from the state of the arts in the colony, and the recency of its foundation.

A variety of objects equally interesting at the same time presented themselves before us. In the port we saw several vessels recently arrived from different quarters of the world, the majority of them destined for new and hazardous voyages. Here, from the banks of the Thames or the Shannon, some about to proceed to the foggy shores of New Zealand, and others, after landing the freight consigned by the government of England for the colony, about to sail for the Yellow

River of China; some laden with coal intended for the Cape of Good Hope and India; many of smaller build ready to depart for Bass's Strait, to collect the furs and skins obtained there by men left on the different islands to take the amphibii who make them their resort. Other vessels again of greater burthen and strength, and well armed, were intended for the western shores of America, deeply laden with merchandize, for a contraband trade with the inhabitants of Peru. Here again one was equipping for the rich traffic in furs on the north-west coast of America; there all was bustle to fit out store-ships for the Navigators, Friendly, and Society Islands, to bring back to the colony the exquisite salt pork of those islands. At the same instant the intrepid Flinders, after effecting a junction with his consort, the Lady Nelson, was preparing to resume his grand voyage round New Holland, a voyage afterwards terminated by the greatest disasters. Already the road to Port Jackson had become familiar to the Americans, and their flag was incessantly flying in this port throughout the whole course of our stay.

This assemblage of grand operations, this constant movement of the shipping, impressed on these shores a character of importance and activity which we were far from expecting in a country so lately known to Europe, and the interest it excited increased our admiration.

Nor less was the population of the colony a subject

REMAINS OF AN AUSTRALIAN EXPLORER.

with us for wonder and meditation. Never, perhaps, was a more worthy subject presented for the study of the statesman or philosopher; never, perhaps, has the happy influence of social institutions been evinced in a more striking or honourable manner, than in these distant shores. Here those formidable pests, so long the terror of their country, are found collected together: outcasts from European society, banished to the extremity of the globe, and from the first instant of their exile placed between the certainty of punishment and the hope of a happier fate, constantly under a vigilance as inflexible as active, they have been fain to renounce their anti-social habitudes. The majority, after having expatiated their crimes by a rigorous slavery, have entered again into the rank of citizens. Forced to become interested in the maintenance of order and justice, to maintain the property they have acquired; and become almost at the same instant husbands and fathers, they are bound to their present condition by the most powerful as by the dearest of ties.

A broad and commodious road runs from Sydney road to Botany Bay; all the intermediate country is arid, sandy, apparently unadapted to any species of culture, and consequently is destitute of any European dwellings. The ground, after rising into the lofty hill, at the foot of which is Mr. Palmer's seat, slopes into a sandy plain extending to the marshy banks of Cook's River. Different species of hakea, styphelia, eucalyptus, banksia, embothryum, and casuarina, spring up

SCENE ON THE RIVER MURRAY.

among the sands; and large plots are exclusively covered with the xanthorrea, whose gigantic ears sprout at the height of seven to nine feet from the ground. In the distance rises the smoke of different fires; they are those of the unfortunate hordes who dwell on these gloomy shores.

On approaching Botany Bay the ground gradually declines, and sinks at length into dangerous marshes, formed by the salt water of Cook River northward, and that of the river St. George towards the south. These marshes are of such vast extent, and sometimes so deep, as in different parts to be impassable towards the sea. On the margin of them, and along the banks of both the rivers mentioned, vegetation is exceedingly flourishing; thousands of trees of different kinds, and numerous shrubs crowded together, have an enchanting appearance, and present such a show of fertility, that Captain Cook and his illustrious companions themselves were deceived by it. Much, indeed, is wanting in this celebrated bay to justify those hopes conceived of it from their brilliant description. Choked by large sand-banks, and open to the east and south winds, it is not itself safe on all occasions; while the marshy quality of the neighbourhood renders it at once insalubrious and unfit for general cultivation. Hence Commodore Phillips, after surveying Port Jackson, speedily abandoned Botany Bay; and from that time no other establishment has been preserved there than a kiln for burning lime, which is supplied by shells found on this coast in great abundance.

About twenty-five miles west of Sydney Cove is the town of Rose Hill, or Paramatta; this I early visited. A high road leads from Sydney Town to Paramatta: without being paved it is handsome, and well kept, and in almost every part is wide enough to admit three carriages abreast: bridges have been thrown over those spots necessary, and the progress of the traveller meets with no impediment. Cut through the middle of those vast forests so long respected by the axe, this high road presents to view an immense avenue of trees and verdure. Beneath these tufty shades a grateful coolness reigns perpetually; and their silent quietude is alone disturbed by the cries and frolics of shining parroquets, and the other airy inhabitants of the forest.

The country of Rose Hill is almost generally flat, being chequered only by a few gentle risings. Proportionally to the distance from the sea it becomes less sterile, and the vegetable reign presents more varied produce. In some places there are larger intervals between the trees; here a very slender and odoriferous herbage carpets the surface with verdure. Amid these pastures it is those numerous flocks of sheep are reared. The mild temperature of these climates, and the peculiar and pleasing fragrance of the chief part of their food have proved so congenial to these valuable animals, that the finest races of Spain and England alike succeed, nor have they to dread the ravage of the wolf, for neither wolves nor any obnoxious animal whatever exist in the country to molest them. Already, it is said, does the wool of these antarctic flocks exceed the rich fleece of the Asturias, and the English manufacturers pay for it a higher price than for Spanish wool.

On the way, at intervals, the forest opens, and lands of various extent, redeemed from shades, are seen brought into culture; the traveller distinguishes comfortable dwellings, shielded by umbrageous and elegant trees; he contemplates with much emotion these new fields, on which the slender gramina of the north rise on the wreck of the mighty eucalyptus; and sees delighted so far from their native plains the most useful animals of his cherished home. Here the large dew-lapped bull bounds with a vigour exceeding even that of its famous Irish sire; the cow, more fecund in these less chilly climes, yields milk in larger portions than what she does in ours; the English horse here shows an equal strength and equal spirit with that on the banks of the Thames; while the hog of Europe is improved by numerous crosses with that of the South Seas, which surpasses it in shape, in lard, and flesh. Neither have all kinds of poultry succeeded less than larger animals, the farm-yards swarming with numerous varieties of turkeys, geese, fowl, ducks, pheasants, &c., many of which are preferable to the finest in Europe.

Still more is the traveller interested on visiting the interior of the houses. Beneath these rural sheds, in the midst of deepest forests, dwell now in peace those men whose lawless life was formerly the dread of Europe, men familiarized with and living but by crimes, to whose atrocities there seemed to be no end but that which punishment and death should put: here dwelt swindlers, thieves, and knaves of all descriptions, worthless vermin which seem to multiply the more, the more society improves: all these wretches, the refuse and dishonour of their country, by the most inconceivable of metamorphoses become laborious husbandmen and peaceful and happy subjects. In fact, murder or robbery are things unheard of in the colony, where in these respects the most perfect safety reigns. Happy effect of the laws, equally rigid and beneficent, by which it is governed.

The more at our ease to enjoy this interesting scene, M. Bellefin and myself frequently entered their rural abodes. Everywhere we met with the most obliging welcome; and as we noticed the tender care of the mothers for their children, and considered that, but a few years before these same women, void of every tender and delicate feeling, were nothing but abandoned prostitutes, this unusual revolution in their moral conduct gave origin to reflections of the most gentle and philanthropic nature.

At length we came within sight of Paramatta, situated in the middle of a pleasant plain, on a cognominal river, which admits the navigation of boats thus high. This town, of less extent than Sydney Town, consists of 180 houses, which form a very large street parallel with the river, and cut at right angles by an inferior one, terminated at one end by a stone bridge and at the other end by the church. This last edifice, the structure of which is mean and heavy, was not yet completed when we visited the town; and the progress towards its completion is slow, as the governors of the colony, with reason, consider other necessary works of greater importance; hospitals for example, prisons, workhouses, clearing of land, the fishery, ship-building, &c., on which, in preference, the convicts and funds of the colony are chiefly employed.

At one of the extremities of the great street of Paramatta are barracks, capable of receiving from 250 to 300 infantry; they are built of brick in shape of a horse-shoe, and embrace a large space, kept in excellent order, and well covered with sand, where the troops parade. The force at this time at Paramatta consisted of 120 men of the regiment of New South Wales, under the command of Captain Piper.

The entire population of Paramatta, comprehending the garrison and inhabitants of the neighbouring farms, almost the whole of whom are addicted to agriculture, tending cattle, and a few mechanical employments may be computed at from 1400 to 1500. Here is a well-appointed hospital, of which Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth is chief physician, a tolerably strong prison, a workhouse for female convicts, a public school for girls, &c. This town is moreover the residence of a justice of the peace for the county of Cumberland, and is intended to be the principal seat of the civil administration of the colony, Sydney continuing to be that for what may relate to navigation, commerce, and war.

Towards the western extremity of the main street of Paramatta is Rose-hill, whence the town first received its name; but that of Paramatta, given by the natives to this part of the country, generally prevails, even among the English themselves. The whole eastern part of Rose-hill presents an extremely gentle slope towards the town, on which is the garden of government. There interesting experiments for the naturalisation of exotics are pursued with ardour; and there are collected the most remarkable indigenous plants, intended to enrich the royal gardens at Kew; thence also have been imported into England those which it has latterly acquired, and which have proved such valuable acquisitions to the botanical works of that country. A well-informed botanist, Mr. Cayley, sent from Europe, has the superintendence of the garden; and the learned Colonel Paterson, to whom New South Wales is indebted for this establishment, has constantly taken great interest in its improvement.

The side of Rose hill opposite to Paramatta is steep, and forms a large crescent, which at first sight might be taken for the effect of human labour. At the foot of this singular hill runs a stream, of little consequence in general, but which, at the period of inundations, so frequent and so terrible in these climates, is swollen so as greatly to damage the neighbouring plantations.

On the summit of Rose-hill stands the government house of Paramatta; it is simple, elegant, and well planned, but receives its chief recommendation from its site, which commands the town, its meadows, the neighbouring woods, and the river. This house is commonly uninhabited; but its apartments and furniture are so contrived that as often as the governor and lieutenant-governor come to Paramatta they can be commodiously accommodated, as well as their families and suite.

To add an additional charm to such a beautiful site, the English governors planted here the first vineyards formed in the colony: if the vine had succeeded on the back of the crescent which I have noticed, the government house would then have been surrounded on this point by a rich amphitheatre of clusters of grape and verdure; but experience unfortunately has proved that the site was the least adapted of any that could have been chosen for this species of culture, for a portion of the hill is exposed to the north-west winds, the most dreaded of any in this part of New Holland.

Taught by experience and the remonstrance of the vine-dressers, Governor King at length resolved to transport the vines to a part of the country selected by these men, which seemed likely to answer the most sanguine expectations.

The apparently slight elevation of the Blue Mountains, and their uniformity, not allowing the English at first to suspect the difficulty of exploring them, they were satisfied, in the infancy of the colony, with sending a few men to scale their summits. At the same epoch several convicts, seeking to free themselves from slavery, endeavoured to pass this formidable barrier: some of these died in the undertaking, and the others were constrained to abandon the scheme of enfranchisement.

It was not until the month of December, 1789, that the government itself resolved on attempting their exploration. With this view, Lieutenant Dawes was dispatched with a considerable detachment of troops, and a stock of provisions for ten days; but after much fatigue and many hazards he returned to Port Jackson without having been able to penetrate more than nine miles into the interior of the mountains. According to his account his progress was stopped by impassable ravines and chains of very lofty rocks, exceedingly steep and precipitous.

Eight months after the expedition of Lieutenant Dawes, that is to say, in the month of August, 1790, Captain Tench himself set out with a very strong escort of soldiers, and all the articles requisite for renewing the attempt of passing these mountains; but Captain Tench was not more fortunate than his predecessor.

Discouraged by the want of success, the English government suffered three years to elapse without making any new attempt; and if some few expeditions, equally fruitless, made for the purpose by individuals, be excepted, nothing was effected in the interval towards the exploration of the Western country. The celebrated Mr Paterson at length projected an expedition to the Blue Mountains, and in 1793, he set out, with every appliance necessary for the success of the enterprise. A strong escort of hardy Scotch Highlanders accompanied him, as also a party of natives to serve as guides. Still the obstacles and difficulties met with rendered null all the preparations made, and Mr. Paterson was not more fortunate than the previous adventurers. After discovering the River Grose, which falls into the Hawkesbury above Richmond-hill, he advanced farther into the country the space of about ten miles, ascending several cataracts, one of which ran at the rate of from ten to twelve miles in the hour. Shortly after, navigation became impracticable; one of the two boats sunk, and the other grounded on some trunks of trees which obstructed the course of the river. In vain did the party continue to advance; the number of cataracts increased, one of them falling from a perpendicular height of 400 feet; frightful precipices surrounded them on all sides; one ridge of mountains surmounted served but to show others, still increasing in aridity, and in difficulty to scale: at length it became necessary to return. In front of the spot which the party reached was a very large peak, denominated Harrington Peak by Colonel Paterson. On this excursion it was that the colonists had their first communication with the Ba-dia-Gal, a singular people, who live in the vicinage of the Hawkesbury River, and who differ from the natives of Port Jackson and those of Botany Bay in manners, language, mode of life, and, above all, in a singularly remarkable characteristic of their physical conformation: all the individuals of this race have their arms and thighs disproportionately long with respect to the body.

A year had not yet elapsed before other adventurers scaled these mountains. The individual who attempted

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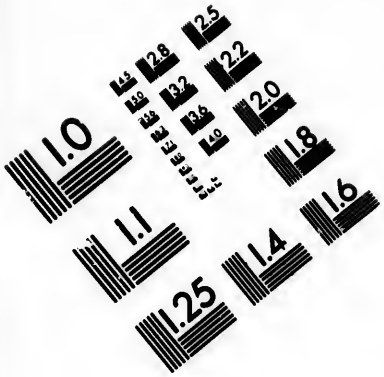

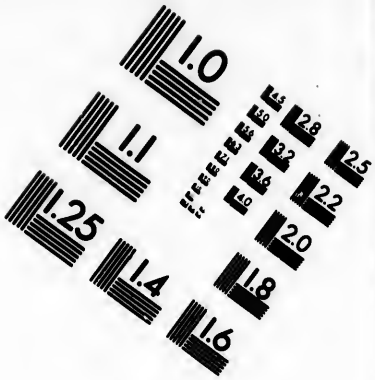

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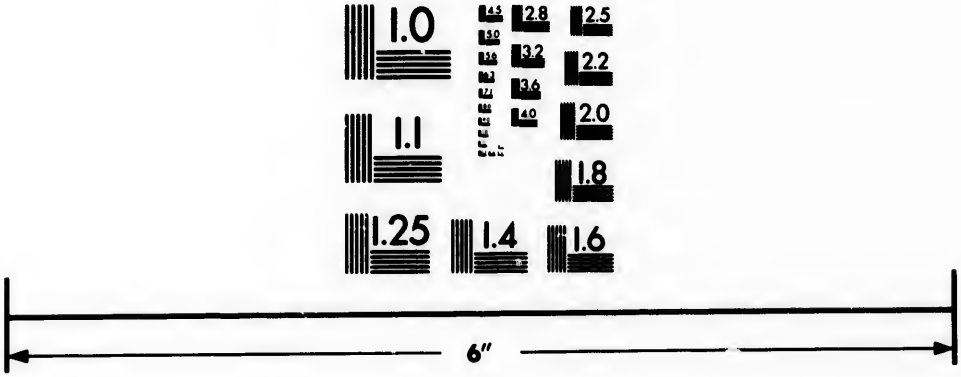

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the desperate undertaking of passing them, was the quartermaster of the *Sirius*, one Hacking, an intrepid and spirited man, who was accompanied by others of equally determined character. Ten days were employed by this party in seeking a pass: their efforts were not altogether misspent; they penetrated about twenty miles farther than those by whom they had been preceded, but ultimately were forced to return. Beyond the different peaks discovered by Hacking, the mountains presented still additional tiers, which he deemed even more difficult to surmount than those he had passed; from north to south they formed an immense bulwark, and were frightfully arid. The interior peaks consisted of a reddish freestone of ferruginous nature. Among these mountains but one savage was distinguished, who, at the sight of the English, fled with precipitation; the only species of quadruped seen was a sort of red kangaroo, hitherto unknown to naturalists, and which will doubtless form one of the most curious species of this genus of animals so remarkable in its form and habitudes.

Among the most interesting characters of this Austral colony must be placed Mr. Bass, surgeon of the *Reliance*, who, in a slight whale-boat, dared to venture on an unknown sea, and discovered the famous strait to which his name was affixed by public gratitude. This extraordinary personage was also solicitous of attempting to pass the Blue Mountains, and in the month of June, 1796, set off for the purpose, accompanied by a small number of men, on whose courage and skill he could depend. Never in an attempt of this kind was greater hardihood displayed. With his feet and hands armed with iron hooks, Mr. Bass several times climbed the most steep and horrible mountains. Repeatedly stopped by precipices, he caused himself to be let down them with cords. Great as this zeal, it was unproductive of any beneficial result; and after fifteen days of fatigue and danger, Mr. Bass returned to Sydney, confirming further by his failure the impracticability of penetrating beyond these singular mountains. From the summit of a very elevated peak, which he ascended, Mr. Bass discovered before him, at the distance of forty or fifty miles, another chain of mountains of a superior elevation to any of those he had hitherto passed, and the intermediate space presented obstacles and dangers equally with those in his rear. In this perilous excursion the party suffered exceedingly from thirst, their provision of water being expended, and no means of recruiting it being found in these arid mountains. "When," said Mr. Bass to me, "we by chance discovered any moist earth or mud in the crevices of rocks, we applied our handkerchiefs to the surface, and sucked as forcibly as possible in order to imbibe the remaining moisture."

Such, to the period of our arrival at Port Jackson, had been the result of the different efforts to pass the Blue Mountains. Tired of the expense and fruitlessness of the enterprise, the English government for some years ceased to regard it as a matter of any consequence. My companions and myself, however, succeeded in persuading Governor King, towards the close of our stay, that is to say, in October, 1802, to issue orders for a renewal of the undertaking. The direction of the expedition was confided to M. Bareillier, a French emigrant, an engineer belonging to the colony, and aide-de-camp to the governor. I was myself anxious to accompany this party, but Mr. King did not conceive himself justified in extending his complaisance so far as to grant me permission. To the different precautions used on anterior expeditions, was superadded the ingenious plan of stationing small posts at various intervals, increasing in number in proportion to the advance into the interior of the mountains, and thus forming an active chain of communication between the advancing party and the nearest English establishment. The same fate which attended the others awaited the attempt of M. Bareillier; it does not even appear that he was able to penetrate so far as some of his predecessors. From this wearisome excursion he brought back only a small number of specimens of freestone, similar to that of the sea-shore, and of the intervening space between it and the mountains.

What is more singular in the history of these mountains, the natives of this country know as little of them as the Europeans. All agree in the impossibility of clearing this western barrier; and what they relate of the country beyond proves it to be utterly unknown to them. There, say they, is an immense lake, on the banks of which are inhabitants fair as the English, dressed like them, and like them building stone houses and large towns.

II.

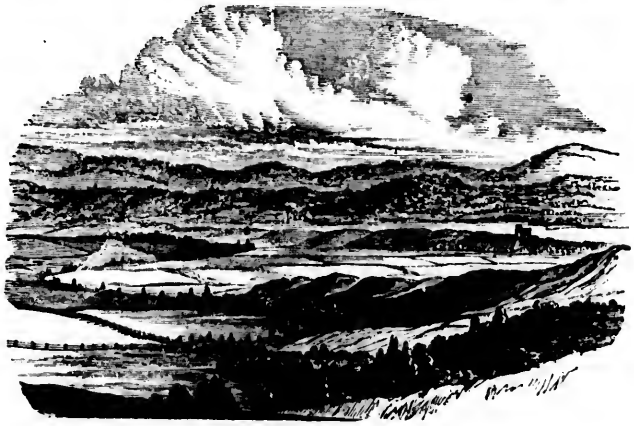
A Road carried across the Blue Mountains—Discovery of Bathurst Downs and of the Macquarie and Lachlan Rivers—Oxley's Exploration of the Lachlan—Australian Steppes—Oxley's Exploration of the Macquarie—Brisbane Downs and the Morrumbidgee—Messrs. Hovell and Hume's Journey from Sydney to Port Philip—Mr. Allan Cunningham's Exploration of Darling Downs and Peel's Plains—Moreton Bay and Brisbane River—Captain Sturt's Expedition on the Macquarie and Darling Rivers—Second Expedition to the Morrumbidgee—Discovery of the Murray.

A period of twenty-five years passed away without any information being gained as to the breadth of the Blue Mountain ranges westerly, or the aspect of the country beyond them. At length, in 1813, the colonists were visited by a most distressing season of drought, in which the country, from the sea-coast to the base of the hills, was burnt up—the secondary water-courses entirely failed, and the cattle of the colonists, hemmed in on all sides, died in great numbers for want of pasturage. Out of evil how often does good arise!—for these most distressing circumstances were the means of opening the country, and saving the colonists. Three enterprising individuals, Messrs. Blaxland, Wentworth, and Lawson, were induced, at this period, to unite and employ their best exertions and experience in making one other attempt to penetrate through that chain of mountains, which had been considered, for so many years, an impregnable barrier. With this determination they ascended the mountains near the Grose River (a tributary to the Hawkesbury), and by keeping steadily in view, that, which no preceding explorer had ever once thought of, namely, the fall of the waters into the Warragumba on the one side, and into the Grose on the other, they maintained their position on a main range, which although, from its intricate windings, sometimes obliged them to follow a course opposite to that which they had intended to pursue, nevertheless enabled them, by adhering to it closely, eventually to penetrate to a distance of twenty-five geographical miles, due west, from the Nepean River, to a terminating point in those mountains. After having traversed a bleak and dreary waste, by a route exceeding fifty miles in length,

it may be readily conceived with what joy these laborious travellers beheld, from the rugged brow of this precipice, a grassy, well-watered vale, which appeared to extend some miles to the westward,—a failure of provisions, however, obliged the party to retrace their steps back to the colony. On this occasion, their example being followed up by Mr. W. Evans, Assistant Surveyor, by order of the Government, that fine pastoral country, the Downs of Bathurst, and the Rivers Macquarie and Lachlan, were shortly afterwards discovered. (*See* below.) During the following year (1814) a practicable line of road was constructed, by convict-labour, over mountain-ridges, which in some parts have been since ascertained to be three thousand four hundred feet above the level of the sea; and thus was thrown open that extensive range of sheep and cattle pasturage, which has since been of such immense value to the colony.

The encouraging results which attended this enterprise, naturally suggested the propriety of sending an expedition to explore the newly-discovered streams, which, although they were nearly eighty miles asunder at the points where they were first met, it was nevertheless expected would be found to unite in the interior, and become a river of considerable magnitude, running to the sea. The late Surveyor-General, Mr. Oxley, was accordingly dispatched, in the winter of 1817, to trace, in the first place, the course of the Lachlan; and, Mr. Allan Cunningham having just arrived in the colony, he most gladly accepted an invitation to join, under so able and intelligent an officer, the first expedition which was undertaken for the purpose of exploring the interior of the Australian continent.

The River Lachlan, as will be remembered, was followed by the party through a flat inhospitable country, and so far from its forming a junction with the Macquarie, it was found not to receive even a single tributary stream in any part of its long and tortuous course, which, with great patience and perseverance, Mr. Oxley explored beyond the westernmost range of



BATHURST PLAINS IN 1862.

hills to an interior, a dead level, forming a chain of plains, which appeared alone bounded by the horizon—their ample surface bearing the very evident proofs of being, in seasons of continued rains, extensively inundated. This termination of the labours of the expedition, westerly, occurred in longitude 144½° E.; and during the stay of the party at that remote station, besides the many astronomical observations which were taken to determine its position, the rising amplitude was observed, as at sea, which gave 7° 25′ easterly variation. Of the extent of those vast levels the party could form no just idea.

With a reduced stock of provisions, and at a distance of more than four hundred miles inland from the colony, Mr. Oxley commenced his journey homeward, little thinking, that could he have penetrated but twenty miles further to the south-west, he would have arrived at the Morrumbidgee River, at that time not known in any part of its course, and only recently ascertained (though long supposed) to receive the drainings of the Lachlan Marshes. It may here be worthy of remark, that, in retracing their steps over those wet unhealthy levels to the hills which skirted them on their eastern side, Mr. Oxley and his party repeatedly witnessed, in the morning before the sun had risen many degrees above the horizon, the singular appearance of the *mirage*, or the extraordinary effect of refraction upon those unbounded plains. After a march of six days, the travellers regained the rising grounds, and crossing the Lachlan with some difficulty, by means of a raft, they quitted that turbid stream altogether, which had become suddenly swollen by floods from the eastward. The party now shaped a more northern course homewards than they otherwise would have done, in hopes of meeting with the long-lost Macquarie River, which they had not seen since they quitted Bathurst, the downs of which it waters. All travellers, in exploring new tracts of country, are subjected more or less to sudden vicissitudes: in this expedition to trace the source of the Lachlan, these were numerous, and oftentimes of a distressing character. The simple mention of one of these changes, arising out of the circumstance of the country, may here suffice. Five weeks were employed in traversing those

steppes over which the waters of the Lachlan are dispersed, and on no one occasion during that period did the party meet with a dry spot on which to encamp at the close of the day. On the contrary, comfortless as it really was, still, having been for some time accustomed to accommodate themselves to circumstances, they cheerfully sought repose from the fatigues of the day upon any part of those wet plains where exhaustion, and the approaching night, had obliged them to halt.

On leaving the right bank of the Lachlan, however, Mr. Oxley entered on a country in point of character the very reverse of that which he had recently quitted. For nearly a hundred miles the expedition had to encounter those privations which are inevitable in a tract of country, where, from extreme sterility, neither water nor pasturage for the horses could occasionally be found; and where the surface, although somewhat elevated above the low plains which the travellers had just left, being, for a considerable extent, of a light, red, sandy soil, was only capable of producing a scrubby vegetation, alone interesting to the botanist. At length, however, upon passing to the eastward of those arid regions, they reached a better country, and one that improved daily as they advanced. Hills lightly wooded, and grassy to their very summits appeared before them: these were found to furnish springs, which formed small rivulets in the adjoining valleys, in one of which, of considerable extent and romantic appearance, to which the name of Wellington was given, they found with no small satisfaction, a river flowing silently to the north-west. This was the Macquarie, so long the object of their search. The discovery of this river, at a distance of one hundred miles to the north-west of Bathurst, in a measure recompensed the travellers for all their toils on the Lachlan; and Mr. Oxley's report of it to the local government, inducing the hope that it would, when increased by other tributary streams, find its way to the sea, a new expedition was directed, in the winter of the following year, to explore it downwards from Wellington Valley.

Great expectations were entertained from this second expedition, and the disappointment, therefore, was severe, when the Macquarie was traced to a low marshy interior, in a north-westerly direction; where the hills again disappeared, and the country becoming perfectly level, the flooded river eluded further pursuit, by spreading its waters far and wide, between the compass-points of north-west and north-east. This expanse of shoal-water our indefatigable Surveyor-General explored in a boat, amidst reeds of such height, that having at last totally lost sight of land and trees, he was obliged to return to the party which he had left encamped on Mount Harris—a detached hill on the river's bank, elevated about two hundred feet above the plane of the neighbouring flats. Having thus followed the Macquarie also to a reedy morass, of apparently unbounded extent, beyond which (in a westerly direction) it was, at that period, perfectly impossible to penetrate, Mr. Oxley determined, with such means as he had at command, to prosecute his discoveries easterly, in the parallel 31° 15′, in which latitude his examination of the river had terminated. In that most arduous portion of his journey, he encountered numerous difficulties, before he was fully enabled to emerge from the marshes, to firmer and more elevated grounds. In his progress easterly, Liverpool Plains, and a hilly, picturesque, and well-watered country were discovered, and he reached the coast at Port Macquarie, in 31½° south latitude; from which the expedition returned southerly along shore to Port Jackson. Highly important to the colony as were these acquisitions to its geographical knowledge, still the result of the last researches, respecting the termination of the Macquarie, seem, for a time, to have damped the ardour of the colonial government for further discoveries in the interior.

This open country, which was named, upon its discovery, Brisbane Downs, the travellers learnt from a tribe of natives was called in aboriginal language Monaroo; and its extent was described by the Indians as very considerable.

The elevation of Brisbane Downs, above the sea-shore (distant from them to the eastward about seventy miles), although it has never been measured, cannot be less than two thousand feet; and as they are in higher latitude than other portions of land, within the present boundaries of the colony, the climate may probably be found more congenial to the growth of wool and the constitution of sheep than that of those extensive tracts of pastoral country from which the colonists are annually obtaining so many thousand fleeces for the English market. The mean height of any one point of the great Warragong Chain, which appears to extend without interruption to Wilson's Promontory (the southernmost extremity of the Australian continent), has not yet been determined. That portion, however, of what may be called the backbone of the country, is, probably, of greater elevation above the level of the ocean than any other range[1] of mountains along the eastern coast, either within or beyond the tropic, since its summit is not simply covered with snow during the winter months, but has been seen perfectly white at other seasons of the year.

At the same time that these important geographical researches were carrying on in the southern parts of the colony, Mr. Allan Cunningham was occupied with a party in the elevated country on the north of Bathurst, in which direction, at a distance of fifty miles from that settlement, the Cudgeegong, a tributary to the Macquarie, had been previously discovered, and stock stations erected on its banks.

In his excursion through that mountainous country, Mr. Cunningham succeeded not only in effecting a clear well-defined route for the grazier to Liverpool Plains from Bathurst, but also in bringing the settlers of the latter district in direct communication with those farmers who had taken their lands on Hunter's River.

The year 1824 had nearly passed away without the smallest addition being made to the knowledge already acquired of the interior country to the south of Port Jackson. Towards its close, however, Messrs. Hovell and Hume, two enterprising agriculturists (and the latter a native of the colony, possessing a considerable local knowledge), undertook a journey in a south-westerly direction from Argyle, with the design of

[1] The principal summit of that range, which was named at the time Mount Lindesay, was ascertained to be four thousand seven hundred and fifty feet above the plane of the country on which it stood, and the spot encamped on; and this latter was found, by the means of several barometrical observations, to be nine hundred and fifty-three feet above the shores of Moreton Bay; thus making the mean height of Mount Lindesay five thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea,—an elevation by far the most considerable that has been measured and ascended by Europeans in that country.

reaching the sea-coast near Bass' Strait, and of ascertaining the nature of the intermediate country, of which the colonists, at that time, knew absolutely nothing. In their outfit for such an arduous excursion, the colonial government afforded but a partial assistance. Their more perfect equipment was derived from their own farms; and the results therefore of their tour claimed for them, very justly, the greater share of merit. Our travellers took their departure from a stock-station near Lake George, with the intention of pursuing a direct course to the south-west. This line of route, however, led them into great and insurmountable difficulties, for they soon found themselves entangled in a range of mountains connected with those of the Morrumbidgee, through which they could not possibly penetrate. They, however, soon perceived that the only way by which they could extricate themselves and cattle from their difficulties, without being absolutely obliged to retrace their steps to the point whence they had originally set out, was to proceed, in the first instance, more to the westward, before they attempted to make any southing. This they effected without material injury to the burdened cattle, and having passed to the westward of the meridian of 148°, they found no further impediments in their route to the south-west, having broadly on their left hand, or a little to the eastward of them, the great Warragong Chain. In latitude 36°, the party crossed a river, which derived its source from those snow-clad mountains, and was flowing with considerable rapidity among the hills towards the north-west. To that stream, which, in consequence of its depth and width (exceeding one hundred yards), they had some difficulty in passing, they gave the name of Hume. Their journey was now conducted through a fine, open, thinly-timbered country; its surface was, for the most part, hilly, or moderately undulated, and occasionally, to diversify the scene, there broke upon the view a patch of plain, without a tree, but abundantly clothed with a grassy vegetation. This pastoral country was found, even in the summer months, well watered by streamlets from the hills around, the waters of which, collecting, had formed a second river, to which our travellers gave the name of the Ovens, upon fording it in latitude 36° 40'. This was described as being of less magnitude than the Hume, but its stream was of equal velocity, and the direction given it by a break in the hills, and the apparent inclination of the country, was also to the north-west; in which bearing, wherever a commanding position on the hills afforded the party a view, a declining wooded country was observed, with scarcely a single elevation.

Southerly, the land continued equally good, but rising in altitude, presented a more broken, irregular surface to our travellers, who, however, patiently surmounting the difficulties which lay in their way, at length came to a third stream, to which they gave the name of Goulburn. This river, which was formed by a junction of several streamlets, which came from the hills to the eastward, ran southerly in the direction of the course pursued by the expedition as far as latitude 37°, when it also took a decided bend towards the north-west.

The exploring party now passed the meridian of 146°, and beheld before them the coast range of hills. This proved to them a source of no small encouragement to continue their journey, for they had began to despair of reaching the sea-coast, in consequence of the exhausted condition of their burdened beasts, and of the loss which they had sustained in their stock of provisions, by accidents and the great heat of the weather. A beautiful country, however, appeared before them, and as it exhibited an alternation of plain and woodland of like interest, as affording an unlimited range of sheep and cattle pasture, they had the more inducement to pursue their route to the southward cheerfully; and this they did until at length they reached salt water and a sandy shore.

On the 16th of December of the above year, Messrs. Hovell and Hume arrived at the northern shore of what they considered Western Port, notwithstanding they looked in vain for the large island which the charts show us lying within it. This was, however, their mistake; for, without being aware of it, they had actually effected more than had been originally expected of them, for they had made the north-eastern side of Port Philip—a large bay on the south coast, half a degree to the westward of the point at which they had supposed themselves at the time to have arrived. Of this fact the late Mr. Oxley was assured, when it was seen that their report of the extent of the Port they had made on the coast, and the country to the northward of it, agreed so fully with what was known of both from the year 1803, when Port Philip was visited by Mr. Charles Grimes, at that time surveyor-general, who was sent to survey the harbour more minutely than either Captain Flinders or the discoverer of it, Lieut. John Murray, R.N., were enabled in the preceding year to effect.

In their journey back to the colony, which they immediately commenced, Messrs. Hovell and Hume pursued a line of route altogether to the westward of their outward-bound track, and thus, by travelling on a much lower level, avoided entirely that broken hilly country which had proved so harassing to their cattle in their former journey.

To that valuable tract of country first laid open to our view by the above-mentioned indefatigable persons, the attention of future emigrants will, doubtless, be directed; since, from the fact of its being bounded immediately on the east by the Warragong Chain, no doubts can be entertained of its being found, when occupied, far better watered than the country already located, and less liable to the effects of those droughts which have so frequently distressed the northern parts of the colony,—its higher southern latitude giving it, as a further recommendation, a cooler climate and one which more resembles that of England.

With the exception of my examination, says Mr. Cunningham, of the western and northern sides of Liverpool Plains in the month of May, 1825, which enabled me to furnish something more than what had been previously known of those extensive levels, our stock of geographical knowledge received no accession during either that or the following year. The year 1827, however, a new scene opened to the colonists; for a journey which the late Mr. Oxley had himself at one period contemplated, was determined on, viz., to explore the entirely unknown country lying on the western side of the dividing range, between Hunter's River in latitude 32° and Moreton Bay in latitude 27° S. For this purpose a well appointed expedition, equipped fully for an absence of five months, Mr. Cunningham relates, was placed by the Colonial Government under his direction.

On the 30th of April of that year (1827), having

provided myself with the necessary instruments,[1] and with an escort of six servants and eleven horses, I took my departure from a station on an upper branch of Hunter's River, and upon crossing the dividing range to the westward, at a mean elevation above the level of the sea of three thousand and eighty feet, I pursued my journey northerly, through an uninteresting forest country, skirting Liverpool Plains on the eastern side.

On the 11th of May, we crossed (in latitude 31° 2′) Mr. Oxley's track easterly towards Port Macquarie in 1818, and from that point the labours of the expedition commenced on ground previously untrodden by civilised man. It was my original design to have taken a fresh departure to the northward, from the point at which the late Surveyor-General had passed our journey to the north through a barren, but densely-timbered country, of frequently brushy character, and altogether very indifferently watered. Each day as we advanced, our barometer showed us that these poor forest-grounds, which, to add to the difficulty of penetration, were occasionally traversed by low arid ridges of argillaceous iron-stone and clay-slate, rose in elevation from the low level of the northern margin of Liverpool Plains, which I found to be only eight hundred and forty feet above the level of the sea. This rise of surface was, however, most gradual; for, the river named by him the "Peel," upon our reaching the above-mentioned parallel, and which bore, from a spot on which we had encamped, due east about twelve miles: however, the intermediate country, although Mr. Oxley had passed it, proved too elevated and rocky for my heavily-burdened horses; and I was, therefore, obliged to continue the course of the expedition to the north under the meridian of our tents (viz. 150½°), being well aware that as the final course of that river was towards the interior, we should cross its channel whenever the chain of lofty hills which bounded us on the east, and which appeared to stretch far to the north, should either terminate or become so broken as to allow of its escape through them to a lower level. Thus we continued after a march of forty miles directly to the north, we found on reaching the bank of a small stream, a branch evidently of the Peel, that we had obtained but a mean height of one thousand nine hundred feet above the sea-coast—an elevation which was too inconsiderable to produce any obvious change for the better, either in the growth of the timber, the nature of the soil, or of the scanty herbage. Through those gloomy woods, with scarcely a trace of either native or kangaroo, we patiently pursued our way until the 19th of May, when, upon passing the parallel of 30°, we descended from some stony hills to the head of a beautiful well-watered valley, affording abundance of the richest pasturage, and bounded, on either side, by

TRUNK OF AN EUCALYPTUS.

[1] Among these instruments was an excellent portable mountain-barometer, by Jones, which, by care, I succeeded in carrying throughout the journey uninjured.

a bold and elevated rocky range. This grassy vale we followed northerly about sixteen miles to its termination at the left bank of a large river, which, in seasons less unfavourable to vegetation, appeared evidently a stream of considerable magnitude. This was the Peel of Mr. Oxley; which, after pursuing its course to the north for upwards of a degree of latitude from the point at which that officer had passed it in 1818, had at length forced its passage through a break in the eastern ranges, and, passing the lower extremity of the valley in latitude 29° 51′, flowed on towards an open country observed beyond it at north-west. So considerable was the dip of the vale, along which our route had extended, that we found ourselves in the channel of this river, again nearly on the level of the northern or lower sides of Liverpool Plains—the mean of the results of our morning and evening observations of the barometer giving us only nine hundred and eleven feet. The channel of the Peel, which at this period exhibited a bed of gravel two hundred and fifty yards in breadth, is, in seasons of long rains, entirely filled by floods to the depth of twelve and fifteen feet, as was obvious from the marks of those freshes on the upper banks. The long continuance of dry weather, which had alike distressed the colony and these distant parts of the interior, had, however, reduced its stream to a mere rill, which we forded without difficulty. Passing the channel of this river, by which a considerable tract of broken mountainous country to the south-east is drained, we resumed our journey to the north, between the meridian of 150° and 151°. Our course led us through a variety of country; for, on quitting the river, we traversed a barren, brushy tract, which extended more or less for fourteen miles; beyond, however, the land materially improved, and as it was less encumbered with small timber and more open to the action of the atmosphere, a considerable growth of grass was produced. A succession of open forest hills of moderate elevation, and narrow in[illegible]ate valleys, with an occasional patch of plain, [illegible]od soil, characterised the line of country which [illegible]edition afterwards crossed; and although the land (the mean elevation of which did not exceed eleven hundred feet) was, generally speaking, rich, and productive of much grass, it was, nevertheless, distressing to meet with tracts, many miles in extent, entirely destitute of water. Traces of the natives were frequent, although not of recent date. We met, however, with neither the wandering aboriginal nor any description of animal, for the parched state of vegetation and the distressed condition of the country generally, had evidently driven both to other parts of the interior, where the means of sustaining life were less precarious, or, at least, where a permanent supply of water, although it might be in a stagnant state, was to be obtained. Hitherto our view towards the west had been circumscribed by a continued chain of thinly-wooded ridges, which had extended northerly, parallel to the course we were daily pursuing. On reaching the latitude of 29° 10′, which we did on the 25th of the month, all the hills to the westward of our line of route terminated, and a level, open interior, of vast expanse, bounded on the north and north-west by a distant horizon, broke suddenly on our view! At north-west, more particularly, it was evident to all of us that the country had a most decided dip, and on that bearing, the line of sight extended over a great extent of densely wooded, or brushed land, the monotonous aspect of which was here and there relieved by a brown patch of plain: of these some were so remote as to appear a mere speck on the ocean of land before us, on which the eye sought anxiously for a rising smoke, as indicative of the presence of the wandering aborigines; but in vain: for, excepting in the immediate neighbourhood of a river of the larger magnitude, these vast solitudes may be fairly said to be almost entirely without inhabitants. We had now all the high grounds on our right hand, or to the east of us, and before us, at north, a level, wooded country. With an anxious curiosity to explore so extraordinary a region, we continued our route on the 26th of May, from a rocky creek, where we had rested upon some tolerable pasture. Our elevation above the sea-shore we found by our barometer to be one thousand two hundred and twenty-eight feet, and we soon discovered that we had entered a barren waste, over which was spread a loose sand (the debris of the prevalent rock formation of the eastern hills), which gave it a desert-like aspect. A blighted kind of the iron-bark tree (apparently *Eucalyptus resinifera*), scarcely twenty five feet high, clothed its surface, on which were here and there interspersed dense patches of underwood, composed of plants formerly observed on the western skirts of Liverpool Plains. In this stage of our journey we crossed the parallel of 29°, in about the meridian of 150° 40′; and having very little expectation of meeting with water, in any state, in so arid a region, we were most agreeably surprised to find the channel of a river from eighty to one hundred yards in width, winding its course to the westward. This stream, which received the name of Dumaresq's River, although greatly reduced by drought, presented, nevertheless, a handsome piece of water, half a mile in length, about thirty yards in width, and evidently very deep. My barometer, which I set up on the gravelly bed of the river, gave me only eight hundred and forty feet of elevation above the sea-coast, from which we were distant to the westward about one hundred and seventy English miles.

It was my full intention to have continued my course in the direction of the meridian, at least to the parallel of 27°, before I made the least easting towards the coast-line; this design, however, the existing circumstances of the country we had penetrated compelled me to abandon; for the great debility to which the whole of my horses were reduced, by the labours of the journey through a line of country parched up by the drought, at once obliged me to pursue a more eastern course; in which direction, upon gaining the higher lands, I could alone expect to meet with a better pasture, than that on which they had for some time subsisted.

On our new course to the northward and eastward, we had to struggle through a desert waste for many miles, before we gained a more undulated surface to the eastward of 151°, when the country through which we journeyed for about thirty miles, presented a succession of thinly wooded stony hills, or low ridges of sandstone rock, separated from each other by narrow valleys, in which my half-famished horses met with but scanty subsistence. At length, on the 5th of June, having gained an elevation of about nine hundred feet above the bed of Dumaresq's River, we reached the confines of a superior country. It was exceedingly cheering to my people, after they had traversed a waste

oftentimes of the most forbiddingly arid character, to a space, more or less, of eighty miles, and had borne, with no ordinary patience, a degree of privation to which I had well nigh sacrificed the weaker of my horses—to observe from a ridge which lay in our course, that they were within a day's march of open downs of unknown extent, which stretched easterly to the base of a lofty range of mountains, distant apparently about twenty-five miles. On the 6th and following day, we travelled throughout the whole extent of these plains, to the foot of the mountains extending along their eastern side, and the following is the substance of my observations on their extent, soil, and capability.

These extensive tracts of clear pastoral country, which were subsequently named Darling Downs, in honour of his Excellency the Governor, are situated in or about the mean parallel of 28° south, along which they stretch east, eighteen statute miles to the meridian of 152°. Deep ponds, supported by streams from the highlands, immediately to the eastward, extend along their central lower flats; and these, when united in a wet season, become an auxiliary to Condamine's River—a stream which winds its course along their south-western margin. The downs, we remarked, varied in breadth in different parts of their lengthened surface: at their western extremity they appeared not to exceed a mile and a half, whilst towards their eastern limits, their width might be estimated at three miles. The lower grounds, thus permanently watered, present flats which furnish an almost inexhaustible range of cattle pasture at all seasons of the year—the grasses and herbage generally exhibiting, in the depth of winter, an extraordinary luxuriance of growth. From these central grounds, rise downs of a rich, black, and dry soil, and very ample surface; and as they furnish an abundance of grass, and are conveniently watered, yet perfectly beyond the reach of those floods, which take place on the flats in a season of rains, they constitute a valuable and sound sheep pasture. We soon reached the base of some hills, connected laterally with that stupendous chain of mountains, the bold outline of which we had beheld with so much interest during the three preceding days. These hills we found clothed, from their foot upwards, with an underwood of the densest description, in the midst of which, and especially on the ridges, appeared a pine, which I immediately discovered to be the same species as that observed in 1824, on the Brisbane River. Encamping, I ascended a remarkable square-topped mount, which formed the western termination of one of these ridges; and from its summit had a very extensive view of the country lying between north and south, towards the west. At north and north-north-west we observed a succession of heavily timbered ridges, extending laterally from the more elevated chain of mountains immediately to the east, which evidently forms the main dividing range in this part of the country; whilst from north-west to west, and thence to south, within a range of twenty miles, a most beautifully diversified landscape, made up of hill and dale, woodland and plain, appeared before us.

Large patches of land, perfectly clear of trees, lying to the north of Darling Downs, were named Peel's Plains, whilst others, bearing to the south and south-east, and which presented an undulated surface with a few scattered trees, were called after the late Mr. Canning. Directing our view beyond Peel's Plains to the north-west, an expanse of flat wooded country met the eye, being evidently a continuation of those vast levels, which we had frequently observed in the progress of our journey, extending to the westward of our line of route, and which, it was now perceived, were continued northerly at least to the parallel of 27°.

In a valley which led to the immediate base of the mountain barrier, I fixed my northernmost encampment, determining, as I had not the means of advancing farther, in consequence of the state of my provisions, and the low condition of my horses, to employ a short period in a partial examination of the principal range, to the western base of which we had penetrated from the southward, through a considerable portion of barren interior. In exploring the mountains immediately above our tents, with a view more especially of ascertaining how far a passage could be effected over them to the shores of Moreton Bay, a remarkably excavated part of the main range was discovered, which appeared likely to prove a very practicable pass through these mountains from the eastward. Its more particular examination, however, I left to the period of a visit, by sea, to Moreton Bay, which I had already contemplated, and which I was enabled to effect in the course of the year 1829.

The situation of my tents in the valley was determined to be as follows. Latitude, by meridional altitudes of the sun, being the mean of five observations, 28° 10′ 45″ south. Longitude, by account corrected by bearings taken to fixed points on or near the coast-line, and compared with the mean results of several sets of distances of the sun and star Antares from the moon, 152° 7′ 45″ east. The variation of the compass was found by azimuths to be 8° 18′ east. The mean height of the spot above the level of the sea, by the mercurial column, noted morning and evening, was one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven feet; and its distance from the penal settlement on the Brisbane River, which bore by compass about north-east from us, was estimated at about seventy-five statute miles. Circumstances now urged me to commence my journey homewards, and this I determined to prosecute with as much despatch as the condition of my horses and the nature of the country would admit of. I had also resolved to pursue my course to the southward, under the meridian of our encampment, as that would lead us through a tract of perfectly unknown country, lying nearly equidistant between our outward-bound track and the coast-line.

On the 16th of June, therefore, I again put my people in motion, and quitting the vale in which we had rested, and which I had named after the late Captain Logan, at that period commandant of Moreton Bay, I shaped my course to the southward; and after passing through a fine, open, forest track, abounding in excellent pasturage, in nine miles gained the north-eastern skirts of Canning Downs, of which I had had a view from a station on the hills which we had left.

At the close of the 18th, after penetrating an uninteresting forest, chiefly of red gum (*Eucalyptus robusta*), we reached the borders of a broken mountainous country, which exhibited a geological structure that had not been previously met with in any part of our journey. The rock was a very hard granite, in which the quartz, greatly preponderating, was unusually large; and at this stage of our homeward-bound journey our difficulties commenced. During the succeeding week our daily journeys were attended with great fatigue, both to my people and horses; for being surrounded by

high lands, we had no alternative but to pursue our way southerly, from one rocky range to another of greater elevation, until at length we found ourselves upon an open heath, totally devoid of trees, but covered with a low, scrubby vegetation, and interspersed with small patches of spongy swamp, in aspect similar to parts of the Blue Mountain to the westward of Port Jackson. And although the base continued of granite, and the difference of latitude was nearly five degrees, yet the same species of plants as are to be observed upon those elevated ranges of the colony were, for the most part, to be found. At noon of the 25th, our latitude, observed on a very bleak sterile spot on those mountains (two thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine feet above the sea-shore), was 28° 45′ south, and our longitude, reduced from the meridian of our encampment in Logan Vale, was about 151° 59′ east. From that point, notwithstanding our elevation, our view towards the east was altogether circumscribed by lofty ranges, whose summits towered far above the height we had attained. In the course of the succeeding day, the progress of the expedition to the south was arrested by a most wild and frightful region, which obliged me at once to seek a more practicable country, by directing the course of my party to the westward, in which direction we, with difficulty, gained a lower level, and thence prosecuted our journey to the south-west, by such stages as the reduced strength of my horses was able to accomplish. On passing to the southward of the parallel of 29°, which we did in longitude 151° 32′ east, we again forded Dumaresq's River, about fifty miles nearer its source, or to the eastward of the point at which we had discovered it on our outward-bound journey. Here our barometer gave us an elevation of one thousand and forty feet above the level of the sea, which showed a mean fall of four feet per mile between the two fords.

On the 9th of July, after having traversed in a south-western direction a great diversity of country, in general of broken, rocky surface, we fell in with our former track, and on the following day crossed the channel of what I had considered the Peel, but which I subsequently named the Gwydir, upon finding it formed by a junction of Mr. Oxley's River with another as large, to which I gave the title of Horton's River. This latter has a course parallel to the Peel, through a valley lying to the westward of it, along which I was again enabled to direct my party to the south many miles, before a series of elevated forest ridges, stretching laterally from Hardwicke's range of Mr. Oxley, once more obliged us to climb the hills. These we ascended from the head of the vale, by a steep acclivity, and, at an elevation of one thousand three hundred feet above its level, resumed our course to the south. Among these hills we again observed granite, but of a reddish appearance, in consequence of the quantity and colour of the felspar which might be seen disseminated through the rock, of which Hardwicke's range is evidently formed; the elevation, above the level of the sea, of those curiously formed cubical and chimney-shaped summits cannot be less than three thousand five hundred feet. The vegetation of this group of hills exhibited nothing remarkable; the ridges were generally grassy, but the *gramineæ*, as well as the timbers, which were of *Eucalyptus*, were of species frequent in the colony. At the close of our second day's journey, we had traversed these lateral ranges to their southern side, which overlooked an apparently level, wooded country, extending to Liverpool Plains, the greater body of which at length appeared before us to the south-west, at a distance of forty miles. Repeatedly, in our attempts to descend to the lower country, were we stopped by rocky ravines several hundred feet in depth; and it was not without considerable difficulty and danger to the horses that we gained the levels beneath us, having actually descended a wooded ridge, from which there was an abrupt declivity of one thousand five hundred and forty feet. After a severe march of thirty miles through a barren forest, for the most part of blighted iron-bark, furnishing but little pasturage and still less water, we at length arrived at Barrow's Valley of Mr. Oxley, which, in seasons of long rains, is evidently laid under water by the overflow of Field's River, which, in its course inland, we met meandering north-west, through the adjacent forest. On the bank of this river, where I gave my horses a day's rest upon the richest meadow-land that we had seen in the whole tour, it was with pleasure that I hailed the colonial blue-gum (*Eucalyptus piperata*) of stupendous size, the alluvial grounds on each bank producing also the herbage of the flooded flats of the Hawkesbury River in the colony. On the 20th of July, we resumed our route to the southward, and after pursuing a steady course for about twenty-seven miles through a barren, brushy country, not nine hundred feet above the level of the sea, we passed the northern margin of Liverpool Plains, throughout which, such had been the effect of drought, that we crossed their extensive surface almost to the foot of the dividing range (a space of twenty-five miles) before we found water for the horses or ourselves. On the 28th my party repassed the Mountain range, and after an absence of thirteen weeks, we returned to the station from which we had departed, on the Hunter, having in that period traversed upwards of eight hundred miles of every description of country.

My report to the colonial government of this journey—of the spacious downs we had discovered in latitude 28°—and the considerable tract of very indifferent country, in part actual desert, that lay between the colony and those extensive pastoral lands, immediately suggested the importance of examining the space between those downs and the sea-coast at Moreton Bay; since, should the gap, which had been discovered in the main dividing range in the above parallel, prove, on actual survey, to admit of a passage through that chain of mountains, the readiest point of access to the very desirable country on their western side would be from the shores of Moreton Bay and Brisbane River,—on the banks of the latter of which a penal settlement had already been established for several years. This inquiry became one of the objects of my voyage from Port Jackson the following year; and its results proved every way most satisfactory to the colonial government, and the colonists generally.

I will here simply remark, that in exploring the intermediate tract between the Brisbane River and the point where my overland journey of the preceding year had terminated, I ascertained that a line of road could be easily constructed from the western downs, easterly through the mountain pass, and thence in a north-eastern direction to the head of the navigation of a branch of the Brisbane River, named the Bremer; to which point evidently the future produce of the interior beyond those mountains will be conveyed, since from it the means of water-carriage to shipping

in the bay will be found practicable at all seasons of the year, whatever may be the effect of drought on the land; the tide which daily sets into the Brisbane for fifty miles above its mouth, flowing also up the channel of the Bremer, the depth of water in which it augments eight or more feet.

I was happy on this occasion of my visit to the Brisbane River, with in part other objects in view, to be enabled to carry on my survey from Darling Downs to the very shores of Moreton Bay; and in effecting it, I derived an additional pleasure, in closing my sketch of an extent of intricate country, comprehending from Hunter's River to Brisbane Town, 5° of latitude, to find but a very small error in my longitude. In the winter of the following year (1829), I again made a voyage to Moreton Bay, where I was engaged more particularly in a botanical research. From that most interesting occupation, in so novel and ample a field as the banks of the Brisbane River afforded me, I found a short period of leisure to devote to geographical inquiry; and, accordingly, in an excursion to the north-west, I explored that stream far towards its source, through an irregular country, which presented much diversity of surface to interest the geographer. During that short journey, in which I employed a small party about six weeks, I traced the principal branch of the river as far north as latitude 26° 52′, until its channel assumed merely the character of a chain of very shallow stagnant pools. In this excursion I made such observations as fully established two facts viz.: That the Brisbane River, at one period supposed to be the outlet of the marshes of the Macquarie, &c., originates on the eastern side of the dividing range, its chief sources being in elevated lands, lying almost on the coast line, between the parallels of 26° and 27°; and that the main ranges, which separate the coast-waters from those that flow inland, continue to the north in one unbroken chain, as far as the eye could discern from a commanding station near my most distant encampment up the river, and present no opening or hollow part in their elevated ridge, through which to admit of a road being made to the interior beyond them. My pass, therefore, through those lofty mountains (the mean elevation of which above the shores of Moreton Bay cannot be less than four thousand feet) seems thus the only opening to the interior country from the coast, between the parallels of 26° and 29° south.

Whilst I was engaged at Moreton Bay, the long droughts to which our distant colony has been repeatedly subjected since its foundation, and which again visiting that country in 1826, had continued with most distressing severity for upwards of three years, led the colonial government to inquire into the state of the interior, to the westward of the termination of the Macquarie River, with the view of attempting to make some discoveries in that quarter. Whilst the drought continued, an expedition was despatched under the direction of Captain Sturt, an officer of his Majesty's 39th regiment, to Mount Harris, a detached hill upon the Macquarie River, where Mr. Oxley had left his boats upon proceeding easterly towards the coast. Upon reaching that remarkable eminence, which Captain Sturt and the party forming his expedition were enabled to do on the 20th of December, he ascended the summit to survey the country below. But how much had the evaporation of the sun, which in its operation had continued during a period of three years, changed the face of those regions! The plains which Mr. Oxley had left entirely under water in 1818, now presented an expanse of dried-up surface, which to all appearance extended northerly, without the slightest semblance of rising ground, to a distant clear unbroken horizon. Encouraged by these appearances, the expedition traced the Macquarie, through the last stage of its existence, to the woodlands below Mount Harris, where its channel, becoming broken, and in parts having altogether disappeared on the common level, ceased to exist in any shape as a river. In exploring the country beyond this point, the party traversed the bed of that extensive morass, into which the late surveyor-general had ten years previously descended in his boat; this they now found a large and blasted plain, on which the sun's rays fell with intense heat; the ground itself parched to an extreme, exhibiting in many places deep and dangerous clefts, which clearly demonstrated the long existence of those droughts, to which every known part of New South Wales was at that period exposed. On these inhospitable levels, Captain Sturt passed a week; and in that period he skirted three distinct patches of marsh, in which were found broken channels of the river, forming so many stagnant lagoons or canals, surrounded by reeds.

In whatever direction they advanced to satisfy themselves as to the fate of the Macquarie, whether on the plains or wooded grounds, reeds of gigantic stature (the clearest indication of what such a country is in a regularly wet season) encompassed them, and greatly obstructed their progress. Mr. Hume, whose enterprising disposition was abundantly manifested in his journey to the south coast, was associated with Captain Sturt on this occasion. With such aid, the latter proposed to divide the party, in order to undertake at the same time two distinct excursions, to ascertain more fully the nature and extent of those marshy flats, and set at rest any doubts which might be entertained as to the mode in which that river terminated—that is, of its non-existence in that low country, after the devastating operation of a drought of three years. Accordingly, one party, conducted by Mr. Hume, proceeded in a north-easterly direction, towards Castlereagh, whilst Captain Sturt himself pursued a course to the north-west.

It would indeed have been most interesting, at this stage of the expedition, had Captain Sturt been provided with good barometers, to have ascertained the mean height above the level of the sea, not only of the lowlands over which the party had so patiently borne the burden and heat of the day, but also of the country which Captain Sturt traversed in his excursion to the north-west, and which he found, after travelling between twenty and thirty miles, begun to rise; also his level at the end of his journey, which was extended to an estimated distance of one hundred miles, where he made a hill of considerable elevation, from the summit of which he had a view of other high lands; one in particular to the south-west, which he describes as being a very fine mountain; and which he afterwards visited and found of sand-stone formation, elevated above the desert waste on which it stands, one thousand three hundred feet. Captain Sturt, however, had no barometer on which he could in the least depend; the instrument with which he had been provided on his quitting Sydney, having sustained an injury on the

Macquarie, four days before the expedition reached Mount Harris.

The observations made during these short excursions satisfied the party that the river had no existence in any shape beyond the third marsh previously explored. Mr. Hume passed from east to west, along the northern skirts of those extensive reedy flats, without either meeting with a further trace of a channel northerly, or finding water enough to supply his daily wants. And the character and direction of those vast flats, as well as the points to which the waters discharged upon them by the Macquarie in seasons of prolonged rains, tend, were now fully determined.

From the report of Captain Sturt's examination of those lowlands, then, affected as they were at the time by drought, these facts may be gathered. At a distance of about twenty-eight miles below Mount Harris, the flat-lands commence, and there the Macquarie itself ceases to be a river, having no banks, or continued channel, by which to prevent the dispersion of its waters when they rise in rainy seasons. The surface of those flats, however, has not one continued dip, but presents a succession of levels and inclinations, with each a detached lagoon-like channel, hemmed in on all sides by high reeds which catch the waters as they spread; and it is only when these are overflowed that the floods spread over the level, until, as Captain Sturt observes, a slight declivity giving them fresh impulse, they arrive at a second channel, and so spread to a third, until a considerable extent of surrounding country is laid under water. When such a general inundation takes place as that witnessed in 1818, there is a current through the body of these marshes, setting, agreeably to the configuration of the ground (as at length shown to us by Captain Sturt) to the north and north-north-east,. where, uniting with the waters of Morissett's ponds, the whole is thrown into the channel of the Castlereagh River.

To the north-west of those marshy grounds, Captain Sturt describes the country as rising, and therefore preventing any flow of the waters of the morass to that point of the compass. This rise of the surface, which I observe is elsewhere described as a table-land, with scarcely water to support its inhabitants, may be clearly understood as meaning a series of low terraces of dry forest-land, which present a level tract of ground, or one but slightly undulated, extending, probably, a considerable distance, until a second rise of the ground takes place. And the extreme perpendicular elevation of such tract above the plane of the marshes is far too inconsiderable to justify its being considered a rising hilly country; nor is its actual mean height above the level of the sea raised in the least, because it has been ascertained that there are upon its desert-like surface a few rocky hills, which, standing far detached from each other, appear, when viewed with the country surrounding the base of each, like so many islands in the ocean. This view of the face of the country bounding the marshes of the Macquarie on the north-west will assuredly be verified, whenever a barometer is carried to that part of the interior.

Finally, before I quit the subject of these low marshy grounds, which have excited so much interest and speculation among geographers since the report of them given by Mr. Oxley, I would briefly remark, that although a drought of unparalleled duration had disposed of their waters, so as to enable Captain Sturt and his party to traverse their bed in a dried-up, hardened state, still, whenever a wet season sets in, and rain falls upon the mountainous districts of that colony, in the same quantity that it did in the years 1817 and 1818, it can scarcely be doubted that a like considerable inundation will again take place in that part of the interior; and when it is considered (as Captain Sturt informs us) that a space, twenty miles in breadth, and more than fifty in length, is subject to be thus deluged, can it be a subject of surprise that the late indefatigable surveyor-general, when he descended in his boat to such an expanse of water, to which he could perceive neither boundary nor shore, should, with no previous knowledge of such water, or of the features of the surrounding country, have conceived himself in the vicinity of an inland sea or lake, of the temporary or more permanent existence of which he did not, nor could he have offered an opinion.

Captain Sturt now directed his expedition to the north-west, with a view to further discoveries, aware as he was, from the observations he had previously made during his own short excursion, that a clear open country was before him in that direction. In their route his party traversed plains "covered with a black scrub," yet furnishing in parts some good grass. The detached hills already spoken of, as relieving the otherwise monotonous aspect of that part of the interior, and in the neighbourhood of which Captain Sturt had directed his course, he describes "as gentle picturesque elevations, for the most part covered with verdure." Of two of these isolated spots, the one "Oxley's Table Land," the other "New Year's Range," it appears our indefatigable officer determined the positions.

In continuing their journey westerly over this level country, its total want of water, excepting in creeks, where the supply was both bad and uncertain, became a source of considerable annoyance to the party; who ultimately were obliged to follow one of the water-courses, which, when tracing it to the north-west, brought them (on the 2nd of February) to the left bank of a large river, the appearance of which "raised their most sanguine expectations." To the utter disappointment of the travellers, however, its waters were found perfectly salt; and this circumstance was the more severely felt, as the horses of the expedition had travelled long in an excessively heated atmosphere, and had been without water a considerable time. After making some arrangement in favour of his exhausted animals, Captain Sturt, accompanied by Mr. Hume, proceeded to explore this river, to which he gave the name of Darling. They followed it in the direction of its course (south-westerly), about forty miles, and throughout found its waters not only not drinkable, but rather becoming, as they advanced, more considerably impregnated with salt. In one part they observed "brine springs," and the banks throughout were encrusted with "salt," or, probably, with aluminous particles. The breadth of the river, at the point they first made it, was estimated at sixty yards, and its boundary banks were from thirty to forty feet in height—dimensions which they maintained as far as it was possible to explore the river.

At length the want of "drinkable water" along its bank, and the appearance of a loose red sandy soil, at the point to which the patience and perseverance of the travellers had induced them to trace the river, at once destroying all hope of meeting with the most scanty supply in the back country, obliged them to

give up its further examination. The extreme point to which the Darling was traced, and from which it continued its course through a level country to the south-west, Captain Sturt marks on his map, in latitude 30° 16′ south, and longitude 144° 50′ east.

Thus was a portion of the interior of New South Wales, comprehending two degrees of longitude to the westward of the part to which Mr. Oxley had penetrated in the marshes, explored; and although the country is little better than a desert waste, and, therefore, can hold out no prospect of an advantageous "extension of the colony in that direction," its character, nevertheless, was ascertained, and so much of the map of the country, previously a blank, was at length filled up.

The expedition had daily intercourse with the natives who inhabit the river and adjacent country, which it would seem is, comparatively speaking, well peopled; for Captain Sturt estimates that he could not have seen fewer than two hundred and fifty of these Indians, among whom his party passed on the most friendly terms, and, indeed, were frequently indebted to them for kindly acts.

Captain Sturt, however, draws a most melancholy picture of these distant regions, which, notwithstanding the population found on their surface, were rendered, by the distress of the season, scarcely habitable. "The natives," he observed, "were remarked wandering in the desert, and, from the badness of the water which they were obliged to drink, had contracted a cutaneous disease, which was fast carrying them off. Birds, which were noticed sitting on the trees, appeared to be gasping for existence, amidst the glare of torrid heat. The wild dog, or dingo, was seen prowling about in the day-time, being unable from debility to avoid the party; and whilst minor vegetation was altogether burnt up the very trees were absolutely drooping from the depth to which the drought had penetrated the soil. Several of the party were affected by ophthalmia, produced by the reverberated heat from the plains which they had traversed, where the thermometer stood in the shade at three P.M. at 122°, or from 98° to 102° Fahrenheit, at sunset."

The Darling may be justly considered the largest river which has been discovered in New South Wales, since it is formed by a junction of all the streams which were discovered by Mr. Oxley in 1818 (and these were five in number, each of considerable magnitude), as well as of those I met with in my journey of 1827; and thus it constitutes the great drain of a tract of mountainous country lying between the parallels of 27° and 33½°. But what ultimately becomes of this river so sustained, to what other channels it becomes united, what course it eventually pursues, beyond the spot where Captain Sturt and his comrade left it flowing through a desert country to the south-west, or on what coast it is discharged, if it really does make the sea at any point, remains wholly unknown, and is therefore still to be discovered.

The party were now glad to direct their steps towards Bathurst; but before they finally quitted these parched levels, they shaped a course to the eastward, with the view of meeting with the Castlereagh, the channel of which (one hundred and eighty yards in width) Mr. Oxley experienced no small difficulty in crossing, as the rains which had fallen on the mountains to the south-east, whence it derives its principal sources, had swollen its waters to the level of its upper banks. On making this river they traced it down full one hundred miles to its junction with another part of the Darling, the water of which they found even salter than it was at the point at which the expedition had originally fallen in with it; nor did they find a sufficiency in the Castlereagh to meet their daily demands, for its bed was laid bare "for a distance of thirty miles at a stretch," which obliged our travellers to "search the country round" for the little water which it had to yield them.

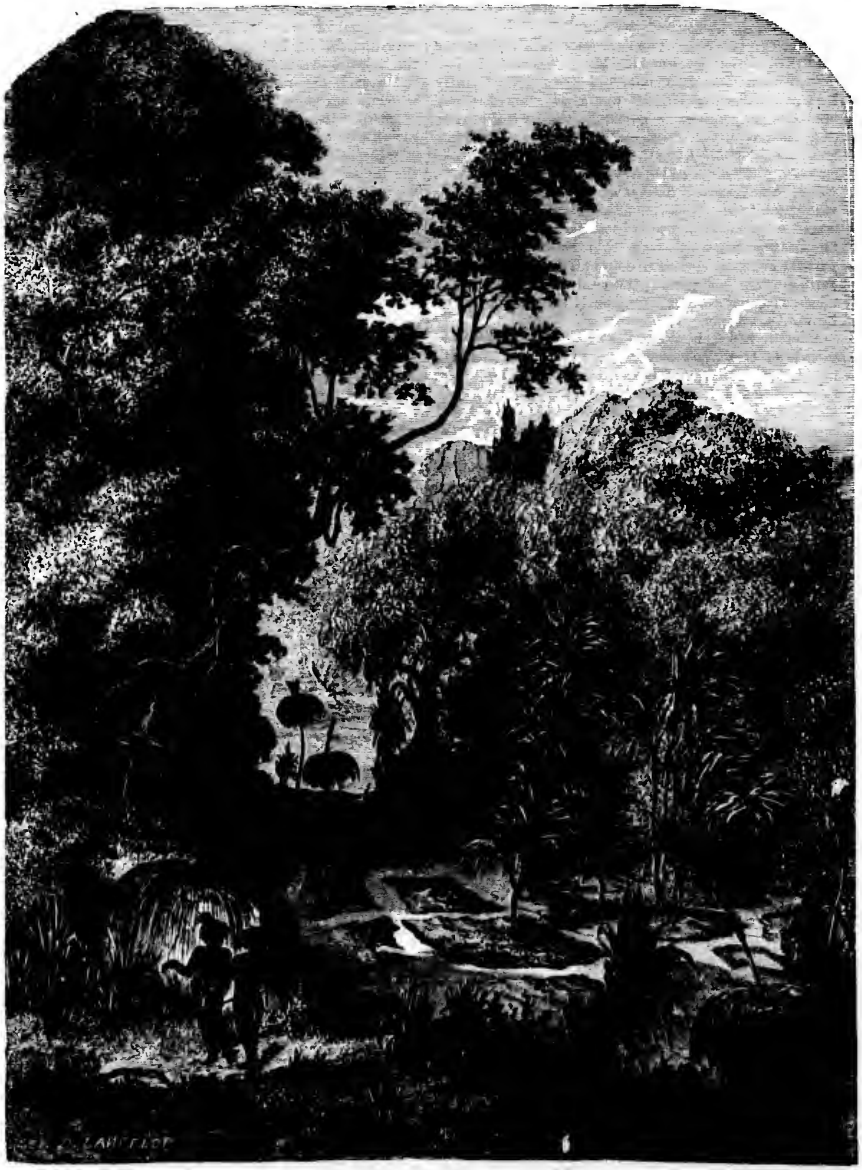
Surrounded as the party were by difficulties in a region "deserted by the native tribes," scarcely capable of sustaining animal life, and in which all the dogs of the expedition fell a sacrifice, still Captain Sturt appears to have been unwilling to quit his ground; for although the briny waters of the Darling were in themselves quite enough to have induced him to make a hasty retreat southerly, to higher grounds and a better country, we, nevertheless, find him crossing the Salt River, to see what the country was in a north-westerly direction; nor does it appear that the curiosity of our travellers was at all satisfied, until they had penetrated a considerable distance on that course, where they found the ground uniformly level, and the surface in no part broken by either creek or minor water-course, the entire country around being, as far as could be seen from the highest tree, "a boundless flat," the elevation of which above the level of the sea was, probably, not more than five hundred feet. Captain Sturt had at length done his utmost; he, therefore, very wisely directed his party to the southward, and soon reached Bathurst.

Thus, much of our knowledge of the internal parts of New South Wales, in the parallel of 30°, was derived from the labours of this indefatigable officer; to whom was entrusted, at the close of 1829, the direction of a second expedition, destined to trace the course of the Morrumbidgee, another western stream, rising in a range of mountains situated to the southward of the parallel of 35°, and under the meridian of 149°, at a distance of about eighty miles inland from the eastern coast line, and within what is now denominated the county of Murray. Of the character of this river it may be here briefly remarked, that its bed forms a succession of planes, of which some are of great inclination; along these its waters flow with considerable velocity in nearly a west direction.

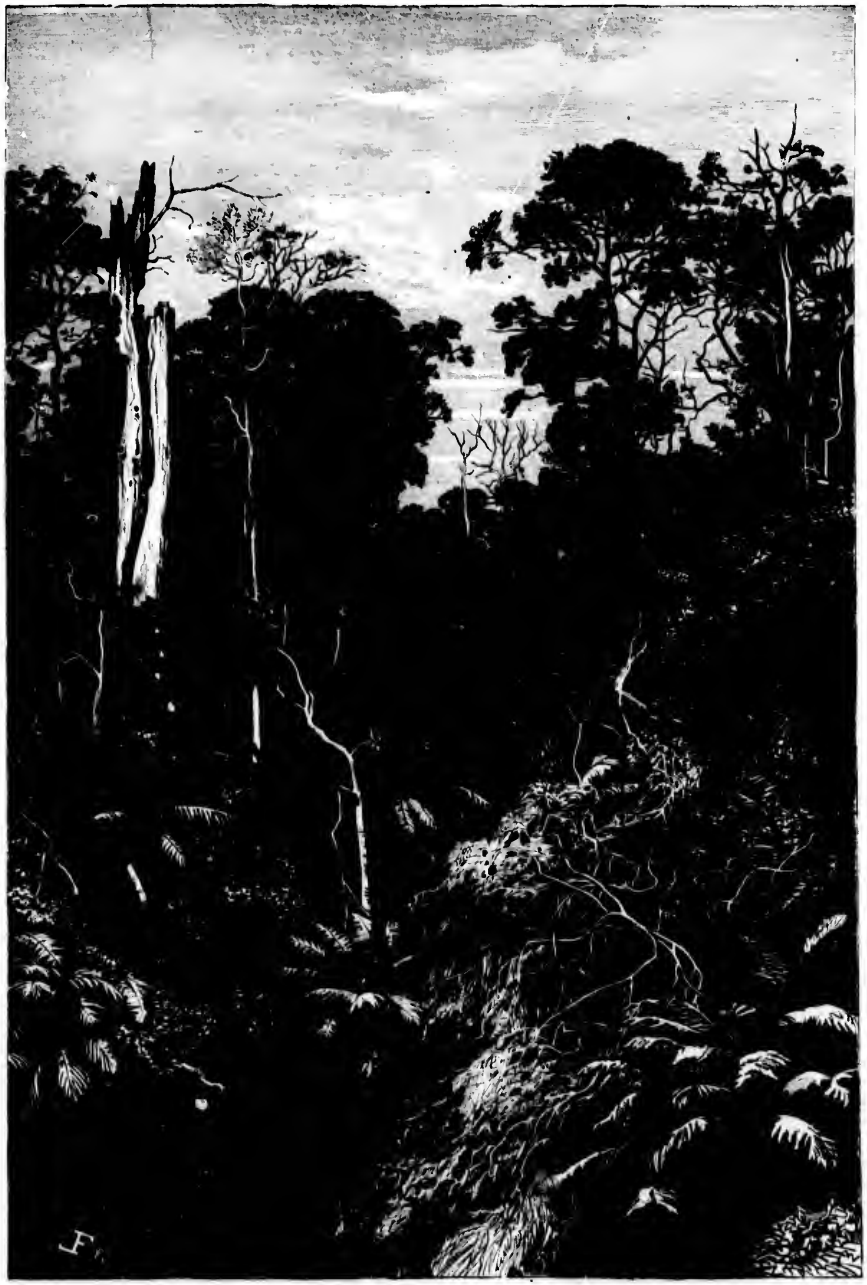
After receiving the Yas River and some other minor streams, all which fall into it at an early stage of its progress, namely in longitude 148½°, the Morrumbidgee pursues a long and tortuous course for upwards of three hundred statute miles, without deriving the slightest increase from the country it waters; and thus in this respect it resembles the Lachlan, which maintains a parallel course through the low interior to the northward. From this fact may be inferred the generally sterile character of a considerable portion of the country lying between the channels of these two rivers, and which was in part ascertained by Mr. Oxley in 1817. As its course extends to the westward of the meridian 147°, the Morrumbidgee falls on a low level; the hills of sandstone rock, which give a picturesque appearance to the lands on its banks, higher up the stream, disappear; and flats of alluvial deposit occupy their place.

Thus far the river had been followed down some years ago, by stock-keepers in pursuit of strayed cattle, who also ascertained, in their long rides along its

banks, the extent to which the country westerly, from its elevation above inundation, might be safely occupied as grazing stations. The direction which this river was also at that period known to take towards the



NATIVE AUSTRALIAN BURIAL-PLACE IN THE WOODS.



VIRGIN FOREST.

marshes of the Lachlan, led to the conclusion that both streams were united in those morasses; and on so low a level (as was ascertained by Mr. Oxley in 1817), as to favour the opinion that their confluent waters were rather dissipated over an extensively flat surface, than carried on in one body to the ocean, distant at least three hundred miles. And this opinion, gratuitous as it was, would nevertheless have proved to have been correct, had the Morrumbidgee not pursued its course so far to the westward as to reach the channel of a much larger river; since, as will presently be seen, it has neither magnitude nor velocity sufficient to force its way two hundred and sixty miles to the sea-coast; but which the principal stream, by its volume and strength, has the power to effect.

The second expedition, conducted by Captain Sturt, proceeded from Sydney to explore the Morrumbidgee, in December, 1829. Tracing it down on its right bank, until he had passed every rapid or fall that might impede its navigation, he established a depôt—launched a boat, which he had conveyed overland from Sydney, and having, by dint of great exertion, built another on the spot, he lost no time in commencing his examination of the river to the westward. Before we follow the enterprising party on their voyage, it may be interesting to give the height of the river at the depôt, above the sea-coast, as derived from the observations of the late surveyor-general many years ago, on the adjacent country, which results would have been very satisfactory had Captain Sturt possessed the means of verification. This will show how slight is the inclination of its bed to give an impetus to its stream westerly towards the ocean, and also how perfectly unavailable to the colony are those vast flats of low country, which were observed to extend along its banks. The situation of his depôt Captain Sturt found to be in latitude 34½° south, and longitude 143° 57′ east, or about twenty-seven geographic miles south-west from Mr. Oxley's extreme point of penetration on the steppes of the Lachlan, in July, 1817, the mean elevation of which above the level of the sea that accurate traveller had determined, by barometrical admeasurement, to be not more than two hundred and fifty feet. Now, as Captain Sturt informs us that the dispersed waters of those morasses again unite, and drain into the Morrumbidgee by a "large creek," which he passed about twelve miles west from his depôt, it is evident that the bed of this river, and the country adjacent, are at a lower level than Mr. Oxley's westernmost encampment.

GRASS TREES

On the 7th January the expedition moved forward down the river, and on the fourth day, having passed extensive alluvial flats, on which were patches of reeds, the navigation became much interrupted by "fallen timber," and as the current was frequently very rapid, particularly in those parts of the river where its channel had become contracted, the boats were oftentimes in great danger from sunken logs. After advancing on their voyage about ninety miles to the westward, through a country of level, monotonous aspect, the party were relieved from the state of anxiety which a week's most difficult and dangerous navigation had caused, by their arrival at (to use Captain Sturt's words), "the termination of the Morrumbidgee," for its channel, much narrowed and partially choked by driftwood, delivered its waters "into a broad and noble river," the current of which was setting to the westward at the rate of two miles and a half per hour, with a medium width from bank to bank of from three to four hundred feet. This "new river," which was called the Murray, and into which the diminished waters of the Morrumbidgee fall, is evidently formed by a junction of the "Hume" and "Ovens," which streams, taking their rise in the great Wanogong Chain, were first made known to us by the travellers Messieurs Hovell and Hume, who crossed them, two hundred and fifty statute miles nearer their sources, in their excursion to Port Philip in 1824. Pursuing the course of the Murray, on the 14th January, the voyagers made "rapid progress to the W.N.W.," noticing, as they passed on, a low "unbroken and uninteresting country, of equal sameness of features of vegetation" to that observed whilst descending the intricate Morrumbidgee on quitting their depôt.

After nine days' voyage down the Murray, in which period they made about one hundred miles of westing, without observing the slightest change of country for the better, or the least rise in its surface, the expedition passed the mouth of a stream flowing from the north by east, with a strong current, and in point of magnitude but "little inferior" to the Murray itself. Ascending it, Captain Sturt found it preserved a breadth of one hundred yards, and its banks, on which were many natives, "were overhung with trees of finer and larger growth" than those of the Murray. Its waters were, moreover, ascertained to be two fathoms in depth, of turbid appearance, but "perfectly sweet to the taste." The confluence of these two rivers takes place, it appears (by Captain Sturt's

reckoning) in exactly longitude 141° east, and immediately to the south of the parallel of 34°. It was at this stage of the expedition that the face of the country began to assume (comparatively speaking) an interesting appearance; and the first rise of ground which had been seen in the advance of the party to the westward in a direct line of more than two hundred miles, was observed at a moderate distance from the river to the north-west. Previous to his reaching the point of confluence of the two rivers, Captain Sturt, it would appear, had entertained a doubt as to the "decline of the vast plain through which the Murray flows," as well as of "the probable fall of the waters of the interior" to the north of it; but on observing a new stream flowing into the Murray, the circumstance of the "parallel" (meridian doubtless) in which he had struck it, "and the direction from which it came," combined to satisfy him "that it could be no other than the Darling." It was therefore concluded that the whole of the internally formed streams, at present known in that country, from Dumaresq's River (discovered in 1827 in lat. 29°) to the Murray in 34°, are discharged into the ocean on the south coast—the dip of the continent within the parallels of 28° and 35½°, being of course to that point.

That river, after it receives the supposed Darling, continues its course upwards of a degree farther to the westward, and in that space receives a second stream, which falls in on its left bank from the south-east. This tributary stream, which is described as a river of "considerable importance," and was named the Lindesay, is most probably the Goulburn of the same indefatigable explorers, whose journey overland to the south coast in 1824, I have already adverted to, and who, in fording their river at a part where its channel presented a breadth of eighty yards, left it winding its course to the north-west. From this point, the Murray assumes a new feature, and along its northern bank extended a range of cliffs, which appeared to the party, as they passed beneath them, to be of "partial volcanic origin." The navigation at length became rather intricate, for those cliffs being immediately succeeded by others on each bank, of limestone, the river was found to force its way through a glen of that rock, in its passage frequently striking bases of precipices of the same formation, which rose to a perpendicular elevation of two hundred feet, and in which "coral and fossil remains" were remarked to be plentifully imbedded. At this stage of their passage, those long ranges of forest hills, which extend along the eastern shore of the Gulf of St. Vincent became discernible, indicating to the exploring party their approach to the coast. On the 3rd of February, the river having reached the meridian of 139¾°, the disposition of the bounding cliffs gave its course a decided bend to the southward, through a continuation of the glen, which at length opened into a valley.

Here the river was observed to have lost the sandy bottom which it had exhibited throughout its long course from the eastward, for its bed having now dipped to almost the level of the sea, its waters had become "deep, still, and turbid." Its course to the south was followed by the voyagers along reaches of from two to four miles in length; and upon their passing the parallel of 35°, a more open country appeared before them, for the cliffs having partially ceased, had given place to picturesque hills and lower undulations, beneath which extended "thousands of acres of the richest flats;" but, as Captain Sturt adds that these were covered with reeds, and were evidently liable to inundation from the river, the value to the agriculturist of such marshy grounds, scarcely at all elevated above the sea-shore, may be easily estimated.

On the 8th of February (the thirty-second day of the voyage from the depôt) the hills "wore a black appearance," and the few trees, which had at one period fringed their ridges, were for the most part broken off, "as if by the prevalent winds." At noon, upon entering the river's last reach, no land could be discerned at its extremity; some low hills continued, however, along its left bank, whilst its right was hid by high reeds. Immediately afterwards, these enterprising voyagers entered an extensive lake, the body of which stretched away far to the south-west, in which direction "the line of water met the horizon." This lake, which received the name of Alexandrina, was estimated at from fifty to sixty miles in length, and from thirty to forty in breadth. A large bight was observed in it to the south-east, and an extensive bay at the opposite point; still, notwithstanding these dimensions, this very considerable sheet of water appears to be but a mere shoal throughout, since Captain Sturt states "its medium depth is but four feet."

Upon this vast but shallow lake he pursued his voyage to the southward, remarking that its waters, which at seven miles from the point of discharge of the Murray into it were brackish, were at twenty-one miles across perfectly salt, and there the force of the tide was perceived. As the party approached the southern shore, the navigation of the boats was interrupted by mud flats, and soon their farther progress was effectually stopped by banks of sand. Captain Sturt therefore landed, and walked over some sandy hummocks, beyond which he had, from his morning's position, seen the sea, almost immediately came out upon the coast at Encounter Bay of the charts, whence he took bearings to Cape Jarvoise (rather Jervis of Captain Flinders), and the south-east point of Kangaroo Island. At the lower part of the lake seals were observed, and near the spot on the southern shore, where the party had effected a landing, some natives were seen grouped together, but as they bore arms and had their bodies painted, it was obvious that their intentions were far from being friendly; nor did they, although they saw the party were peaceably disposed, attempt to visit the encampment of the travellers during their stay on the margin of the lake.

Having thus seen the termination of the Murray and the outlet of the lake into which it falls upon the south coast, Captain Sturt lost as little time as possible in conducting his party back by water to his depôt—circumstances not permitting of a more perfect examination of that extensive piece of water, from the north-western extremity of which some hopes had been entertained of there being a clear and open communition with the Gulf of St. Vincent.

III.

MURDER OF CAPTAIN BARKER BY THE NATIVES—A BUSHRANGER—MELANCHOLY FATE OF THE BOTANIST AND EXPLORER CUNNINGHAM—BASIN OF THE MURRAY—GENERAL CHARACTER OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA—SWAN RIVER SETTLEMENT—NATURAL HISTORY AND PRODUCE.

As the whole question of the foundation of Adelaide and of the colony of South Australia is connected with the discovery of the embouchure of the River Murray,

we shall go on with some observations made by Captain Sturt in the account afterwards published of his explorations, and entitled *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia during the years* 1828 29-30-31, *&c.*, and then give some account of the disastrous journey of Captain Barker, made to clear up this, at that time, undecided point, as to whether Lake Alexandrina had only one outlet to the sea in Encounter Bay, or whether the waters of the Murray were also poured into the St. Vincent's Gulf.

The foregoing narrative, says Captain Sturt, will have given the reader some idea of the state in which the expedition reached the bottom of that extensive and magnificent basin which receives the waters of the Murray. The men were, indeed, so exhausted in strength, and their provisions so much reduced, by the time they gained the coast, that I doubted much whether either would hold out to such place as we might hope for relief. Yet, reduced as the whole of us were from previous exertion, beset as our homeward path was by difficulty and danger, and involved as our eventual safety was in obscurity and doubt, I could not but deplore the necessity that obliged me to re-cross the Lake Alexandrina (as I had named it in honour of the heir-apparent to the British crown), and to relinquish the examination of its western shores. We were borne over its rough and agitated surface with such rapidity, that I had scarcely time to view it as we passed; but, cursory as my glance was, I could not but think I was leaving behind me the fullest reward of our toil, in a country that would ultimately render our discoveries valuable, and benefit the colony for whose interests we were engaged. Hurried, I would repeat, as my view of it was, my eye never fell on a country of more promising aspect, or of more favourable position, than that which occupies the space between the lake and the ranges of St. Vincent's Gulf, and, continuing northerly from Mount Barker, stretches away without any visible boundary. It appeared to me, that, unless nature had deviated from her usual laws, this tract of country could not but be fertile, situated as it was to receive the mountain deposits on the one hand, and those of the lake upon the other.

In my report to the Colonial Government, however, I did not feel myself justified in stating, to their full extent, opinions that were founded on probability and conjecture alone. But, although I was guarded in this particular, I strongly recommended a further examination of the coast, from the most eastern point of Encounter Bay to the head of St. Vincent's Gulf, to ascertain if any other than the known channel existed among the sand-hills of the former; or if, as I had every reason to hope from the great extent of water to the north-west, there was a practicable communication with the lake from the other; and I venture to predict, that a closer survey of the interjacent country would be attended with the most beneficial results; nor have I a doubt that the promontory of Cape Jervis would ere this have been settled, had Captain Barker lived to complete his official reports.

This zealous and excellent officer sailed from King George's Sound on the 10th of April, 1831, and arrived off Cape Jervis on the 13th. He was attended by Dr. Davies, one of the assistant-surgeons of his regiment, and by Mr. Kent of the commissariat. It is to the latter gentleman that the public are indebted for the greater part of the following details; he having attended Captain Barker closely during the whole of this short but disastrous excursion, and made notes as copious as they are interesting. At the time the *Isabella* arrived off Cape Jervis, the weather was clear and favourable. Captain Barker consequently stood into St. Vincent's Gulf, keeping as near as practicable to the eastern shore, in soundings that varied from six to ten fathoms, upon sand and mud. His immediate object was to ascertain if there was any communication with the Lake Alexandrina from the gulf. He ascended to latitude 34° 40′, where he fully satisfied himself that no channel did exist between them. He found, however, that the ranges behind Cape Jervis terminated abruptly at Mount Lofty, in lat. 34° 56′, and that a flat and wooded country succeeded to the N. and N.E. The shore of the gulf tended more to the N.N.W., and mud-flats and mangrove swamps prevailed along it.

Mr. Kent informs me, that they landed for the first time on the 15th, but they returned almost immediately to the vessel. On the 17th, Captain Barker again landed, with the intention of remaining on shore for two or three days. He was accompanied by Mr. Kent, his servant Mills, and two soldiers. The boat went to the place at which they had before landed, as they thought they had discovered a small river with a bar entrance. They crossed the bar, and ascertained that it was a narrow inlet, of four miles in length, that terminated at the base of the ranges. The party were quite delighted with the aspect of the country on either side of the inlet, and with the bold and romantic scenery behind them. The former bore the appearance of natural meadows, lightly timbered, and covered with a variety of grasses. The soil was observed to be a rich, fat, chocolate coloured earth, probably the decomposition of the deep-blue limestone, that showed itself along the coast hereabouts. On the other hand, a rocky glen made a cleft in the ranges at the head of the inlet; and they were supplied with abundance of fresh water, which remained in the deeper pools that had been filled by the torrents during late rains. The whole neighbourhood was so inviting, that the party slept at the head of the inlet.

In the morning, Captain Barker proceeded to ascend Mount Lofty, accompanied by Mr. Kent and his servant, leaving the two soldiers at the bivouac, at which he directed them to remain until his return. Mr. Kent says they kept the ridge all the way, and rose above the sea by a gradual ascent. The rock-formation of the lower ranges appeared to be an argillaceous schist; the sides and summit of the ranges were covered with verdure, and the trees upon them were of more than ordinary size. The view to the eastward was shut out by other ranges, parallel to those on which they were; below them, to the westward, the same pleasing kind of country that flanked the inlet still continued.

In the course of the day, they passed round the head of a deep ravine, whose smooth and grassy sides presented a beautiful appearance. The party stood six hundred feet above the bed of a small rivulet that occupied the bottom of the ravine. In some places huge blocks of granite interrupted its course; in others, the waters had worn the rock smooth. The polish of these rocks was quite beautiful, and the veins of red and white quartz which traversed them looked like mosaic work. They did not gain the top of Mount Lofty, but slept a few miles beyond the ravine. In the morning they continued their journey, and crossing Mount Lofty, descended northerly to a point from

which the range bent away a little to N.N.E., and then terminated. The view from this point was much more extensive than that from Mount Lofty itself. They overlooked a great part of the gulf, and could distinctly see the mountains at the head of it, to the N.N.W. To the N.W. there was a considerable indentation in the coast, which had escaped Captain Barker's notice when examining it. A mountain, very similar to Mount Lofty, bore due east of them, and appeared to be the termination of its range. They were separated by a valley of about ten miles in width, the appearance of which was not favourable. Mr. Kent states to me, that Captain Barker observed at the time, that he thought it probable I had mistaken this hill for Mount Lofty, since it shut out the view of the lake from him, and therefore he naturally concluded I could not have seen Mount Lofty. I can readily imagine such an error to have been made by me, more especially as I remember, that at the time I was taking bearings in the lake, I thought Captain Flinders had not given Mount Lofty, as I then conceived it to be, its proper position in longitude. Both hills are in the same parallel of latitude. The mistake on my part is obvious. I have corrected it in the charts; and have availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded me of perpetuating, as far as I can, the name of an inestimable companion in Captain Barker himself.

Immediately below the point on which they stood, Mr. Kent says, a low undulating country extended to the northward, as far as he could see. It was partly open, and partly wooded; and was everywhere covered with verdure. It continued round to the eastward, and apparently ran round southerly, at the opposite base of the Mount Barker range. I think there can be but little doubt that my view from the S.E., that is, from the lake, extended over the same or a part of the same country. Captain Barker again slept on the summit of the range, near a large basin that looked like the mouth of a crater, in which huge fragments of rocks made a scene of the utmost confusion. These rocks were a coarse gray granite, of which the higher parts and northern termination of the Mount Lofty range are evidently formed; for Mr. Kent remarks, that it superseded the schistose formation at the ravine we have noticed—and that, subsequently, the sides of the hills became more broken, and vallies, or gullies, more properly speaking, very numerous. Captain Barker estimated the height of Mount Lofty, above the sea, at 2,400 feet, and the distance of its summit from the coast at eleven miles. Mr. Kent says, they were surprised at the size of the trees on the immediate brow of it; they measured one, and found it to be forty-three feet in girth. Indeed, he adds, vegetation did not appear to have suffered either from its elevated position or from any prevailing wind. Eucalypti were the general timber on the ranges; one species of which, resembling strongly the black-butted gum, was remarkable for a scent peculiar to its bark.

The party rejoined the soldiers on the 21st, and enjoyed the supply of fish which they had provided for them. The soldiers had amused themselves by fishing during Captain Barker's absence, and had been abundantly successful. Among others, they had taken a kind of salmon, which, though inferior in size, resembled in shape, in taste, and in the colour of its flesh, the salmon of Europe. I fancied that a fish which I observed, with extremely glittering scales, in the mouth of a seal, when myself on the coast, must have been of this kind; and I have no doubt that the lake is periodically visited by salmon, and that these fish retain their habits of entering fresh water, at particular seasons, also, in the southern hemispheres.

Immediately behind Cape Jervis, there is a small bay, in which, according to the information of the sealers who frequent Kangaroo Island, there is good and safe anchorage for seven months in the year, that is to say, during the prevalence of the E. and N.E. winds.

Captain Barker landed on the 21st on this rocky point, at the northern extremity of this bay. He had, however, previously to this, examined the indentation in the coast which he had observed from Mount Lofty, and had ascertained that it was nothing more than an inlet; a spit of sand, projecting from the shore at right angles with it, concealed the mouth of the inlet. They took the boat to examine this point, and carried six fathoms soundings round the head of the spit to the mouth of the inlet when it shoaled to two fathoms; and the landing was observed to be bad, by reason of mangrove swamps on either side of it. Mr. Kent, I think, told me that this inlet was from ten to twelve miles long. Can it be, that a current setting out of it at times has thrown up the sand-bank that protects its mouth, and that trees, or any other obstacle, have hidden its further prolongation from Captain Barker's notice? I have little hope that such is the case, but the remark is not an idle one.

Between this inlet and the one formerly mentioned, a small and clear stream was discovered, to which Captain Barker kindly gave my name. On landing, the party, which consisted of the same persons as the former one, found themselves in a valley, which opened direct upon the bay. It was confined to the north from the chief range by a lateral ridge, that gradually declined towards, and terminated at, the rocky point on which they had landed. The other side of the valley was formed of a continuation of the main range, which also gradually declined to the south, and appeared to be connected with the hills at the extremity of the cape. The valley was from nine to ten miles in length, and from three to four in breadth. In crossing it, they ascertained that the lagoon from which the schooner had obtained a supply of water, was filled by a water-course that came down its centre. The soil in the valley was rich, but stony in some parts. There was an abundance of pasture over the whole, from amongst which they started numerous kangaroos. The scenery towards the ranges was beautiful and romantic; and the general appearance of the country such as to delight the whole party.

Preserving a due east course, Captain Barker passed over the opposite range of hills, and descended almost immediately into a second valley that continued to the southwards. Its soil was poor and stony, and it was covered with low scrub. Crossing it, they ascended the opposite range, from the summit of which they had a view of Encounter Bay. An extensive flat stretched from beneath them to the eastward, and was backed in the distance by sand-hummocks and low-wooded hills. The extreme right of the flat rested upon the coast, at a rocky point, near which there were two or three islands. From the left, a beautiful valley opened upon it. A strong and clear rivulet from this valley traversed the flat obliquely, and fell into the sea at the rocky point, or a little to the south-

ward of it. The hills forming the opposite side of the valley had already terminated. Captain Barker, therefore, ascended to higher ground, and at length obtained a view of the Lake Alexandrina, and the channel of its communication with the sea to the N.E. He now descended to the flat, and frequently expressed his anxious wish to Mr. Kent, that I had been one of their number, to enjoy the beauty of the scenery around them, and to participate in their labours. Had fate so ordained it, it is possible the melancholy tragedy that soon after occurred might have been averted.

At the termination of the flat they found themselves upon the banks of the channel, and close to the sand-hillock under which my tents had been pitched. From this point they proceeded along the line of sand-hills to the outlet, from which it would appear that Kangaroo Island is not visible, but that the distant point which I mistook for it was the S.E angle of Cape Jervis. I have remarked, in describing that part of the coast, that there is a sand-hill to the eastward of the inlet, under which the tide runs strong, and the water is deep. Captain Barker judged the breadth of the channel to be a quarter of a mile, and he expressed a desire to swim across it to the sand-hill to take bearings, and to ascertain the nature of the strand beyond it to the eastward.

BLACKS UNDER GUNYAH.

It unfortunately happened that he was the only one of the party who could swim well, in consequence of which his people remonstrated with him on the danger of making the attempt unattended. Notwithstanding, however, that he was seriously indisposed, he stript, and after Mr. Kent had fastened his compass on his head for him, he plunged into the water, and with difficulty gained the opposite side, to effect which took him nine minutes and fifty-eight seconds. His anxious comrades saw him ascend the hillock, and take several bearings; he then descended the farther side, and was never seen by them again.

It afterwards appeared, that at a very considerable distance from the first sand-hill there was another, to which Captain Barker must have walked, for the woman stated that three natives were going to the shore from their tribe, and that they crossed his track. Their quick perception immediately told them it was an unusual impression They followed upon it, and saw Captain Barker returning. They hesitated for a long time to approach him, being fearful of the instrument he carried. At length, however, they closed upon him; Captain Barker tried to soothe them, but finding they were determined to attack him, he made for the water, from which he could not have been very distant. One of the blacks immediately threw his spear and struck him in the hip. This, did not, however, stop him. He got among the breakers, when he received the second spear in his shoulder On this, turning round, he received a third full in the breast: with such deadly precision do these savages cast their weapons. It would appear that the third spear was already on its flight when Captain Barker turned, and it is to be hoped that it was at once mortal. He fell on his back into the water. The natives then rushed in, and dragging him out by the legs, seized their spears and inflicted innumerable wounds upon his body; after which they threw it into deep water, and the sea tide carried it away.

From the same source from which the particulars of his death were obtained, it was reported that the natives who perpetrated the deeds were influenced by no other motive than curiosity to ascertain if they had power to kill a white man. But we must be careful in giving credit to this for it is much more probable that the cruelties exercised by the sealers towards the blacks along the south coast may have instigated the latter to take vengeance on the innocent as well as on the guilty. It will be seen, by a reference to the chart, that Captain Barker, by crossing the channel, threw himself into the very hands of that tribe which had evinced such determined hostility to myself and my men. He got into the rear of their stronghold, and was sacrificed to those feelings of suspicion, and to that desire of revenge, which the savages never lose sight of until they have been gratified.

It yet remains for me to state, that when Mr. Kent returned to the schooner, after this irreparable loss, he kept to the south of the place at which he had crossed the first range with Captain Barker, and travelled through a valley right across the promontory. He thus discovered that there was a division in the ranges, through which there was a direct and level road from the little bay, on the northern extremity of which they had last landed in St. Vincent's Gulf, to the rocky part of Encounter Bay. The importance of this fact will be better estimated when it is known that good anchorage is secured to small vessels inside the island that lies off the point of Encounter Bay, which is rendered still safer by a horse-shoe reef that forms, as it were, a thick wall to break the swell of the sea. But this anchorage is not safe for more than

five months in the year. Independently of these points, however, Mr. Kent remarks, that the spit, a little to the mouth of Mount Lofty, would afford good shelter to minor vessels under its lee. When the nature of the country is taken into consideration, and the facility of entering that which lies between the ranges and the Lake Alexandrina, from the south, and of a direct communication with the lake itself, the want of an extensive harbour will, in some measure, be compensated for; more especially when it is known that within four leagues of Cape Jervis, a port, little inferior to Port Jackson, with a safe and broad entrance exists at Kangaroo Island. The sealers have given this spot the name of American Harbour. In it, I am informed, vessels are completely land-locked, and secure from every wind. Kangaroo Island is not, however, fertile by any means. It abounds in shallow lakes, filled with salt water during high tides, and which by evaporation yield a vast quantity of salt.

I gathered from the sealers, that neither the promontory separating St. Vincent from Spencer's Gulf, nor the neighbourhood of Port Lincoln, are other than barren and sandy wastes. They all agree in describing Port Lincoln itself as a magnificent roadstead, but equally agree as to the sterility of its shores. It appears, therefore, that the promontory of Cape Jervis owes its superiority to its natural features; in fact, to the mountains that occupy its centre, to the debris that has been washed from them, and to the decomposition of the latter description of its rocks. Such is the case at Illawarra, where the mountains approach the sea; such indeed is the case everywhere, at a certain distance from mountain ranges.

From the above account it would appear that a spot has at length been found upon the south coast of New Holland, to which the colonist might venture with every prospect of success, and in whose valleys the exile might hope to build for himself and for his family a peaceful and prosperous home. All who have ever landed upon the eastern shore of St. Vincent's Gulf agree as to the richness of its soil and the abundance of its pasture. Indeed, if we cast our eyes upon the chart, and examine the natural features of the country behind Cape Jervis, we shall no longer wonder at its differing in soil and fertility from the low and sandy tracts that generally prevail along the shores of Australia. Without entering largely into the consideration of the more remote advantages that would, in all human probability, result from the establishment of a colony, rather than a penal settlement, at St Vincent's Gulf, it will be expedient to glance hastily over the preceding narrative, and disengaging it from all extraneous matter, to condense, as much as possible, the information it contains respecting the country itself, for I have been unable to introduce any passing remark lest I should break the thread of an interesting detail.

The country immediately behind Cape Jervis may, strictly speaking, be termed a promontory, bounded to the west by St Vincent's Gulf, and to the east by the Lake Alexandrina and the sandy track separating that basin from the sea. Supposing a line to be drawn from the parallel of 34° 40′ to the eastward, it will strike the Murray River about twenty-five miles above the head of the lake, and will clear the ranges, of which Mount Lofty and Mount Barker are the respective terminations. This line will cut off a space whose greatest breadth will be fifty-five miles, whose length from north to south will be seventy-five, and whose surface exceeds seven millions of acres; from which, if we deduct two millions for the unavailable hills, we shall have five millions of acres of land, of rich soil, upon which no scrub exists, and whose most distant points are accessible, through a level country on the one hand, and by water on the other. The southern extremity of the ranges can be turned by that valley through which Mr. Kent returned to the schooner, after Captain Barker's death. It is certain, therefore, that this valley not only secures so grand a point, but also presents a level line of communication from the small bay immediately to the north of the Cape, to the rocky point of Encounter Bay, at both of which places there is safe anchorage at different periods of the year.

The only objection that can be raised to the occupation of this spot is the want of an available harbour. Yet it admits of great doubt whether the contiguity of Kangaroo Island to Cape Jervis (serving as it does to break the force of the prevailing winds, as also of the heavy swell that would otherwise roll direct into the bay), and the fact of its possessing a safe and commodious harbour certainly at an available distance, does not in a great measure remove the objection. Certain it is that no port, with the exception of that on the shores of which the capital of Australia is situated, offers half the convenience of this, although it be detached between three and four leagues from the main.

On the other hand it would appear that there is no place from which at any time the survey of the more central parts of the continent could be so effectually carried on; for in a country like Australia, where the chief obstacle to be apprehended in travelling is the want of water, the facilities afforded by the Murray and its tributaries are indisputable, and I have little doubt that the very centre of the continent might be gained by a judicious and enterprising expedition.

This termination of Captain Barker's discoveries occurred close to the spot where now stands the city of Adelaide, and it is not a little interesting to read in the present day the account of a visit made by Mr. Wedge to Port Philip, where are now Melbourne and Geelong, so late as in August, 1835.

Mr. Wedge landed at Port Philip on the 7th August, 1835, at the encampment of the party, left for the purpose of maintaining the friendly intercouse with the aborigines of that part of Australia. He found several families of natives residing with the white men left by Mr. Batman, together with Buckley, the Englishman who had joined the former party, after having passed thirty-three years of his life with the natives. Of this man's curious narrative we subjoin the following brief particulars:

Buckley was born in Cheshire, and having entered the army was, after two or three years' service, transported for life, having, with six others, turned out to shoot the Duke of Kent at Gibraltar. He arrived at Port Philip in 1802, with a detachment of prisoners destined to form an establishment at that place. He was employed as a stonemason (his former trade) in erecting a building for the reception of government stores. A short time previous to the abandonment of the settlement by Colonel Collins, he absconded with two other men, named Marmon and Pye: the latter left his companions before they reached the river at the northern extremity of the Port, being exhausted with want of food and other privations. Marmon

remained with Buckley till they had wandered nearly round the Port, but left him somewhere on Indented Head, with the intention of returning to the establishment; but neither he nor Pye were ever heard of afterwards. Buckley, thus alone, continued his wanderings along the beach, and completed the circuit of the Port. He afterwards proceeded a considerable distance along the coast, towards Cape Otway. He, however, at last became weary of such a lonely and precarious existence, and determined on returning. Soon after he had reached, on his way back, the neighbourhood of Indented Head, he fell in with the family of natives, with which he continued to live till the 12th July, 1835, the day on which he joined the party left by Mr. Batman.

His memory fails him as to dates; but he supposes his falling in with the natives to have occurred about twelve months after his leaving the establishment. The natives received him with great kindness: he soon attached himself to the chief, named Nullaboins, and accompanied him in all his wanderings. From the time of his being abandoned by his companions, till his final return to the establishment, a period of thirty-three years, he had not seen a white man. For the first few years, his mind and time were fully occupied in guarding against the treachery of strange Indians and in procuring food; he, however, soon acquired a perfect knowledge of the language, adopted the native habits, and became quite as one of the community. The natives gave him a wife, but discovering that she had a preference for another, he relinquished her, though the woman and her paramour forfeited their lives, having violated the customs which prevail amongst them; for, when a woman is promised as a wife, which generally happens as soon as she is born, it is considered a most binding engagement, the forfeiture of which is visited with most summary vengeance. Buckley has had no children, either legitimate or illegitimate: during the whole time of his residence, his adventures have been devoid of any remarkable interest, having passed nearly the whole of the time in the vicinity of Indented Head, excepting only on one occasion, when he travelled about 150 miles to the westward of Port Philip.

He describes the natives as cannibals, rude and barbarous in their customs, but well disposed towards the white men He was unable to introduce amongst them any essential improvements, feeling that his safety chiefly depended on his conforming exactly to all their habits and customs. Although he was always anxious to return to civilised life, he had for many years abandoned all hope of so doing. The following circumstance, however, eventually restored him to his countrymen. Two natives residing at the establishment, left by Mr. Batman, had stolen an axe, and having, by others, been assured that the theft would be severely punished, they absconded, and accidentally fell in with Buckley, communicated to him the fact of white men being in the neighbourhood and their reason for running away; also saying that they would procure other natives and return and spear the white men. Buckley succeeded in dissuading them from this outrage, and proceeded in search of Mr. Batman's party, and in two days succeeded in joining them. The Europeans were living in a miserable hut, with several native families encamped around them. On being observed, Buckley caused great surprise, and indeed, some alarm: his gigantic stature, his height being six feet six inches, enveloped in a kangaroo-skin rug, his long beard, and hair of thirty-three years' growth, together with his spears, shield, and clubs, it may readily be supposed presented a most extraordinary appearance. The Europeans believed him to be some great chief, and were in no little trepidation as to his intentions being friendly or not. Buckley proceeded at once to the encampments, and seated himself amongst the natives, taking no notice of the white men, who, however, quickly detected, to their great astonishment, the features of a European: and after considerable difficulty, succeeded in learning who he was. He could not in the least express himself in English; but after the lapse of ten or twelve days he was enabled to speak with tolerable fluency, though he frequently inadvertently used the language of the natives. The family with which Buckley so long resided, were greatly attached to him, and bitterly lamented his leaving them. He resides at present at the settlement formed by the gentlemen who have associated to form a new colony, through the means of the friendly intercourse which has been here established. He expresses his intention of remaining, for the present, for the purpose of being the medium of communicating with the natives. On his receiving the conditional pardon which his Excellency the Governor most humanely and promptly forwarded to him, on his case being made known, and hearing of the meritorious assistance he had afforded the settlers, he was most deeply affected; and nothing could exceed the joy he evinced at once more feeling himself a freeman received again within the pale of civilised society.

Mr. Wedge pointed out at this epoch that it would be desirable to form townships at the head of the salt water of the two rivers, of which the most easterly was called by the natives the Yarra-Yarra, and which is now, for brevity sake, more generally designated as the Yarra. (*See* page 361.)

The same year (1835) was marked by the melancholy loss of Mr. Cunningham, the colonial botanist. He was in company with Sir Thomas Mitchell, on his way to explore the course of the River Darling. The expedition started from Buree on the 7th of April, and Mr. Cunningham wandered from the party on the 17th of the same month, near the head of the river Bogan. After an anxious search, continued for twelve days, during which the party halted, his horse was traced till found dead, having still the saddle on, and the bridle in its mouth. It appeared that Mr. Cunningham, after losing his horse, had directed his own steps northward; they were traced into the Bogan, and westward along the bed of that river for twenty miles, and until they disappeared near a recent encampment of natives. There a small portion of the skirt of his coat was found, as also some fragments of a map which had been seen in his possession. There were two distinct tribes of natives in the Bogan; but the party was unable to learn anything of the unfortunate botanist's fate from those with whom they had communication.

A party of police were sent from Sydney in December of the same year to endeavour to ascertain Mr. Cunningham's fate, and they learned from some natives that a white man had been murdered on the Bogan; they then proceeded to a tribe of natives who were encamped on the borders of a small lake named Budda, and they made prisoners of three men who were pointed out as the murderers. The natives stated that about

six moons since a white man came up to them on the Bogan and made signs that he was hungry—that they gave him food and lodging for the night; but that the white man getting up frequently during the night excited suspicion, and they determined to destroy him, which determination they carried into effect the following morning. The officer in command of the police, Lieutenant Zouch, then requested to be conducted to the spot which the murder had taken place, which was at the distance of three days' journey, at a place called Currindine, where they pointed out some bones, which they asserted to be those of a white man, and near to the spot were found a piece of a coat, and also of a manilla hat. Being thus satisfied of the truth of the statement made by the natives, and of the spot where the melancholy event had occurred, Lieut. Zouch had all the remains collected and deposited in the ground, after which he raised a small mound over them, and barked some of the nearest trees, as being the only means in his power to mark the spot.[1]

It is to be observed that Sir Thos. Mitchell explored on this occasion 300 miles of the course of the Darling, and he ascertained that the two creeks, crossed by Captain Sturt on his journey beyond the Macquarie, to be the Bogan and Duck Creek—the latter of which conveyed the surplus waters of the Macquarie to the Darling.

In March, 1836, Sir Thomas Mitchell again started on a discovery, and he succeeded in tracing the Darling into the Murray, which Captain Sturt had previously reached by the Morrumbidgee. He then crossed to the southward, and struck the coast near Portland Bay in 141½ east longitude, about 150 miles to the westward of Port Philip, and where the party received supplies from the whalers, and whence they returned by land to Sydney, a distance in a direct line of 600 miles. By this important journey Mr. Oxley's first tracing of the Lachlan in 1817 to what he considered to be an inland sea; and of the Macquarie, at a similar epoch of inundation in 1818; the discovery of several affluents to the Morrumbidgee, by Messrs Hovell and Hume in 1824; and the descent of the latter river in a boat to the Murray, by Captain Sturt, in 1830, were all brought into co-relation, and the existence of one of the noblest hydrographical basins in the world was determined.

LYRE-BIRD.

Mr. Hume, previously well known as having been the first to strik out a route from Sydney to Port Philip in 1824, effected at the same time a journey from Sydney to the south-eastern extreme of Australia at Cape Howe, and thence to Wilson's promontory at its southern point.

A colony had been already established at this epoch in Spencer's Gulf, and cheering accounts of its prospects and of the quality of the land had been sent to this country.

The same thing had also happened with regard to the west coast, and to which we shall now turn our attention. The most south-westerly point of Australia is called Cape Leeuwin, and the land, from a little to the south-east of this to near the Swan River, gets the name of Leeuwin's Land, having been first seen by the commander of a Dutch vessel named the Lioness, in 1622. Edel's Land, situated beyond this, and extending northward to Cape Escarpée, and through which this river courses, was probably first seen and named by Edel, a Dutchman, in 1619, three years after the discovery of Endracht's Land by Dirk Hartog. The Swan River was, however, first visited by Vlaming, in 1697, and is situated in latitude 32° 4′ 31″ south, and longitude 115° 46′ 43″ east of Greenwich.

[1] The sketch, so sadly illustrative of the dangers attendant upon Australian exploration, at page 272, represents the fate of another traveller, the unfortunate Coulthard, who having wandered from his companions, perished by thirst and starvation with his horse and faithful dog. His remains were not discovered for some weeks after, and his skeleton hand still grasped the tin canteen on which he had inscribed his last words of agony.

A group of islands connected with one another, and with the mainland by reefs, is situated off the mouth of the river. The largest was named Rottenest by the Dutch, from the number of rats' nests which occur in it. Its greatest diameter is eight miles. The second largest island received from the French the name of Buache. There is another little isle, called Isle Polo Carnac and Isle Berthollet; and the whole group was named by the French navigators Isles Louis Napoleon

The line of coast, as far as Geographe Bay, is a limestone ridge, varying from twenty to six hundred feet in height, and extending inland for the distance of four or five miles. The country, from the shores to the base of the mountains, is undulating and open, a thinly-wooded grazing country to the north, and fine grass plains towards Cape Geographe. The range of mountains denominated General Darling's Range attains a height of from twelve to fifteen hundred feet; the culminating points of St. Anne's and Mount William are three thousand feet high. Bailly, who visited the river in the *Naturaliste*, says that its banks were covered on both sides with the forests, which extended a great way into the interior. Mr. Frazer, however, says that the forests do not average more than from eight to ten trees an acre. "We found," says Sir. J. Stirling, "the country rich and romantic, gained the summit of the first range of mountains, and had a bird's-eye view of an immense plain, which extended as far as the eye could reach to the northward, southward, and eastward. After ten days' absence we returned to the ship; we encountered no difficulty that was not easily surmounted; we were provided with abundance of fresh provisions by our guns, and met with no obstruction from the natives."

The calcareous deposits which constitute the outline of the coast in the neighbourhood of Swan River, and which, alternating with sands and sandstones, are met with forming almost perpendicular cliffs in the course of the river, appear to consist of two kinds. The first, most ancient, though with every probability belonging to the tertiary formations, is that which presents the most compactness, which alternates with sandstone, and is not very shelly. It forms the bluff headland at the mouth of the river, is the principal ingredient of the whole ridge lining the coast in the vicinity of this river, and is found near Geographe Bay, lying on breciated conglomerates. It is everywhere pierced with caverns, sometimes crowded with stalactites. At Cape Naturaliste these attain a length of from twenty to twenty-five feet; and in one case they presented the remarkable appearance of being all bent outwards, as if a gale of wind were perpetually blowing through the cavern. This rock is a principal constituent of the Isle of Buache, where it is found alternating with sands in horizontal layers, and the hills formed by this mountain rock, instead of occurring in isolated summits, form long and continuous crests. This formation is covered by a bed of sand, mixed with the detritus of vegetables, which furnish the mould for the propagation of trees and shrubby plants. The second kind is a formation almost peculiar to the coasts of Australia, and has been minutely described by Captain King. Mr. Abel also noticed this formation at the Cape of Good Hope. "It is impossible," says Mr. Frazer (*Botanical Miscellany*, Part II.), "to pass along the beach fourteen yards without crossing a stream which issues from caverns of limestone, and which forms banks of shells, sea-weed, stones, and whatever substance may come in their reach, incrusting them in a beautiful manner." In the immediate vicinity of the sea, there occur downs, which from this action are converted into extensive formations of mountain rocks; even far up the course of the river, the French described the limestone rock as entirely composed of incrustations of shells, roots, and even the trunks of trees.

Between the limestone rock and the Darling Mountains occurs a low tract of land of different structure. A bed of large-grained sand covers a formation of compact clay of a reddish hue. This change of structure is accompanied with other changes, which we shall notice in the hydrographical part.

At Cape Naturaliste there are immense cliffs, presenting at their base large beds of granite and schistose rock, large masses of feldspar were seen traversing those beds in various directions, and of various thickness. The granite rock was succeeded by a bed of micaceous schist, in an advanced state of decomposition, over which were observed several caverns, which were found to contain rock-salt in crystallised masses, and in large quantities. The base of the mountains (which were named Darling's Range in honour of General Darling) is covered with fragments of quartz and chalcedony; the soil a red sandy loam. Further up the soil improves to a light-brown loam; but from its rocky nature is incapable of cultivation. The highest part of the range is of ironstone, and it is remarkable that there is no underwood. The island of Berthollet, distant six miles from Buache, is a barren, inhospitable spot, producing abundance of hares, seals, and mutton birds. Its shores present many tesselated cliffs of limestone, resembling the turrets of a Gothic cathedral.

The most important features of the country are contained in the accessibility of its shores, in the distribution of its rivers, and in the abundance of its fresh waters. The entrance of Swan River was considered by the first navigators who visited this coast, as almost impossible during the prevalence of some winds, but the difficulties have been smoothed down by further acquaintance, and the rocky, abrupt entrance of this fine stream appears, on the contrary, to offer some peculiarities of a very favourable description. In alluding to the hydrography of this district, it will be necessary to premise that the seasons are not the same as in our country.

Spring occurs in September, October, and November; summer in December, January, and February; autumn in March, April, and May; and winter in June, July, and August; and as the state of the rivers and marshes are almost entirely regulated by the seasons, the time of the year must always form an important matter of consideration in the testimony we can draw from the accounts of travellers. The navigation from the Cape to the Swan River does not present any extraordinary difficulties, and it is well known that ships navigating the eastern seas, have constantly to beat down to a parallel with this river; but that the long belt of oceanic water that washes the shores of Leeuwin's, Edel's, or Endracht's Lands, is boisterous, and at certain seasons of the year with difficulty navigable, is certain from the experience of what few visits have been made to these shores. The coast in the neighbourhood of Swan River presents

also the usual difficulties met with in navigating the South Seas in coral reefs and islands, but not to a very dangerous extent.

Swan River is not a very large river, not being above a mile in width a little beyond its embouchure. It is, however, deep; and though the French navigators met with several mishaps, being twice stranded in their course, Sir J. Stirling's party found the river navigable until it almost ceases to be a stream, or where there was not room for a boat to pass. Port Cockburn was regarded as fittest for harbouring ships; it is distant eight miles from the river, and there is room for the largest fleet, with seven fathoms water, within twenty yards of the shore, and this perfectly land-locked. There is stated to be no surf, and Mr. Frazer is inclined to think that, as at the entrance of the river, there is not a perpendicular height of five feet from the line of low water to that of vegetation, there is never any very heavy weather in the Sound. On the bar at the entrance there is only one fathom of water, but that is always smooth. Between the isles of Berthollet and Buache is the entrance for ships drawing more than sixteen feet of water into Port Cockburn. Vessels drawing less than sixteen feet, can run directly across the sound from the entrance of Swan River to Port Cockburn. Vessels of any burden, then, can proceed up the sound to the entrance of the river, where there is good anchorage, with plenty of room to beat out, should the wind come to blow hard from the north-west.

After passing the rocky barrier which incloses the river at its mouth, it developes itself and becomes much wider. The soil, consisting of a retentive argillaceous substratum, is the part marked as Melville Water in the map, into which Canning River, mistaken by the French for an outlet, to which they gave the name of Moreau, falls on the one side, and there is abundance of fresh water on the other. The season the French visited the place was rather early after the wet season, and it was yet covered with little lakes and ponds, and traversed by numerous rivulets. There can be no doubt but that, during the winter season, the whole of this part of the country is one entire flood.[1] Further up the river are a number of small islands, called by the French, Isles of Herisson. These are composed of a rich deposit carried down by the floods. Captain Stirling's expedition met with the same difficulties as the French at this part of the river, and had to drag the boats over the mud, and beds of oyster shells lay a foot deep in the mire, and lacerated the feet

There are several lagunes in the Island of Buache, which are all salt. Their shores were covered with deep beds of the only two kinds of shells met with; one a bi-valve, the other a rose-coloured species of Melania. On the coast near Swan River, Mr. Frazer met with an extensive mineral spring, issuing from beneath a mass of cavernous limestone rocks, in width about seven feet, and running at the rate of three feet in a second. There is no water on Berthollet Island.

On the south head of the entrance to Swan River, Mr. Frazer observed a considerable variety of interesting plants, amongst which were Anigozanthus rufus, Anthoceris littorea, two species of Metrosideros, and a Prostanthera—on the downs, a species of Gnaphalium, with white flowers, as on the downs bordering the Bay of Biscay, gives a snowy appearance to many parts of the cliffs—on the margin of a salt lake he found a species of Brunonia. At the distance of one mile from the mouth of the river, the genus Eucalyptus makes its appearance, although in a stunted state: the French naturalists stated the most abundant shrub in the country to be the E. resinifera.

The vegetation of the beach consists principally of syngenesious plants, and a species of Hibiscus with peltate leaves. Here Mr. F. observed a beautiful pendulous Leptospermum, resembling the weeping willow, and associated with an arborescent Acacia. The few trees and shrubs seen on the hills of limestone, consisted of stunted Eucalypti and Leptesperma, and a beautiful species of Calytria or cypris, of the finest green colour: a Rhagodia grows on the beach to a height of twenty feet. The genus Banksia appears in all its grandeur near Canning River. The shores are covered with rushes of great height and thickness, concealing many beautiful syngenesious plants. The botany of Point Heathcote is splendid, consisting of magnificent Banksias and Dryandras. The beach at Garden Point is of the same character; and Mr. F. thinks that every beach within the heads will be found of the same description. The margins of the islands are covered with Metrosideros and Casuarina, and their interior with sea-side succulent plants. On the flats the Banksia grandis attains a height of fifty feet, and a Zamia thirty. Up the river are thickets of Casuarina. The brome grass of New South Wales makes its appearance. Bastard and real blue gum is seen in considerable quantities. At the base of the mountains, Mr. F. observed a species of Hakea with holly shaped leaves. The summit was studded with noble Angophorum. At the source of the river were thickets of an arborescent species of Acacia, and gigantic thistles eleven feet in height.

The Island of Buache, composed of low ridges of light sandy loam, has its loftiest parts covered with cypress, Calytris, and thickets of Solanum, and a species of Brunonia; towards the north were thickets of Metrosideros. The appearance of the country about Cape Geographe is particularly pleasing. The shore seemed well clothed with timber, and the foliage of the richest green. The principal part of the timber consisted of Eucalyptus

At Rottenest the French met with a little kangaroo, about two feet in height, probably Petaurus Peronii, Desm., and what they called a large rat (Perameles nasuta). Seals were very numerous, and there were a great number of reptiles: tortoises abounded in Geographe Bay. At the source of Swan River Mr. Frazer met with a number of deep pits, made by the natives for the purpose of catching land tortoises, with which the ridges abound. The animals met with were kangaroos, native dogs, emus, &c., &c. The quantity of black swans, ducks, pelicans, and aquatic birds seen on the river was truly astonishing. Fish were abundant, and the sound swarmed with tiger sharks. A species of Psittacus (cockatoo) was seen in large flocks; it fed on the roots of orchideous plants. One of the most remarkable animals frequenting the tall rushes of the river's banks, was the sea-lion of Anson, elephant-marin of the French (Macrorhinus proboscideus, F. Cuv.), which roars loudly, and fight among themselves.

[1] "The flats or levels," says Mr. Fraser, "are very fertile, composed of a rich alluvial deposit, but evidently occasionally flooded, drift timber having been seen five feet above the surface."

The French met with them in the interior of the woods. Partridges and crows were said to be met with on Isle Buache by the French. They also saw, on Swan River, parrots and large and small crows. Fishing in the river was very successful. Mr. Frazer only saw one snake during the survey.

The French had no direct communication with the natives. They did not appear navigators; no traces of boats were found, though the natives were met with in pretty great numbers on the banks of the river. The few natives Captain Stirling's party met with were not disposed to behave ill; on the contrary, they seemed much alarmed at first, but soon gained confidence. Black swans were given to them, and eagerly accepted. They had no means of navigation, and rather showed a horror of the water. The language spoken by the different tribes of Australians differs in each, but there seems to be no other variations amongst them. The arms of the natives of the Swan River were the same as those of the natives of New South Wales, and their clothing and appearance are equally loathsome.

In an agricultural point of view, the new establishment at Swan River presents four different positions. 1. The limestone ridge bounding the east; 2. The flats and swamps between that and the range of hills; 3. The high lands and forests at the sources of the Rivers Swan and Canning, with the bases and part of the acclivity of the hills constituting Darling Range; and 4. The pasture lands to the east of this range. The limestone tract will probably in future times be one of the most marked and fruitful tracts at Swan River; the climate and the land is at the present moment ready for the cultivation of the vine. The orange-tree, the olive, the fig, and the pomegranate, with numerous other plants, would thrive on the light sandy soil which covers this ridge. The headlands and Isle Buache have been thought favourable for the growth of bananas, and most of our culinary vegetables. The soil of Isle Buache appeared capable of producing any description of light garden crops. The extensive salt-marshes, Mr. Frazer states, are admirably adapted to the growth of cotton, probably also of rice. The seeds of British Graminæ should be sown on the fresh water marshes; the maize and forest timber should be grown at the base and on the acclivities of the hills, where the arts of agriculture should be put in force to further the growth of the Eucalyptus and timber trees of the country.

On November 4th, 1828, Thomas Peel, Esq., Sir Francis Vincent, and others, addressed a memorial to Government for the colonisation of Swan River, previously visited by Sir J. Stirling, in his Majesty's ship *Rainbow*. These gentlemen proposed to provide shipping for the purpose of taking out ten thousand of his then Majesty's subjects, and to bring to the settlement one thousand head of bulls, cows, bullocks, and calves, and have three small vessels running from Sydney to the settlement. His Majesty's Government, desirous that the experiment should not be made, in the first instance, upon a very large scale, on account of the extensive distress which would be occasioned by a failure in any of the objects expected from the undertaking, limited the grant to a maximum of one million of acres, half a million to be allotted after the arrival of the first vessel containing not less than four hundred persons of both sexes, and if this grant was covered by investments before the year 1840, the remaining half million to be allotted by degrees. A convenient allotment of land to be reserved for the town and harbour, for public buildings, and for the accommodation of future settlers, and a priority of choice, to the extent of a hundred thousand acres, to be allowed to Sir J. Stirling, whose surveys and report of the coast led to the formation of the settlement. The proportion of male to female settlers was to be not less than five of the former to six of the latter. The passage of labouring persons to be considered as an investment of capital, entitling the parties to an allowance of land, at the rate of £15, that is, of two hundred acres. Forty acres were also granted for every £3 sterling invested upon public or private objects in the colony. Forty acres were allowed for every child under six years, and one hundred and twenty for ditto under ten, when the allowance of two hundred commenced. The government to be administered by Sir J. Stirling, as civil superintendent of the settlement.

After the arrival of the first vessel at the colony, intelligence was received in England by various hands, and many gloomy reports disseminated, with an exaggeration of the disappointment felt by those who had founded their hopes in injudicious statements of the great luxuriance of soil. It appears that the first settlers remained in Garden Island for two months after their arrival in huts built from the timber of the country, of which there is great abundance, and closed in by brushwood. Shortly afterwards a town was established at the entrance of Swan River, to which they gave the name of Freemantle, and eleven or twelve miles up above Melville Water another was established on the left bank, to be called Perth, the foundation-stone being laid by the lady of Captain Dance.

Captain Irwin reported of the new colony in 1835 ("State and Position of Western Australia," &c.), that stock of all kinds, but especially sheep, were found to thrive well, the returns in grain were not great, but all description of garden crops yielded abundantly. The light sandy districts near the coast, the view of which at first gave the settlers so much dissatisfaction, had in this respect most agreeably deceived them; turnips and mangel wurzel having in particular yielded heavy crops on them. In general, it appeared that the country would yield good returns to skill and labour, but gave little of its own accord. No serious loss had been occasioned by drought, though much feared by the early settlers. The most valuable native forest trees had turned out to be the mahogany and blue gum, both of which furnished excellent timber for ship building. English oak had been planted and found to thrive.

New townships had arisen, Guildford in the line of the Swan River, and Augusta at the mouth of the Black Wood. Freemantle already contained several good hotels. The settlement had also been distinguished by a special institution for the benefit of the native tribes, which reflects the highest honour on the memory of its founder, Sir James Stirling. Its object was to instruct them gradually, and without compulsion, in the arts of civilized life. The essential evil against which the colony had then, and has ever since had to struggle, has been a deficient supply of labour. To this are owing a yet imperfect cultivation of the soil, and a want of good practicable roads for bringing its produce to market.

IV.

North Coast—First Settlements—Melville Island—Soil and Productions—Natural History—Climate and Diseases—Natives—Port Essington—Malay Fishery of Trepang—Natives of the Mainland—Raffles Bay—Commercial and Political Advantages of Port Essington.

The settlements hitherto formed on the north coast of Australia have not hitherto been fortunate. Two were founded between 1824 and 1828, and subsequently abandoned. One of them was placed in Apsley Strait, in 1824, the other in Raffles Bay, in 1827; and the intention of their formation, with causes which led to their being ultimately abandoned, being either little known or misunderstood, we shall give a brief account of them.

Previous to 1824 some masters of small trading vessels, who had been carrying on a traffic with the islands in the Indian Archipelago, found the trade they had thus embarked in of a description that promised a profitable market for European goods; and they also observed that several articles of traffic amongst these islands were obtained on the northern coast of New Holland, "such as *bêche la mer* or tripang, and pearl and tortoise-shell." They therefore naturally concluded that a British settlement on that coast might materially facilitate a commercial intercourse, not only with the inhabitants of the numerous islands in the Indian Archipelago, but also with the Chinese; and these observations, on being represented, meeting with a favourable consideration in the Colonial Department at home, and Government evincing an anxious desire to extend our trade in the Indian Seas, arrangements were soon afterwards entered into for carrying the views founded on them into effect.

Captain Bremer, C.B. (then commanding H. M. S. *Tamar*, and about to proceed from England to New South Wales on his way to India), received instructions to take charge of an expedition which would be fitted out at Sydney, to proceed with it to the north coast of New Holland, and to establish a settlement on such part of that coast as he found would be most likely to answer the intentions of Government.

The materials being prepared at Sydney, Captain Bremer sailed from Port Jackson on the 24th August, 1824, having under his command (besides his own ship) two vessels, in which were embarked two officers and fifty soldiers of the third regiment, a surgeon, two gentlemen of the Commissariat Department, and forty-five convicts, with cattle and various stores. The expedition proceeded by the inner passage, through Torres Strait, and, crossing the Gulf of Carpentaria on the 20th September, reached Port Essington, where they came to anchor. They remained three days, but after searching in several directions for water, and being unable to discover any, except by digging holes in the sand at Point Record, this circumstance induced Captain Bremer to look for a more convenient place more to the westward. On the morning of the 24th September, accordingly, Melville Island was seen from the mast-head, bearing south-west, and at seven P.M. the expedition anchored outside of the reef or shoal called Mermaid Shoal, which extends westward from Cape Van Diemen. The 25th was occupied by the expedition in threading its way through this intricate and extensive reef, and by half-past six in the evening, having cleared it, they anchored in seven fathoms water, off Bathurst Island. At daylight on the 26th they weighed and stood for the entrance between Melville and Bathurst Islands into Apsley Strait, and in the afternoon they anchored off Luxmoore Head, in fifteen fathoms. (Luxmoore Head is a promontory o. Melville Island, within the entrance of Apsley Strait.) The remainder of the 26th, the 27th, the 28th and 29th, were occupied in searching for water, but none but what was brackish was found until late on the 29th, when a small stream was met with by Captain Bremer: this decided him to establish the new settlement in Apsley Strait, on the Melville Island side. The most eligible spot that presented itself was six miles higher up than Luxmoore Head; and on the 30th September the soldiers and convicts were landed, and the operation of clearing away ground on which to erect buildings was immediately commenced.

The spot fixed upon by Captain Bremer for the settlement was named by him Point Barlow, in compliment to Captain Barlow, 3rd Regiment, who was appointed Commandant; a low point of land to the north-west of it was called Garden Point; and these two points formed the extremities of a small bay, which became the anchorage, and was named King's Cove. The beach around it, as well as the south-east of the intended settlement, was low, muddy, and lined with mangroves, and the higher grounds were covered with a dense forest.

By the 21st October, through the united efforts of the sailors, soldiers, and convicts, the settlement was in a great state of forwardness: and this being the anniversary of the battle of Trafalgar, Captain Bremer landed some guns and mounted them on the fort, which was now nearly completed: a royal salute was fired; and besides the names already mentioned, others were given. That part of Apsley Strait between Harris Island and Luxmoore Head was named Port Cockburn, and the work was called Fort Dundas. On the 13th November, the fort, wharf, soldiers' huts, officers' houses, and commissariat store, being completed, also an excellent well, thirty feet deep and six in diameter, and the provisions all landed, Captain Bremer took his departure for India, leaving an officer and thirty marines to assist in the protection of the settlement.

The first object—viz., clearing away a small space of ground to enable the settlers to erect huts for shelter, stores, and an hospital, in a country thickly wooded, surrounded by mangrove swamps, and under a burning sun—required no ordinary exertion; but by the perseverance of the military and prisoners, aided by the crew of the *Tamar* frigate, the fort was finished, a temporary wharf formed, and huts sufficient for shelter were constructed in seventy-four days; subsequent to which and the departure of the *Tamar*, the convicts (forty-five in number), were the only labourers that could be employed in clearing away and bringing the ground into a state of cultivation, every other individual having abundant occupation to make himself by any means comfortable and secure. As the huts were unavoidably erected close to the standing timber, the natives, who constantly hovered through the forest, were extremely troublesome, frequently throwing their spears into the huts and hospital, scurvy and ague also soon appeared, and, diminishing the number of workmen, retarded exceedingly the operation of clearing; and the difficulties experienced in communicating with Sydney occasioned other drawbacks, as will in the sequel appear.

From the great distance between Melville Island and Sydney, and the total want of any direct intercourse, very little was known about the settlement even in July, 1826. Towards the end of 1825 one set of despatches reached Sydney, which had been sent *viâ* Batavia or India; and these did not convey a very favourable report of the new settlement, the Commandant having experienced many unexpected difficulties, the principal of which were, want of fresh provisions and vegetables; inadequate materials for carrying on field labour; scurvy, and a great deal of sickness; several deaths which had taken place; the loss of the *Lady Nelson*, which was sent for supplies to the island of Timor, in February, 1825, and never afterwards heard of; and also of a schooner called the *Stedcomb*, which the Commandant had engaged, in place of the *Lady Nelson*, to procure buffaloes from Coëpang Timor, and which sailed from Melville Island in February, 1826, and never returned, having been taken by pirates off the east end of Timor. The settlement was thus left without fresh meat or vegetables, which latter could not be produced in sufficient quantity; and scurvy thus broke out, and raged for many months in a very alarming degree. Supplies of flour, pickles, and preserved meats were afterwards sent from Sydney, in the ship *Sir Philip Dundas*, which reached Melville Island in the beginning of 1826; and another vessel (the *Mermaid* cutter), despatched from Sydney in March, 1826, arrived at the settlement on the 5th August. These delays and losses occasioned not only great impediments to the improvement of the settlement, but left the Government of New South Wales in much anxiety respecting it.

At the beginning of August, 1826, his Excellency Lieutenant-General Darling, then Governor of New South Wales, was pleased to appoint Major Campbell Commandant of Melville Island, and directed him to embark on board the colonial schooner *Isabella*, with a detachment of troops, some convicts, and various stores, as well as live stock, and to proceed with all despatch through Torres Straits to relieve Captain Barlow and his detachment. On the 19th August they left Port Jackson, and reached Melville Island on the 19th September. The officers and men who had formed the settlement, and had been there about two years, were rejoiced to find that a relief had arrived for them; they gave them a discouraging account of the oppressiveness of the climate, the scarcity of vegetables, the deficiency of fresh meat, the almost impossibility of procuring fish, the dreariness of the situation—(never having been visited by any other than the two small colonial vessels already mentioned as sent from Sydney with supplies, by a man-of-war's boat, which came in for a few hours, whilst the man-of-war, the *Slaney*, remained outside the reefs, about eighteen miles off; and by H. M. S. *Larne*, which had touched there)—the hostility of the natives, and many other mortifications which conveyed but a gloomy picture of the settlement.

The interior of Melville Island is described by Major Campbell as very difficult of access, in consequence of almost impenetrable mangrove swamps and close forest; and in my several excursions into its interior, for the purpose of surveying and penetrating in direct lines from the coast, I found, says the Major, the features of the country always similar. From the closeness of the trees and want of elevated spots, I could seldom see beyond three or four hundred yards, and my movements were always guided by compass.

When seen from the sea the island has a pleasing appearance in consequence of its gently undulating surface and being thickly wooded; but when on shore its beauty vanishes, a monotonous succession of salt-water creeks, mangrove-swamps, and forest (the trees of which are generally of the same appearance, having long bare trunks and very scanty foliage.) speedily surfeiting the most ardent admirer of the beauties of nature.

The elevated ground sometimes runs in narrow stripe and at others extends widely; the slopes generally terminate in a swamp, but yet sometimes they have open spaces of arid flat ground at their base, of from fifty to a hundred acres in extent, covered only with low shrubs and thin coarse grass. Here and there are also plains of dry mud without any vegetation. The surface of the elevated ground is very stony, being covered with small shining masses of ironstone, having a metallic lustre, as if they had been ejected from a furnace. The sloping sides are less stony, and the flat ground is generally quite free from stone. Streams of water are scarce throughout the island, but the swamp water is generally drinkable; and by sinking wells a constant supply of excellent water is obtained. The swamps are generally full of long grass and reeds, intermixed with small trees; and leading into these swamps are narrow gullies choked up with a kind of cane or rattan (*Flagellaria indica*). Excursions into the interior are attended with excessive fatigue and much risk, the leading causes of which are the oppressive heat experienced in the close forest, where the air is seldom in motion; the myriads of sand-flies which infest and torment the traveller whenever he stands still or rests for an instant, and the constant alertness demanded to guard against the hostile natives.

After four year's experience, we found the soil of Melville Island in general to be of an inferior quality, partaking of the character of the ironstone which is so generally diffused over it. The subsoil, after digging two feet and a-half, is much better, being a brown mould of a saponaceous texture. This is the character of the soil on the cultivated ground at a little distance from the shore; close to the shore it is very rocky, and the rocks are generally of a ferruginous nature, heavy, brittle, and splintery in the fracture; the soil is light and shallow, intermixed with much sand and gravel. Bordering on the swamps, it is richer and more productive, but sometimes so dark in colour (almost black) that, by attracting the heat of the sun, it burns up the vegetables which it had quickly produced. After digging a few feet below the surface, the ground is frequently found to be of a whitish clayey nature. There are many flat pieces of ground near the swamps which I think capable of producing rice; but we had neither the means nor the opportunity of trying experiments with that grain; and the results of our trials of the productive qualities of the soil, generally, will be found afterwards.

The vegetable productions indigenous to Melville Island are various and abundant, vegetation being certainly altogether very luxuriant, and during the whole year there was plenty of grass for the subsistence of our cattle. The timber is in general of a useful quality; and although trees that are small in the stem predominate, yet there are many of considerable dimensions and applicable to house-building, furniture,

ship and boat building, and to agricultural purposes. The largest timber measured sixty feet of stem, and three feet in diameter; and the average number of trees to an acre is about one hundred and twenty, but sometimes they are more numerous, amounting to one hundred and eighty. At a distance from the swamps there is but little underwood; but in their neighbourhood, and generally on all the low ground, the sago palm (*Cycas media*, of Brown), the fan palm (*Livistona inermis*—Brown), the grass palm (*Pandanus spiralis*—Brown), and the cabbage palm (*Seaforthia elegans*—Brown), are thickly intermingled with the more lofty timber. Amongst the forest trees, several species of eucalyptus are most abundant.

Although the timber, as I have already stated, is both abundant and good, yet one third or fourth of the trees are frequently rendered useless from the depredations of the white ants; which excavate the interior of a tree from one end to the other, forming a tube from three to five inches in diameter; and even the hardest wood, such as lignum vitæ, does not escape them.

The only trees we met with, producing an edible fruit, were two species of apple and a plum; one of the apples was very acid and astringent, and only palatable in tarts or puddings; the other two fruits, though pleasant to the taste, were not much indulged in for fear they might prove pernicious.

Grasses are abundant, and grow very rank, some of them being very injurious to the cattle; but the greater proportion are wholesome and nutritive, and the cattle, when once acclimatised, thrive well upon them. Cattle, sheep, and goats, when first landed upon Melville Island, suffer very much, either from the grass, water, or climate; I cannot decide which—probably a combination of all three. During the first three years of the settlement, two-thirds of the cattle died in ten or fourteen days after being landed. The cows which survived this trial afterwards did very well; but sheep never fattened; they, however, produced fine lambs, and these, as well as the produce of the cows and goats which escaped the mortality on first introduction to the island, continued afterwards to thrive well. In 1827, we adopted a new plan of managing the cattle when first landed, and the deaths were in consequence much decreased.

The grass preferred by the cattle was that which grew on the borders of the swamps and the young grass around fallen timber; but the fine looking grass on the forest land they avoided: of this we, however, made tolerable hay. We tried several exotic grasses, which succeeded very well; particularly the Capeen and Caffer grass.

Besides the forest trees already enumerated (and which are for the most part evergreens), there is a great variety of ornamental trees, shrubs, and flowers, which give some liveliness throughout the year to the otherwise sombre appearance of the island; amongst them, the abiscus, casuarina, convolvulus, the bead vine (*Abrus precatorius*—Linn.), and other runner and parasitical plants, are very conspicuous. The loranthus, with scarlet flowers, abounds; as also the beautiful calythrix (*C. mycrophylla*—Cun.), bearing a pink-coloured flower.

Some of the mangroves grow to a considerable height, and the mangrove holly (*Acanthus ilicifolius*—Br.) is very frequent in their neighbourhood. In the forest land, trees producing a gum or rosin are numerous; this gum, exuding from the bark, forms lumps upon the stem, and is much used by the natives in the formation of their spears. I can say but little of the esculent roots indigenous to Melville Island: there is a root of a small yam-like appearance, and another resembling a parsnip, both of which were scarce; and as they were only met with when better-known vegetables became tolerably plentiful in the gardens, I do not know that any trial was ever made of them, and we had never any opportunity of ascertaining whether they were used by the natives or not. The only vegetable production we observed them to eat was the young flower-branch or leaves within the spathæ of the cabbage-palm, with the seed of the sago palm. The former was frequently made use of at the settlement, and a most acceptable vegetable it was when either boiled or stewed. The cabbage-palm grows to a great height (sometimes thirty feet), and latterly we obtained the germ, or rather the flower-branch, by ascending the tree and cutting it out with a strong knife or tomahawk; but, at the commencement of the settlement, many palms were altogether cut down near the root, and they consequently became scarce in the neighbourhood of Fort Dundas, though we frequently found clumps of them seven or eight miles from us. A large bean is also met with in sandy places, and particularly near the shore; but when cooked and made use of, it was apt to occasion pain and a looseness of the bowels.

The first settlers reported that cloves and nutmeg were indigenous in the island, but this was altogether a mistake; and the nutmeg-tree (*Myristica insipida*—Br.), which I observed growing both close to and in the swamps, produced a small nut very slightly pungent, scarcely three quarters of an inch long, but egg-shaped, and the mace, or net-work inclosing it, devoid of flavour. Some people have also been led to believe that sandal-wood was indigenous in Melville Island; but this is also an error, as the wood mistaken for it was the cypress-pine, a species of *Callitris*, which resembled the sandal-wood in colour, and had somewhat of its pleasing smell. Wild ginger is, however, indigenous in Melville Island.

Having stated all that I at present recollect under the head of indigenous vegetable productions, I shall now mention those of the animal kingdom. Of four-footed animals, we had the kangaroo, opossum, bandicoot, native dog, a small brown rat, a species of squirrel, and an animal very destructive to poultry, with a sharp nose, and the body covered with dark brown hair: the tail is fourteen inches long, and bare, like that of a rat, excepting within three inches of the tip, which is covered with long white hair; it measures twenty-seven inches from the extremity of the nose to the tip of the tail. The Ternate bat, or flying fox, is very numerous in the vicinity of the creeks, and flies about or suspends itself to trees in flocks of several hundreds together; those which I procured measured ten inches in length of body, and three feet between the extremities of the outstretched membrane. Of all the animals I have mentioned, only two of them were used by us as food, viz., the kangaroo and bandicoot; the former we seldom got, as they resorted to situations at too remote and inconvenient a distance to admit of our hunting them. The bandicoot afforded good eating, and were found generally on moonlight nights concealed in the hollow trunks of decayed trees.

Of the feathered tribe there is a great variety, and

NATIVES WITH SHIELD OF BARK OF EUCALYPTUS.

of the most beautiful plumage; amongst them I may enumerate the following: white cockatoo, with yellow crest; black cockatoo, with red crest and red at the extremity of the tail-feathers; seven varieties of paroquets; six varieties of pigeons; four kinds of king-fisher, and amongst them the gigantic king-fisher (*Dacelo gigantea*—Leach); swamp pheasants (*Centropus phasianus*—Ill.); quail; curlew; wild ducks; sand-larks (seen in flocks in November); wild geese (rare); and a wild black fowl of the gallinaceous order, weighing from three to four pounds, and found in packs amongst the long grass near swamps, the flesh hard and insipid; blue and white cranes, and several more of the genus *Ardea*. There are magpies, ravens, hawks, owls, and wattle-birds; and many beautiful small birds are also abundant.

Amongst the class reptiles, we found a great variety of the snake tribe, measuring from one foot to twelve in length; they were met with everywhere—in the forest, swampy ground, and houses. Although several of the soldiers and convicts were bitten by them, none of the wounds were very serious, excepting in the case of one man (the overseer), who was bitten by a snake whilst in bed. The reptile took a piece of the flesh clean out of his thigh; and as there was no medical man on the island at the time, Lieutenant Bate, who was superintending the sick and was immediately informed of the accident, burnt the wound all around with caustic instead of cutting any part away. The man suffered considerable pain for some days, and experienced many of the sensations felt by those who have been bitten by venomous reptiles. He was confined for ten days from the effect of the bite. The snake was found on the following morning in the overseer's hut, coiled up under a box. It was immediately killed, and burnt upon a fire before I had an opportunity of examining it. It was described to me as being six feet long, with a broad head and small neck. Another snake was brought to me which had bitten a dog and drawn blood. It measured ten feet in length, had a broad, flat head, and small neck. It was furnished with a double row of very sharp teeth: the fangs were curved, and measured three-quarters of an inch in length, and a small bladder was attached to the root of each. The back was of a dark mottled brown colour, with a white belly. Although this appeared to be a venomous snake, yet the dog never suffered from the bite. This I attributed to his long hair preventing the poison entering the wound.

The Saurian order are very numerous, the most remarkable being the frilled iguana, or *Clamydosaurus Kingii* of Gray. The common iguana (*Iguana delicatissima*), from two to four feet in length, also abounds.[1] The skink-formed lizard (*Teloqua tuberculata*, Gray) is met with in stony places; and an endless variety of the smaller lacertæ, of beautiful colours, are seen wherever the eye is directed sporting in the sun, and cunningly waiting to entrap any unsuspecting insect that ventures near. Frogs of an immense size (four and five inches in length of body, and prettily spotted) swarm in damp places.

Apsley Strait, and all the creeks around Melville Island, abound with alligators (*caimans*). They measure from fourteen to seventeen feet in length; and in the clear water around the island, are frequently seen water-snakes, two and three feet in length, and spotted black and yellow. Turtles are common on the sea-coast of Melville Island, but they were never seen in Apsley Strait, and we of consequence were never able to obtain any for the use of the settlement. Our limited number, and necessary occupations at the settlement, deprived us of the power of sending parties to any such distance as would detain them beyond twenty-four hours. Even to procure a few fish, we were obliged to send ten miles from the settlement, to the nearest fishing-ground; and owing to the strong tides and currents, and the fishing time being that of half flood, a party, after drawing the seine as often as it was attended with success, could seldom return under twenty-four hours; and, in so warm a climate, the few fish they caught were by that time scarcely fresh enough to be eaten. I have been on these excursions all night exposed to heavy rain, for the purpose of obtaining a change of food for those intrusted to my care, and have returned with probably only about eighty or one hundred pounds weight of fish, for the supply of one hundred and thirty individuals. Although, as I have already stated, we were never able to take turtle, yet I have seen them swimming about in considerable numbers off Brenton Bay, near Point Jahleel.

To the entomologist Melville Island offers an ample field for observation. The species are both numerous and beautiful; and the vicinity of the swamps would afford the insect collector an abundant harvest. The orders hemiptera and lepidoptera are particularly beautiful, and in great numbers, and that of coleoptera is also found abundant in species. Of the order neuroptera, the libellula, or dragon-fly is in great variety and beauty; and I have seen five kinds of ant, chiefly of the genus termites: viz., the white ant, which rears its pyramidal dwelling to the height of seven or eight feet; the green ant; red and black ant; large black ant; and a very minute ant, that can scarcely be discerned with the naked eye. The white ant infests the houses, and destroys everything that comes in its way. These insects make their approach by forming an earthern gallery, under cover of which they advance in myriads, and commit terrible depredations. They cut through all bale goods in our stores, such as canvass, blankets, shirts, trowsers, and even shoes. They are so rapid in their operations, that I know instances where bales, containing two dozen of shirts each, each shirt packed one above the other, and placed on shelves four feet from the floor, and six inches from the wall, have been perforated through and through in twenty-four hours, notwithstanding that the storekeeper examined the bales every day, and that on the day previous to those discoveries not an ant was to be seen in the store. But these insects do not confine their attacks to bale goods. They entered my cellar, and in a few days' time destroyed two dozen of claret; and during a period of four days, while one of the soldiers was in the hospital, they completely gutted his knapsack, which was hanging on a peg in his barrack-room, and contained all his necessaries. They spread through it in all directions, and destroyed his shirts, trowsers, stockings, jacket, shoes, and even razors. Of the latter, the blades were encased in rust, from the moisture, or viscus, which these insects carry along with them, and the horn handles were eaten through. In the course of three

1 These iguanas burrow like rabbits underground, and their holes are so numerous in the light sandy soil of the forest, that it required considerable caution to avoid falling into them.

or four weeks, they also destroyed thirty pounds' worth of clothes belonging to Mr. Radford, one government tent twenty feet long, three hundred feet of timber in the timber-house, three ammunition boxes in the magazine, sixty-five pairs of trowsers, and twenty-three smock-frocks in the engineer's store-house.

There are several species of bee, and amongst them a very small one about the eighth of an inch in length, that produces fine honey, which they deposit in trees. Mosquitoes and sand-flies are the pest of the island: they kept us in a perpetual fever, and no seasoning by climate secured us against their attack.

From sunrise until sunset, the sand-flies issue forth in millions, and keep one in a constant state of irritation by fixing upon the face, neck, and hands—where, inserting their proboscis, they inflict most severe pain, and cause the blood to flow most profusely. When they take their departure at sunset, the mosquitoes remind you that the torments of the day are not yet passed; and from six o'clock until ten they exercise their tormenting powers, which are too well known to require description.

The next annoying and destructive insect is the cockroach: these became very numerous, swarmed in the houses, and destroyed clothes, paper, bread, and books indiscriminately. These insects generally made their appearance at night, and, as if by a concerted signal, issued from their hiding places all at once, and made a noise by scampering along the walls, as if heavy showers of hail were falling. Besides the insects mentioned, I may add the scorpion, centipede, and tarantula, each of which were in great numbers.

In regard to the sea productions, my observations are very limited. The following are all I met with: the common shark, porpoise, sting ray, rock cod, mullet in abundance, cat-fish, pipe fish, sole, flounder, bream, flying-fish, ground shark, and a very good eating fish, called by the sailors "skip-jack." We never procured any shell-fish, and on my walks along the beaches I met with very few shells of any kind. It is probable that the natives are always on the look out for any shell-fish that may be driven on shore, and carry them off for food, as I have found at their encampments the shells of the tiger nautilus, cockles, and oysters. The bêche la mer, or sea-slug, was found in small quantities, but by no means so plentiful as to induce any of the Malay fishers to approach Melville Island in search of it.

In personal appearance the natives of Melville Island resemble those of the continent (if I may so call it) of New Holland, and are evidently from the same stock; but they are more athletic, active, and enterprising than those I saw on the southern coast of Australia, at Port Jackson, Newcastle, or Hunter's River. They are not generally tall in stature, nor are they, when numbers are seen together, remarkable for small men. In groups of thirty, I have seen five or six strong powerful men of six feet in height, and some as low as five feet four and five. They are well formed about the body and thighs, but their legs are small in proportion, and their feet very large; their heads are flat and broad, with low foreheads, and the back of the head projects very much; their hair is strong, like horse-hair, thick, curly, or frizzled, and jet black; their eyebrows and cheek-bones are extremely prominent—eyes small, sunk, and very bright and keen; nose flat and short, the upper lip thick and projecting; mouth remarkably large, with regular fine white teeth; chin small, and face much contracted at bottom. They have the septum of the nose perforated, wear long bushy beards, and have their shoulders and breasts scarified; the skin is not tattooed, as with the New Zealander, but is scarified, and raised in a very tasteful manner;[1] and their countenance expresses good humour and cunning. All those who have reached the age of puberty are deficient of an upper front tooth—a custom common in New Holland. The colour of their skin is a rusty black, and they go about perfectly naked; their hair is sometimes tied in a knot, with a feather fixed in it, and they frequently daub it with a yellow earth. On particular occasions, when in grief, or intending mischief or open hostilities, they paint their bodies, faces, and limbs with white or red pigments, so as to give themselves a most fantastic, and even hideous appearance.[2] In disposition they are revengeful, prone to stealing, and in their attempts to commit depredations show excessive cunning, dexterity, arrangement, enterprise, and courage. They are affectionate towards their children, and display strong feelings of tenderness when separated from their families; they are also very sensitive to anything like ridicule. They are good mimics, have a facility in catching up words, and are gifted with considerable observation.

Port Essington is situated on the north side of the Cobourg Peninsula, which projects N.N.W. from the main land of Australia, and extends in that direction about fifty geographical miles. The greatest breadth is fifteen miles, and its narrowest part, where it is joined to the main by a neck of land five miles in length, is two miles and a half across, from Mount Norris Bay, on the north-east, to Van Diemen's Gulf, on the south side of the peninsula. This gulf was discovered and so named by the Dutch navigators, in 1705.

The port is in 11° 6′ south latitude, and in 132° 12′ east longitude. It was examined by Captain King in 1818, and named by him after Vice-Admiral Sir William Essington. Vashon-Head, Point Smith, Knocker's Bay, Middle-Head, Table-Head, and Saddle Hill, were names also given by Captain King; such other names as appear in the chart of my survey were given by me, generally from local circumstances.

The approach to Port Essington is perfectly open and unobstructed by any danger whatever; at its entrance it is seven miles wide, between Point Smith on the east side, and Vashon-Head on the west; the general direction of the port, which extends between seventeen and eighteen miles, is S.S.E ¼ E., having a depth of water throughout of nine, twelve, and five fathoms; its average breadth is five miles, and at the southern end it forms three spacious harbours, each of them extending inwards three miles, with a width of about two; the depth of water being five fathoms, with a bottom of stiff mud and sand. These harbours are sheltered from every wind, and would afford excellent and secure anchorage for vessels of any description, being perfectly free from hidden danger; indeed the

[1] The breast of one taken prisoner was scarified, and formed into ridges, much resembling the lace-work on a hussar's jacket.

[2] They cover their bodies with grease, it is supposed to secure them from the piercing sting of the sand-flies and mosquitoes; and their bodies smell so strong that even the cattle used to detect them at half-a-mile distance, and gallop off, bellowing in great apparent alarm.

whole port is a secure place of anchorage for vessels of any size, and forms altogether one of the finest harbours in the world. There is no harbour yet known (Port Jackson excepted) to be compared to it in the whole extent of Australia, and it may be entered in safety as well during the night as by day. It may be also approached at all seasons; would be a convenient place of call for vessels proceeding from Sydney, through Torres Strait, to Java, Singapore, and India; and from its contiguity to Timor, New Guinea, Celebes, and the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, it is accessible to the Malay and Bugis' trading proas, as also the junks from China, in consequence of the regular monsoons, which extend many degrees to the southward of Port Essington.

Port Essington is indeed, as the friendly hand of Australia, stretched out towards the north, openly inviting the scattered islanders of the Javanese, Malayan, Celebean, and Chinese seas, to take shelter and rest in its secure, extensive, and placid harbour; where they may deposit the productions of their native intertropical isles, and receive in exchange the more improved manufactures of the natives of the temperate zone. If settled by some civilised nation, and well provided with such European goods as are known to be in great demand by the inhabitants of the eastern seas, it would soon attract their attention. The Bugis from Celebes, and the traders of other islands in those seas, at present resort to Sourabaya, Penang, Singapore, Delhi, and Coipang Timor, for such articles of supply as are required throughout the Archipelago. They make a trading voyage both going to and returning from these places, touching at the different islands on their way in the central and eastern part of the Archipelago—such as Mandar, Kaili, Macassar, Bonirati, New Guinea, Timor, Ceram, Sandalwood, Flores, Balé, Borneo, and many others. They pick up the produce of those islands, as also the produce of the fisheries on the coast of New Holland, and exchange them at the Dutch, English, and Portuguese colonies, for European goods. The exports of trepang, from Macassar, for the China market, according to Mr. Crawford's calculation, amount annually to seven thousand peculs; and sell at from twenty to one hundred and twenty dollars a pecul. Of pearl shell, according to the same author, there is exported annually to China, viâ Singapore, five thousand peculs, at fourteen dollars a pecul. Tortoise-shell, cowries, and shark fins also sell well in China; the latter selling at thirty-two dollars a hundred weight. The tortoise-shell alone which was brought to Singapore by the Bugis in one year (1826), and sent from thence to England, amounted to sixteen thousand pounds weight; the bark of two species of mangrove also sells well in China.

Having thus shown the advantageous position of Port Essington, with respect to the Indian Archipelago, in a commercial point of view, and stated that a great many ships go from Port Jackson to look for cargoes at Manilla, Singapore, and the ports of Java, on their way to the two latter places, frequently passing through Torres' Strait and within a very short distance of Port Essington—probably thirty or forty miles—may it not be presumed, that if the scattered productions of the Archipelago and China were concentrated and deposited in Port Essington, as they are now at Singapore, that it would be a great advantage for our ships to proceed there for cargoes, and thereby save much time in their return to Europe, avoiding the lengthened voyage, and shortening their return home by 1700 or 3600 miles?[1]

A second advantage which would arise from the occupation of Port Essington would be the facility it would afford, from its central situation, to any future minute survey of the coast to the westward and eastward, as also for exploring the interior of this extraordinary country, from the north; thereby adding to our geographical knowledge, and probably opening a new field in the science of natural history.

From its contiguity to New Guinea (which island is only five hundred and forty miles distant), it might possibly, at no very distant period, carry on a lucrative trade with it also. As its barbarous people become civilised, they will require clothing, utensils, and every manufactured article in use by their more cultivated neighbours of the islands to the west of them; and the satisfaction of introducing the arts and comforts of civilised nations amongst these unenlightened people, as also amongst the islands to the south-east of New Guinea—as New Ireland, New Britain, Solomon's Isles, New Hebrides, and New Caledonia—will devolve upon whatever nation establishes a well-appointed settlement on the northern coasts of Australia. There are some fine islands also in Torres' Strait, where some small establishments for fishing and taking turtle might be detached from the principal depôt; and they might contribute materially towards facilitating the safer passage of ships through those straits, the approach to which is attended with much danger, and demands great caution.

In a military point of view, Port Essington also possesses advantages: it commands the passage from the South Seas, through Torres' Strait, to the Indian Ocean; it would be a rendezvous in time of war for all vessels trading in the Indian Archipelago; it would be a place of refreshment for our ships of war, on their way from Port Jackson to India between May and October, and a place of call for vessels conveying troops to India from Sydney during the same season. It would also be a rendezvous for our whalers in the Timor Seas and amongst the Polynesian Isles; and would ultimately become the capital of Northern Australia. Its locality is well adapted for the construction of defensive works, and a few would suffice for the protection of the entrance.

If Port Essington should ever be settled, it must eventually carry on a commercial intercourse with Asia, China, and the intermediate islands; and if agriculture is carried on in the Cobourg Peninsula, as it would be, provided the Chinese and Malays were encouraged to settle there, its productions, being different from those of Europe, would afford other exchangeable media for its manufactures and productions.

In conclusion, I shall introduce an extract from Mr. Crawford's excellent work on the Indian Archipelago; and this gentleman was most intimately acquainted with the resources and habits of those islanders, as well as with the productions and the manner of trading in the islands.

In order to carry on an extensive intercourse with the Indian islands, a colonial establishment becomes the only means of effecting this object Such a

[1] Singapore is fourteen degrees more to the northward than Port Essington; and the north part of Luconia, round which ships generally go to Manilla from Port Jackson, is thirty degrees more to the northward; which will account for the difference of distance alluded to.

colony should be situated in the direct route between the most civilised tribes of the archipelago, and in the track of the navigation between the great nations of the East and West. The harbour should be good, and the land fertile: a free trade, liberal administration, and such a degree of regular government as would ensure security of persons and property, will inevitably ensure a large share of success.

There ought to exist the most unbounded freedom of commerce and settlement to persons of all nations and religions; and a pure and impartial administration of a code of laws, suited to the state of such a colony, and adapted to the peculiar character of its varied population, should form the most important branches of the administration. A moderate impost on external commerce, which that commerce well protected should certainly afford, with the sale of public lands, and an excise on vicious luxury, would afford a sufficient revenue to defray the expenses of government and the charge of public works.

Such an establishment would become a great emporium; the native trader would find it the best and safest market to repair to; and the scattered productions of the archipelago would be accumulated and stored in it for the convenience of the distant and inexperienced trader of Europe. The European voyager would find it the best market for his goods, and the sacrifice of a great nominal profit would be compensated by the expedition with which his business would be despatched, and an immunity from those dangers and risks to which inexperience must necessarily commit him, in a direct intercourse with the natives.

V.

Aborigines or Natives of Australia—Austral or Oriental Negroes, or a Distinct Race?—Difference from African Negroes—Physical Features—Moral and Intellectual Character—Habitations—Dress—Painting and Cutting Gashes in the Body—Weapons—Hunts—Food—Superstitions—Taiars—Visits—Fights—Songs—Funerals—Sepulchres.

The Australians, with the exception of some Malay admixture in the extreme north-west, have been supposed to belong to one of the most degenerate varieties of Austral or Oriental Negroes. Blumenbach has no

A NUGGET OF GOLD.

distinct place for this marked variety of the human species, as if they had no existence. Prichard makes them and the Hottentots two distinct varieties, which he adds to those of Blumenbach and Cuvier. These authors have a Malayan variety, but Prichard none. The latter, however, has a variety of his own, which he denominates the Alforian, but as Mr. Crawford remarks, this turns out to be an invention, for no such people as Alfoers exist. Alfoers (sometimes written Aarafora) is the corruption of the Portuguese Alfora, applied by the Portuguese of the Indian Archipelago to any wild insular tribe whatsoever. The word is derived to all appearance, from the Arabic article *al* and the preposition *fora*, without, and literally signifies the people beyond the pale of Portuguese jurisdiction.

Mr. Crawford, in the essay before alluded to (*Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. I., part ii., p. 377), considers the Australians as a distinct race, and this is probably the correct view of the matter. Cuvier got no further than to consider the Austral negroes as a branch of the African negroes. Dr. Williamson has, also, lately advocated the same view of the subject, simply on account of the prominence of the jaws, and yet he thus describes their skulls: "They are large oval skulls, with an oval face, and, with the exception of the projecting alveolar processes, they have not one point of resemblance to the negro." The Australian skull, remarks the uncompromising Crawford upon this, according to his (Dr. Williamson's) account, is, in fact, European, and ought to have contained European brains, which it assuredly did not.

The Australians, in fact, resemble the African negroes only in the colour of the skin and their woolly hair, yet even their skin is not quite black, like that of the Africans, but of a sooty-brown. They differ widely from one another in the form of the head and face, and of the whole frame. Their forehead rises higher, and the hinder part of the head projects more than in the African negro. The nose projects more from the face, and the lips are not so thick. The upper lip is larger and more prominent, and the lower projects forward from the lower jaws to such an extent as to divide the face into two parts. Their limbs and the whole frame of their body are lean, and display nothing of the muscular strength by which the African negroes are distinguished. The great difference in the

formation of the human body is found to exist between the Caucasian race and the Australians. The portraits of an Australian man and woman, given at p. 271, give good specimens of the physiognomy of the Austral negroes, and their lean and half-starved forms, and the disproportionate size of their limbs and head are strongly exemplified in the illustration at page 305.

The Australians may be considered as living in the lowest state of civilisation. Cannibalism, when dwelling far away from European settlements, is common among them, and they do not deny it: they have generally, and in a state of nature, neither habitations, nor do they wear raiment, at least not the men; the women commonly wrap themselves up in a species of cloak made of opossum skin, or in a blanket. Wherever they intend to pass the night they kindle a fire, and place a slip of bark or a trough to windward for shelter. When a number are together they raise a common fence to the windward, and this is commonly called a native camp, as seen in the illustration at page 295. This want of habitations is mainly to be attributed to their being continually on the move in search of food; for in some places along the coast, where fish and oysters are so abundant as to afford them a constant supply of food for the greater part of the year, they have erected convenient huts of tea-tree bark, which they clean daily.

It is a remarkable fact that the Australians, although supposed to have one common origin, use a different language, or, at all events, a dialect so distinct, that the natives of remote parts of the continent cannot understand one another. They have, with some exceptions, no chiefs, either elected or hereditary, and the authority of a man depends on his personal strength and his cunning. They believe in a good spirit, Koyan, and a bad one, Potoyan. The former is thought to watch over and protect them from the operations of the latter, and to assist them in recovering strayed children, which the other is supposed to decoy, for the purpose of devouring them.

They are not delicate in food. When pressed by hunger they devour grubs, snakes, stinking whales, and even vermin, with eagerness. They are said to be naturally lively, good-humoured, inquisitive, and intelligent, and they have been found to acquire the knowledge of reading and writing almost as speedily as Europeans. Their senses are extremely acute, and they possess great powers of mimicry.

Sir Thomas Mitchell met with the natives in considerable numbers on his first exploration of the valley of the Rivers Darling and Murray, and so hostile were they to his party, that he describes their movements on the first named river as requiring as much care as those of a *corps d'armée*. This mischievous disposition of the natives was, indeed, one of the great difficulties that thwarted his progress, and his estimate of their character was proportionately discouraging. To approach suddenly a single strange native, he says, was at all times dangerous, for he will, at all hazards, attack the stranger. Several instances of this occurred in Mr. Oxley's journeys; and strangers of the aboriginal race are equally liable to such danger, and are particularly cautious in their approach, especially wherever water is to be found. Besides the above-mentioned danger, Sir Thomas adds, *apparently the consequence of desperate fear*, a lurking desire to take the lives of intruders, and by the most treacherous means, seems to be but too generally characteristic of these aborigines, especially when they have never before seen white men. The murder of two on Sir Thomas's first expedition, and of Mr. Cunningham on the second, are instances of this; and the same unfortunate propensity had been made manifest by the dreadful fate of Captain Fraser and his shipwrecked people. No demonstrations of kindness, adds Sir Thomas Mitchell, nor gifts presented, will deter these savages from making attempts to approach a camp at night for such bloody purposes, if they see they can do so without danger. Good watch-dogs afford some security. Others, as Captain Sturt's party, have been unfortunately obliged to fire upon them in the dark, but Sir Thomas Mitchell describes his party as avoiding the painful necessity for doing this, by anticipating such night attacks by a sudden display of rockets and blue lights, which had the effect of dispersing any parties known to be so approaching under cover of night; while the sudden and ridiculous bustle of men dressed in masks of animals' faces glaring with liquid phosphorus, firing in the air and shouting, to the no small consternation of the savages, afforded considerable amusement during dreary winter nights, in such solitudes, to the men of the party.

With the progress of time, these first impressions underwent much modification, the more especially as increased intercourse with those poor timid, persecuted, uneducated, but naturally fierce and revengeful, people made their peculiarities better understood.

Many of the aborigines are now educated at some of the settlements, and employed under the colonists, but owing to the maltreatment they receive from sailors they are not to be trusted along the coast as has been recently seen in Queensland, nor even inland when in a state of independence, as McDouall Stuart's explorations would show.

The mode of burial varies in different parts of the continent. The natives of King George's Sound, we have seen, bury their dead in a crescent shape, cover the grave with boughs, and carve circles in the bark of the trees that grow near the grave. Major Campbell says, he remarked one native burial-place at Port Essington—it was near Native Companion Plain. The grave was very simple, and placed under a widely-spreading tree. The space occupied was six feet long by three wide, over which was formed an open framework of twigs, the ends being inserted in the ground on each side. Upon the grave lay a skull, evidently of an aborigine, with a thigh or arm-bone; the skull was coloured red, as if with some dye, and the teeth appeared as if they had been burnt. The same authority writing elsewhere of the habits of the natives, says: It appears to be the custom of the natives to bury their dead, their burial-places being in retired spots near their most-frequented encamping ground. The burial-place is circular, probably ten or twelve feet in diameter; it is surrounded by upright poles, many of which are formed at top like lances and halberts, fourteen or fifteen feet high; and between these the spear and waddies (probably of the deceased) are stuck upright in the ground. It is certain, however, that all the tribes do not bury their dead, but expose them on a rude platform raised upon four or five posts, poles, or barked trees, and covered with a kangaroo skin.

The sepulchral groves of the dead, "*bocages de la mort*," as a French traveller designates them, charming in their graceful vegetation, and attractive in their

silent solemnity, so picturesquely described by Mitchell, and lightly and pleasantly pourtrayed in our illustrat p. 288, are now rarely to be met with. The tribes of hundreds, met with by that traveller on the Murray, and whose persevering hostility naturally induced an otherwise kind-hearted man to depict them in the worst colours, are now no longer to be met with. They are now represented by a few scattered groups of some seven or eight famishing individuals. It will be well, indeed, to preserve these reminiscences of the native Australians—of their wigwams, their dances, and their graves—ere they have departed for ever. The sepulchral grove that of yore marked the centre of the tribe's patrimony is indeed already gone: the poetic necropolises have disappeared—the few remaining individuals can no longer keep the turf green, bank up the tumuli, and entertain the narrow sanded pathways which wound beneath the shade of eucalypti and melaleucas, around the ancestral graves. The rains of a few autumns, and the vegetation of a few springs, suffice to erase all traces even of these pretty cemeteries. If in the present day an indigenous sepulchre is sought for, the traveller must wend his way to the far interior, or to the naked deserts of the central districts, where, in far-off places, he will stumble upon the four peeled uprights and the cross branches, which support the mortal remains of an Australian, having a kangaroo skin for a shroud, and lifted up thus aloft, as if in sad and melancholy emblem of his no longer having a foot on the soil which gave him birth—even if it did not engender his race.

We are indebted to Count Strzelecki for the most philosophical account of the aborigines of Australia. Throughout Australasia, wrote that distinguished traveller, there once existed, and, in a few instances, there still exists, an indigenous race, which, like the rest of the animal creation belonging to and characteristic of the zone, lived long unknown, and is now rapidly passing away.

Their history has no records, no monuments; but consists mostly of traditions, which, in common with their language, customs, moral, social, and political condition, seem, ever since their discovery, to have been regarded as a subject unworthy of European study. Hence, all the observations contained in the narratives, whether of the early navigators, or of modern travellers, bear more upon what this race is in relation to the colonist than to mankind.

Their origin, like that of most things in creation, is involved in impenetrable obscurity: and such authors as have attempted to trace their migrations, or to detect the links which connect them with any of the predominant and primitive races of mankind, have not succeeded more satisfactorily than a naturalist would, who might attempt to account for the existence of the *Marsupials* and the *Ornithorhynchus* in Terra Australis; thus affording another argument, that, on such subjects as the origin of a human race, we must be satisfied with the simple declaration of Scripture.[1]

Throughout New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the external organisation of the aborigines bears the stamp of different families; with, again, such variations as the nature of the climate, combined with other conditions of life, would naturally impress upon the human frame.

Thus, in New South Wales, where the heat promotes perspiration, and renders bathing a luxury, the hair of the natives is fine and glossy, the skin of an uniform colour, smooth and agreeable to the touch; whereas in Van Diemen's Land, which is cold, wet, and liable to sudden changes of temperature, where bathing ceases to be a pleasure, and the body is subject to checked perspiration, the skin appears scaly, spotted by cutaneous disease, and weather-beaten; and the hair, a prey to filthiness, is subject to still more filthy customs, in order to avert its consequences.

Generally speaking, the colour of all the races is an earthy black: the stature of the male ranges between four and a half and five and a half feet; the head is small; the trunk slender; the breast is commonly arched and well developed; the arms and legs of a rounded and muscular form; the knee rather large, the calf small; the foot flat, and the heel somewhat protruding. The hair is generally black, rough, lank, and coarse: with some, however, it is soft and curling, while with others, again, it is of a woolly texture, similar to that of the Africans. On the eyebrows it is thick; on the chin, the upper lip, the breast, and the scalp, it is bushy; in some instances it slightly covers the whole body.

The face, that characteristic feature of the race, presents a facial angle of between 75° and 85°. It is marked by a low forehead, eyes large, far apart, and half covered by the upper lid, with a conjunctive of the purest white, spotted with yellow; the iris invariably a dark brown, the pupil large and of a jet black; a nose broad and flat, the frontal sinuses being remarkably prominent, the nostrils extending and widespread; cheeks generally hollow, with prominent malar bones; a wide mouth, with large white teeth, and thick lips; the lower jaw unusually short, and widely-expanded anteriorily.

The stature of the women is low, the head short, and the features masculine: the mammæ, instead of being hemispherical, are, in marriageable persons, pyriform, and soon after marriage become flaccid and elongated. The arms are slender; the hands small; the pelvis unusually narrow; the lower extremities slight, straight and lean; the foot large, flat, and invariably turned inward.

The osteology of this race does not offer any anatomical distinction which can be looked upon as characteristic; and though it has been said that in some of their skulls the structure of the individual bones of the face and cranium discloses a peculiarity, closer examination and comparison have shown that, instead of peculiarities, strong analogies were found to the skulls of white men: in many instances, it was even remarked that the facial angle of the white was more acute, the superciliary ridge, the centres of ossification of the frontal bone, and the ridge of the occipital one were more developed, and the inferior maxillary more widely expanded than in the skulls of the aborigines.

Yet, notwithstanding a partial inferiority of shape in some of the details, the native of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land possesses, on the whole, a well-proportioned frame. His limbs, less fleshy or massive than those of a well-formed African,

[1] The author would appear to agree with Mr. Crawford in believing the Australians, if not as a distinct species, at all events as a distinct race, and this is further corroborated by what we shall see afterwards concerning the phenomena of inter-propagation of races.

exhibit all the symmetry and peculiarly well-defined muscular development and well-knit articulations and roundness which characterise the negro; hence, compared with the latter, he is swifter in his movements, and in his gait more graceful. His agility, adroitness, and flexibility, when running, climbing, or stalking his prey, are more fully displayed; and when beheld in the posture of striking, or throwing his spear, his attitude leaves nothing to be desired in point of manly grace. In his physical appearance, nevertheless, he does not exhibit any features by which his race could be classed or identified with any of the generally known families of mankind.

The speech of this people possesses, in the composition of its words, all those felicitous combinations of syllables which constitute a highly sonorous and euphonious language. Their enunciation of words, however, is not clear, being somewhat marked by that "twang" which is heard also in all the European languages when transplanted to the New Worlds. From a partial knowledge of it, I should be rather disposed to class the Australian language (*i. e.*, that of New South Wales and Van Diemian's Land) among those called Transpositive—those which are independent of articles and pronouns, the case and person being determined by the difference in the inflexion.

The study, however, of this language has been so little regarded, that any opinion respecting its syntax must be received with extreme caution.

Its dictionary, so far as it has been compiled, is scanty; and, owing to the English mode of spelling the words, this dictionary, or, more properly speaking, vocabulary, is very far indeed from giving a just idea of the sound or accentuation.

The circumstance of the three natives who accompanied Captain Flinders and Captain P. P. King in the survey of New Holland, and of those who accompanied me amongst the different tribes of New South

BUNYNONG HILL NEAR BALLARAT.

Wales, being unable to understand one word spoken by tribes of other districts, would lead to the belief, that the dialects spoken in New Holland are far from possessing those affinities, still less those identities of language, from which a common root might be inferred.

Those European visitors or explorers who adduce, in support of a common root, some hundred words analogous in sound, construction and meaning, as being spoken all over New Holland, have jumped to the conclusion with, I fear, too much haste and eagerness. Besides many other insuperable difficulties which an investigation of such a nature presents, there was one quite sufficient to defeat all attempts to fathom the subject, namely, the syntactic ignorance of the language to which the inquiry related. Indeed, to any man who knows and speaks four European languages, it will be at once apparent, that to seize upon, and note from the sound, a word belonging to one country, so as to compare its sound and accentuation with a word belonging to another country, needs a thorough knowledge of the genius of the *two* languages, and of their alphabet, through which alone the pronunciation can be discriminated. Thus, only those who know syntactically the Polish language can express the sound of *szczaw* (sorrel), and seize upon the Russian word signifying and sounding the same, in order to prove the identity of the two words: thus, again, for a Pole unacquainted with the English and Spanish, it would be impossible to record the sound of *th*, in order to find its equivalent in the *c* or *z*, as pronounced in *Andaluz*.

The limited state of our knowledge respecting the language of Australasia, presents also a barrier to inquiry into the force, activity, tendency, and advancement of the mental faculties of its natives. The incidents which are accessible to observation would lead to the belief that, of the faculties alluded to, an

instinctive good sense, accompanied by quick perception, and a retentive memory, here and there blended with the errors or excesses of an ardent imagination, is all that is thoroughly developed in the mental endowment of that race, and serves as its sole guide through life.

The nature of the religion and government of the Australian natives is as mysterious as the genius of their language. One fact appears certain—they recognise a God, though they never name him in their vernacular language but call him, in English, "Great Master," and consider themselves his slaves. Hence, perhaps, it is, that neither the gift and privilege of life, nor the means provided to maintain it, excite in them the least feeling of obligation or gratitude. All those things which are pointed out to them as the free gifts of Providence, and therefore as deserving of acknowledgment, they consider that it is no more than the duty of the "Great Master" to supply them with. They believe in an immortality, or after-existence, of everlasting enjoyment; and place its locality in the stars, or other constellations of which they have a perfect knowledge. They do not dread the Deity; all their fears are reserved for the evil spirit, who counteracts the doings of the "Great Master;" and consequently it is to the evil spirit that their religious worship is directed.

There are three distinct classes, or social gradations, observed amongst them. These are attained through age and fidelity to the tribe; but it is only the last, or third class, consisting commonly of the aged few, which is initiated into the details of the religious mysteries, and which possesses the occult power of regulating the affairs of the tribe. Great secrecy is usually maintained in the ceremonies of admitting the youth to the first class, and in raising those of the first to the second; but the secrecy is most rigidly observed whenever an initiation into the third class takes place.

One or two tribes usually attend the meetings of the first and second class; but when those of the third are called, the tribes within seventy miles assemble; and on these occasions I was warned off, and could not, without personal danger, approach nearer than ten miles to the spot.

The foundation of their social edifice may, like that of civilised nations, be said to rest on an inherent sense of the rights of property. As strongly attached to that property, and to the rights which it involves, as any European political body, the tribes of Australia resort to precisely similar measures for protecting it, and seek redress and revenge for its violated laws through the same means as an European nation would, if similarly situated. Thus, if his territory has been trespassed upon, in hunting, by a neighbouring tribe, compensation or a reparation of the insult is asked for. If such be refused, war ensues; and when both tribes display equal force and courage, in most cases ends in a feud which is bequeathed to future generations.

Every tribe is subdivided into families, and each, in its family affairs, is regulated by the authority of the elders. The customs and ceremonies observed on the occasion of births, marriages, sickness, funerals, and festive meetings are independent of that authority: they are traditionary, and, particularly in point of etiquette, are as rigorously adhered to as amongst civilised nations. A great many of the superstitious practices connected with the rights of hospitality are closely allied to those which the writer noticed in the prairies of North America, amongst the Indians of South America, and in some of the South Sea islands.

This identity or analogy seems to prove, that either the social age, which the Australians have attained in the course of human progress, is the same as that of the nations alluded to, or that these similar customs and superstitions have resulted from similar interests, passions, propensities, or exigencies.

Their superstitious spirit watches eagerly the coming and passing of every event, and not less eagerly seeks to draw, from the present, intimations of the future. The mysterious belief in good or evil omen, links the present and future of the Australian in one unbroken chain of anxieties, fears, hopes, and anticipations. His life, then, like that of the Arabs, possesses, amidst the monotony of existence, elements of excitement in infinite variety, both painful and pleasurable.

His poetry evinces the same activity and exuberance of imagination as his superstition: it is lyrical, wild, and primitive; but love, that most beautiful object and element of all poetry, is excluded from it. Mysticism, and sometimes valour in combat, but more frequently licentiousness and the praise of sensual gratification, are his favourite themes. This poetry is never recited: it is sung; and, when once composed, passes through all the tribes that speak the same language with surprising rapidity.

Migration, the chase, fishing, and occasional war, alternated by feasting, and lounging in the spots best adapted to repose, fill up the time of an Australian. The pangs and gnawings of ambition, avarice, discontent, or weariness of life, the distress caused by oppression or persecution, the maladies arising from the corrupt or artificial state of society, are unknown to him: as are also the cares and anxieties of arts, sciences, and industry; from all of which, the physical condition of the country, and the manifold provisions of a beneficent Providence, have preserved him; whilst that share of health and content which falls to his lot, rewards him amply for his faithful adherence to the dictates of nature.

Few spectacles can be more gratifying to the philosopher than to behold him and his in their own, as yet, uninvaded haunts; and few can exhibit a more striking proof of the most bountiful dispensation of the Creator, than the existence of one whose destiny the singular presumption of the whites, in their attachment to conventional customs and worldly riches, has stigmatised and denounced as "savage, debased, unfortunate, miserable." To any one, however, who shakes off the trammels of a conventional, local, and therefore narrow mode of thinking—to any one who studies and surveys mankind in personal travels, and by personal observation—it will appear evident that Providence has left as many roads to the threshold of contentment and happiness as there are races of mankind; and when he beholds the serene, calm, mild, yet lively countenances of the Australasian natives—their dance and song, those uncontrollable manifestations of attained felicity—he finds really in the scene a corroboration of what otherwise a mere inference, from the goodness and omniscience of the Creator, might have taught him to believe.

Placed by that Creator, in perfect harmony with the whole economy of nature, in his allotted dwelling and destiny, the Australian is seen procuring for himself all that he wants, regulating all his social affairs, and

securing all the worldly happiness and enjoyment of which his condition is capable.

The arrival of Europeans disturbed this happy economy; and the hearths of the natives, like the wigwams of the American Indians, retreated or disappeared before the torrent of immigration.

The manifold calamities,[1]—but more particularly the decrease and final annihilation of the great majority of indigenous races which has followed, and always does follow, the approach of the whites—is a fact of such historical notoriety, that the melancholy instance of the Australian natives affords but a further corroboration of the fearfully destructive influence which the one race exercises upon the other.

Those in whose eyes the question of decrease and extinction has assumed all the mournful solemnity and interest which it merits, have inquired into the nature of that invisible but desolating influence, which, like a malignant ally of the white man, carries destruction wherever he advances; and the inquiry, like an inquest of the one race upon the corpse of the other, has ended, for the most part, with the verdict of, "Died by the visitation of God."

Some authors, indeed, animated by the idea that the detection of a specific cause, more within the reach of human power, might lead to the discovery of a remedy, still pursued their laudable investigations; and believing the decrease to be owing to the want of evangelical instruction, to oppressive governments, to intemperance, to European diseases, to wars with firearms, &c., have sought a remedy in attempts to Christianise, and to introduce civilisation; but such attempts have appeared to increase, rather than diminish, the evils complained of.

To the writer of this work, who, in his peregrinations out of Europe, has lived much amongst different races of aborigines—the natives of Canada, of the United States, of California, Mexico, the South American republics, the Marquesas, Sandwich and Society Islands, and, finally, those of new Zealand and Australia, have furnished observations of a different tendency, which are here submitted to the reader, not as evidences for the deduction of an ultimate conclusion, but as mere facts, fitted to lead physiologists to further inquiry into this grave and interesting subject; an inquiry more within their sphere than within that of a moralist or economist.

The fact being generally admitted, that the decrease of the aborigines, in the countries enumerated, has always begun soon after their discovery and subjection to foreign influence; the next question must be, whether this arises from the increased rate of mortality, or from the decrease of births.

Examinations among the oldest aborigines of every country—as, for instance, among those who remember the first American war in the United States, the government of the Jesuits in Brazil, St. Borje—Paranna, and Lower California—the arrival of Cook and the early navigators in the South Sea Islands, New Zealand, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land—render it evident that their longevity has not been abridged, that the rate of mortality has not increased, but that the power of continuing the species appears to have been curtailed.

Be the cause of the decrease and extinction of the aborigines in the New World what it may, it is certain that human interference to avert its melancholy consequence has been hitherto of no avail, and that a charter for colonisation granted to one race, becomes virtually the decree for the extinction of the other.

Thus, in New South Wales, since the time that the fate of the Australasian awoke the sympathies of the public, neither the efforts of the missionary, nor the enactments of the Government, and still less the protectorate of the "Protectors," have effected any good. The attempts to civilise and christianise the aborigines, from which the preservation and elevation of their race is expected to result, have utterly failed, though it is consolatory, even while painful, to confess that neither the one nor the other attempt has been carried into execution with the spirit which accords with its principles. The whole eastern country, once thickly peopled, may now be said to be entirely abandoned to the whites, with the exception of some scattered families in one part, and of a few straggling individuals in another; and these, once so high-spirited, so jealous of their independence and liberty, now treated with contempt and ridicule, even by the lowest of the Europeans—degraded, subdued, confused, awkward, and distrustful—ill concealing emotions of anger, scorn, and revenge—emaciated and covered with filthy rags—these native lords of the soil, more like spectres of the past than living men, are dragging on a melancholy existence to a yet more melancholy doom.

In Van Diemen's Land, the drama of the destruction of the aborigines took another turn. In the course of colonisation, the outcasts of society, occupying the more advanced or interior stations in the country, and accustomed to treat with contempt any rights which their brutal strength could bear down, invaded the natives' hunting-grounds, seized on their women, and gave rise to that frightful system of bloody attacks and reprisals which provoked a general rise on the side of both whites and blacks, and ended finally in the capture and transportation of the latter, in 1835, to Flinders Island (Bass's Straits); a measure severe and sanguinary, but necessary, and incumbent upon the Government, in order to put an end to those solitary murders which began to belie the existence of civilisation in the country.

At the epoch of their deportation, 1835, the number of the natives amounted to 210! Visited by me in 1842, that is, after the interval of seven years, they mustered only fifty-four individuals! and while each family of the interior of New South Wales, uncontaminated by contact with the whites, swarms with children, those of Flinders Island had, during eight years, an accession of only fourteen in number!

Amidst the wrecks of schemes, efforts, and attempts to Christianise, civilise, utilise, and preserve the aboriginal race, there remains yet to be adopted one measure, worthy of the liberality of the English Government,—

[1] The slave trade, that stigma which the sordid thirst of gain has fixed on European civilization, is not one of the least frightful of those evils which result from our intercourse with indigenous tribes. England has nobly avenged the cause of outraged humanity, by placing herself at the head of that most noble of crusades engaged in the abolition of this infamous traffic. Ignorance of the evils which this traffic entails can alone have been able to calumniate a christian policy, and to represent it as a series of tortuous and unworthy intrigues, of which the ruin of Brazil and of the Antilles, and the further aggrandisement of the East Indies, were to be the only result. Let those who in the abstract principle of slavery see nothing disgraceful to the legislation of our age, reflect on the individual misery it produces, and the feelings of horror they must then experience will suffice to refute all the arguments of a false and worn-out logic.

viz., to listen and attend to the last wishes of the departed, and to the voice of the remaining few:—"Leave us to our habits and customs; do not embitter the days which are in store for us, by constraining us to obey yours; nor reproach us with apathy to that civilisation which is not destined for us; and if you can still be generous to the conquered, relieve the hunger which drives us in despair to slaughter your flocks and the men who guard them. Our fields and forests, which once furnished us with abundance of vegetable and animal food, now yield us no more; they and their produce are yours. You prosper on our native soil, and we are famishing!"

Our illustrations that have reference to the natives of Australia include a small sketch of natives under their bark huts, two half-length typical portraits of male and female Australians, two large-sized figures of Australians of Victoria, with shield of bark of Eucalyptus or Banksia, and a native Australian burial-place in the woods.

VI.

Paradoxical Character of Animal and Vegetable Life in Australia—The Type Marsupial, or with Pouches—Wild Dogs—Kangaroos—Opossums and Flying Squirrels—Duck-billed Animals—Lyre Bird.

There is something, said a writer of olden times, so strangely different in the physical constitution of Australia from that of every other part of the world, we meet with so many whimsical deviations, on the two islands of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, from the ordinary rules and operations of nature in the animal and vegetable parts of the creation, that he must be a dull traveller, indeed, who does not glean something new and amusing from these regions, which are yet so imperfectly known to us. We might produce a host of instances in illustration of this anomalous character. Thus, we have in one or other, or both these colonies, birds without wings as large as deer, their bodies covered with hair instead of feathers; beasts with the beaks of birds; swans that are black, and eagles white. Here, too, we find the ferns, nettles, and even grasses, growing to the size and shape of trees (*See* p. 291); rivers running from the sea, and lost in interior swamps; trees that are ever green in spite of frost or snow; extensive plains, in which, as one writer tells us, one tree, one soil, one water, and one description of bird, fish, or animal, prevails alike for ten miles or one hundred.

This is New Holland, says Field, where it is summer with us when it is winter in Europe, and *vice versâ*; where the barometer rises before bad weather, and falls before good; where the north is the hot wind, and the south the cold; where the humblest house is fitted up with cedar; where the fields are fenced with mahogany, and myrtle trees are burnt for fire-wood; where the kangaroo, an animal between the squirrel and the deer, has five claws on its fore paws and three talons on its hind legs, like a bird, and yet hops on its tail; where the mole lays eggs, and has a duck's bill; where there is a bird with a broom in its mouth instead of a tongue; where there is a fish, one half belonging to the genus *raia*, or ray, and the other to the *squalus*, or shark; where the pears are made of wood, with the stalk at the broader end; and where the cherry grows with the stone outside.

The first thing that strikes is the very small number of species, sixty-two in all, which inhabit this continent, when compared with the actual extent of the country, and the whole number of species (1170) spread over other parts of the world. If we deduct the seals there are, in reality, only fifty-three different species.

Of the order *carnivora*, ten species are inhabitants of Australia—five peculiar to that continent, and five common to it and other countries. Of these ten, however, nine are marine mammals, belonging to the seal genus (*phoca*), and comprehending the sea-lion, sea-bear, and other large species. The only land-animal of this order is the dog or dingo, a variety of intermediate size, with prick ears and a wolfish appearance, which is found both wild and in a semi-domestic state among the native tribes.

The next order, or *Marsupials*, is that which, as before observed, comprehends the great majority of Australian mammals, and forms the principal character of the zoology of this part of the world. The forty-three known species of this belong to eight natural genera, agreeing in the general structure and characters which relate to the premature production and subsequent nutrition of the young in a pouch or bag with which nature has provided the female parents, and from which the order derives its name of marsupialia, but differing widely in all the other details of their conformation and economy. The first and perhaps the most remarkable genus of this anomalous tribe of beings comprehends those singular and now well-known animals which we call kangaroos (*macropus*), and of which there exists a great variety of different species, through their peculiar distinctions have not been very clearly determined even by zoologists. Among the larger species, the common kangaroo, called the "Forester" and the "Old Man" in New South Wales (*M. labiatus*) the red and woolly kangaroos (*M. rufus* and *M. fuliginosus*), and the species called by zoologists *M. rufogriseus*, attain a very considerable size, and often weigh as much as a large sheep. They associate together in herds of greater or less extent, on the open downs and forests devoid of underwood, feed exclusively upon grass and vegetables, and, though never fat, are held in high estimation by colonial epicures. Of the smaller species, the most remarkable are the rock kangaroo (*M. rupestris*), remarkable for its bushy foxlike tail, and for inhabiting the naked and most precipitous rocks among the mountains; the brush kangaroos, called *wallabi* and *paelzuralla* by the natives, which live among the bushes and thick underwood; and the faciated kangaroo (*M. elegans*), remarkable for its uniform light blue colour, and the regular and deep black bands which pass transversely over its back and loins. We have given a sketch illustrative of kangaroo hunting at page 337. The pottoroos, or kangaroo rats (*hypsiprymnus*), are very similar in most respects to the real kangaroo, from which, indeed, they only differ in their smaller size, and in some slight modifications of dentition. They seldom exceed the size of a rabbit, live single or in pairs, concealing themselves in crevices, or under fallen timber, and moving abroad only at night, when they are hunted by moonlight as food for dogs, their flesh not being considered fit for human food.

Of the phalangers (*phalangista*), so called originally by Buffon, from the union of the two interior toes of the hind feet, as far as the last phalange or joint, five or six species are known to inhabit Australia, whilst

about the same number are spread throughout the long chain of islands which almost connect its northern coast with the peninsula of Malacca. These animals, called ring-tailed opossums by the colonists, from their habit of hanging suspended by the tail, which is strongly prehensile, from the branches of the trees in which they exclusively reside, are distinguished from their congeners of the Indian isle by having the tail generally bushy, but always covered with hair, except a narrow slip on the under side towards the extremity, which is directly applied to the branches in the act of grasping.

Nearly related to the phalangers, in many respects, are the petaurists (*petaurus*), or flying opossums and flying squirrels, as they are commonly called, a genus exclusively Australian, and distinguished by the lax unprehensile tail, and by the skin of the sides and flanks being distended into a kind of wing or flying membrane, which acts like a parachute in supporting the body, and enables these animals to make the most astonishing leaps among the thinly-scattered trees of an Australian forest.

The bandicots (*peramules*) compose a very remarkable genus, which does not admit of a ready comparison with any other group of animals likely to be more familiar to the generality of readers. With a dental system, and even an outward form, which very much assimilate them to the larger species of shrews and other insectivorous mammals, they unite the ordinary characters of marsupial animals, and feed exclusively upon roots and other vegetable substances.

A SHEPHERD'S HUT.

The two *edentata* belong equally if not more properly to the marsupial order, partaking, indeed, of the characters of both of these tribes, and forming the connecting link by which they are united. These animals are, without any question, the most singular and anomalous; are certainly quadrupeds in the great majority of their characters, yet their organs of mastication more nearly resemble the bills of birds than the corresponding parts of other quadrupeds, and though it is now finally settled that they are true mammals, and nourish their young by a milky secretion like all other animals of the same class, yet it is still a matter of keen dispute among naturalists and physiologists whether they produce their young or lay eggs and hatch them like birds, or rather perhaps like reptiles, for the whole detail of their organisation seems to point them out as intermediate between this class and ordinary mammals rather than between mammals and birds. Of these extraordinary beings there are two genera, *ornithorhynchus* and *echidna*.

The coasts of Australia have been long known as the occasional resort of immense shoals of whales, dolphins, and other cetaceous mammals, and the enterprise of the rising colonies established in that quarter of the globe has found a favourable and successful outlet in the fishery for these animals. Many vessels are now annually fitted out from Sydney and Hobart's Town for this valuable branch of commerce, and the success which has hitherto attended the speculation has been a most important accession to the general resources and prosperity of the colonies. The seal fishery has also been attended with considerable success, and the oil and skin of these animals form very important items in the annual colonial exports.

The ornithology of Australia, though far from being so peculiar and anomalous as its mammalogy, contains, nevertheless, many new and singular forms, and wants many of those which are most familiar in other quarters of the globe. Among rapacious birds, eagles, falcons, and various species of hawks, are found everywhere, as well as owls of different kinds But the most remarkable fact in the ornithology of Australia is the total absence of any species of gallinaceous birds. This is the tribe which, among birds, corresponds with the ruminating animals among quadrupeds, and which contains those species which are best adapted for human food and the domestic economy of life.

Among the most remarkable of the birds of Australia is the *Menura superba*, or lyre-bird, of which we have given an illustration at p. 298. Cuvier says that the size of the bird (a little less than that of a common pheasant) has caused it to be referred to the gallinaceous birds, but it evidently belongs to the passerine order. Menura, he adds, is to be distinguished by the great tail of the male, which is very remarkable for the three sorts of feathers that compose it. The twelve ordinary feathers are very long, with loose and very distant barbs; two more, in the middle, are furnished, on one side only, with close-set barbs; and two external ones are curved in the form of an S, or like the branches of a lyre, whose internal barbs, which are large and close set, represent a broad ribbon, while the external ones are very short, and do not become enlarged till towards the end of the feathers. The female has only twelve feathers of the ordinary structure. Notwithstanding the sombre hues of this extraordinary bird, the magnificence and peculiar

structure of the beautiful tail of the male, which imitates the form of an ancient Grecian lyre, give it a superb appearance. It is met with principally in the forests of eucalyptus and casuarina, and arborescent ferns, which cover the Blue Mountains, and in their rocky and retired avenues (*See* p. 329). Lieutenant Collins says: "The following particulars relating to the birds were observed by persons resident in the country, and who were eye-witnesses of what is here told. They frequent retired and inaccessible parts of the interior, have been seen to run remarkably fast, but their tails are so cumbrous that they cannot fly in a direct line. They sing for two hours in the morning, beginning from the time when they quit the valley, until they attain the summit of the hill, where they scrape together a small hillock, with their tails spread over them, imitating, successively, the note of every bird known in the country: they then return to the valley."

Mr. Bennett, in his *Wanderings in New South Wales, &c.*, remarks that this native wood-pheasant, or lyre-bird, of the colonists, the beleck-beleck and balangura of the aboriginal tribes, is abundant about the mountain-ranges in all parts of the colony. The tail-feathers are detached entire from the bird, a[illegible]d in the shops at Sydney in pairs. Mr. Bennett says that the price was formerly low, but now [illegible] the bird, from continued destruction, has become rare, their tails fetch from twenty to thirty shillings the pair. About the ranges, however, of the Tunsat country, where they have been seldom destroyed, they are more frequently seen. The same author states that it has its young in December, the season when all the wild animals in the colony are produced, and can be then procured with facility. It is, says Mr. Bennett in continuation, a bird of heavy flight, but swift of foot. On catching a glimpse of the sportsman it runs with rapidity, aided by the wings in getting over logs of wood, rocks, or any obstruction to its progress; it seldom flies into trees, except to roost, and then rises only from branch to branch; they build in old hollow trunks of trees which are lying upon the ground, or in the sides of rocks, the nest is formed merely of dried grass or dried leaves scraped together; the female lays from twelve to sixteen eggs of a white colour, with a few scattered blue spots; the young are difficult to catch, as they run with rapidity, concealing themselves among the rocks and bushes.

The tribe of birds most important in human economy after the gallinaceous or rasores, are [illegible]e natatores, or water-fowl, and of these New Holland and the neighbouring isles contain a rather better supply. It will be sufficient, in this place, to mention the cereopsis goose and the black swan, the "*rara avis*" so little dreamt of by the Roman poet, and so often quoted as a proverb in common life, which now breeds spontaneously in England, and is becoming sufficiently common upon the ponds of the curious.

Our illustrations of the Natural History of Australia comprise a scene illustrative of the manner of hunting the kangaroo; the lyre-bird and the sportsman in pursuit of the same, in the native woods of eucalyptus and arborescent ferns; the native grass-trees, with kangaroos; the virgin forest, or a sketch of native vegetation in its most primeval state at the foot of the mountains, and a fallen eucalyptus doing duty as a bridge; a feature of Australian scenery which is often to be observed in the native forests.

CHAPTER VII.

Foundation of Melbourne and Adelaide—Sir George Grey's Discovery of River Glenelg—Fitzroy River—Settlement at Victoria, Port Essington, in 1838—Eyre and Grey's Further Explorations—Discovery of Lake Torrens—Count Strzelecki's Exploration of Gipp's Land—Eyre's Sufferings on the South Coast, and Murder of one of the Party—Sir R. I. Murchison's Intimation of Gold Produce (1844)—Two Bushrangers, or Runaway Convicts—Cannibalism of the Natives—Remarkable Explorations of Leichhardt and Sturt.

It was not until the year 1838 that positive intelligence was obtained that the River Murray had an open navigable mouth, with four fathoms water at its entrance, flowing into Encounter Bay, and joining the east side of Lake Alexandrina. The same year "a town named Melbourne" was founded at the north-east angle of the bay of Port Philip, and with the news of its foundation came also accounts of its rapidly increasing in population, and in flocks and herds, the country having been found to be admirably adapted for pasturage.

The colony established on the east side of St. Vincent's Gulf also laid the foundation, the same year, or rather in 1837, of the town of Adelaide, and cheering accounts of its prospects, and of the nature of the surrounding country, were received; an exploring party had made their way a short distance to the northward, and also across to the eastward, through the Mount Lofty range, as far as Lake Alexandrina.

In the meantime another exploratory expedition had left this country in 1837, consisting of H. M. S. *Beagle*, Captain Wickham, with whom were associated Lieutenants Grey (since the distinguished Governor of Adelaide, of New Zealand and the Cape of Good Hope) and Lushington, with a party for a land expedition for the survey of the north-western and other parts of the coast of Australia.

The expedition left England on the 14th of July, and, touching at Teneriffe and Bahia in the Brazils, reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 21st of September, 1837. Here the parties separated, as the *Beagle's* orders directed her to Swan River, while the leaders of the land-expedition adopted the spirited but hazardous determination of proceeding direct to their destination on the north-west coast of Australia.

Having freighted the *Lynher*, a schooner of 160 tons, taken on board fifty sheep and goats, and made all the requisite arrangements for the thorough equipment of their party, Messrs. (now Sir) George Grey and Lushington quitted the Cape on the 20th of October, and on the 3rd of December reached Hanover Bay, at the outlet of Prince Regent's River, in lat. 15° 20′ south, long. 124° 40′ east.

Here, having landed and pitched their tents in a beautiful valley now for the first time trodden by European feet, and having formally taken possession of this part of the country in the name of her Majesty, the schooner, under charge of Captain Lushington, was despatched to Coepang, in the Island of Timor, distant about 300 miles to the north, to embark ponies, of which six-and-twenty were obtained, at the rate of about two pounds each, chiefly in exchange of muskets and powder.

On the return of Captain Lushington from Timor with the ponies and other necessaries on the 20th of January, 1838, the party commenced their preparations for their immediate departure; and on the 1st of February quitted their encampment at Hanover

Bay for the interior. They proceeded first about fifteen miles in a nearly due south direction until they had reached the parallel of 15° 29′ S. lat. The whole of the country lying between this point and Hanover Bay was composed of ridges of sandstone, of no great elevation, but intersected by deep ravines; their progress was consequently slow and toilsome, for they had to construct paths for the horses to travel upon before they were able to move from one encampment to the next spot where they intended to halt. In this first part of the journey they also lost many horses; indeed, all of them suffered more or less from it

After passing the parallel of 15° 29′ S. they entered upon a very rich tract of country, that even surpassed in fertility the small portion of the Brazils which they had had an opportunity of seeing. A large expanse of water having been seen a little to the west of south, they were induced to pursue that direction, and still found the country to be of the same rich and luxuriant character. Upon attaining the parallel 15° 43′ S. lat., and 124° 44′ E. long., they found themselves upon the banks of a very considerable river, which Sir G. Grey named Glenelg River, in testimony of the obligations which he and the whole expedition were under to the principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

On the return of the party at Hanover Bay on the 15th of March, they had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with Captain Wickham, R N, in command of H.M.S. *Beagle*, who had, after a careful examination of the coast, arrived at the same conclusion, viz., that no large river could exist between the one that they had discovered, and Fitzroy River, which he had discovered at the south part of the great opening behind Dampier's Land.

These rivers, although of considerable magnitude, are still utterly insufficient to account for the drainage of this vast continent, and this interesting question, instead of being at all placed in a clear point of view by the united exertions of these two expeditions, is, if possible, at this moment involved in deeper obscurity and mystery than ever

In the course of the journey Sir George Grey and Captain Lushington found a great many curious native paintings in caves executed in a surprising way for a savage race. In these caves were some drawings of the human hand which showed great knowledge of the art of producing effect. They selected a rock in the most gloomy part of the cave, and the hand must have been placed upon this rock and some white powder dashed against it. When the hand was removed, a sort of stamp was left upon the rock; the hand was then painted black and the rock about it quite white, so that, on entering that part of the cave, it appeared as if a human hand and arm were projecting through a crevice admitting light. Many of the figures in these drawings were clothed, though the natives themselves were in a perfect state of nature. These and other circumstances would countenance the belief that they are of Asiatic origin.

These caves and paintings are all far inland, and nothing of the kind was near the coast. Copies were also obtained of some of the drawings by the natives living on the coast, but these are said to be the productions of a quite distinct race.

Before quitting Hanover Bay, the party had the gratification of seeing the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees which they had brought from Timor and planted in the valley, as well as numerous seeds from the Brazils and the Cape of Good Hope, in a most flourishing state. They had also introduced and left there several animals, as ponies, goats, and sheep, and in short done everything in their power to make their visit a blessing to the natives and to the country.

Sir George Grey passed three months of the winter of 1838 at Swan River, on his return from the discovery of the Glenelg, and the discovery of a river in a country circumstanced as is Australia is almost equivalent to founding a future colony, and he made, on that occasion, several excursions into the interior, as far as any colonist had then penetrated.

The town of Melbourne had already, in 1839, 3,000 inhabitants, and an accurate survey of Port Philip was completed by Lieutenants Symonds and Henry, R.N. Some 10,000 persons were stated to have accumulated at Adelaide, several overland expeditions, driving large herds of cattle, having reached the place from Sydney. Amongst others, that of Captain Sturt himself, the original explorer of the River Murray, and another by Mr. Hawdon. The settlement at Port Essington was justly looked upon at this epoch as bidding fair to become a second Singapore.

Farther to the west the nautical survey by Captain Wickham completed some of the portions left unfinished during the more extended examination of these coasts in the years 1820 3 by Captain King, R.N., and the account of which is still the chief authority for this portion of its shores, as the excellent work of Flinders is for the rest of this vast island. The survey of the *Beagle* has proved Dampier's Land not to be an island, as was before surmised, by tracing Roebuck Bay and King's Sound to their termination; the latter affording an outlet to the largest river yet discovered on that part of the coast, and which, in honour of the commander of the *Beagle* during her survey of the coast of South America, was named Fitzroy River. Sir James Stirling had also had a survey made of Warnborough Sound, lying immediately south of Cape Peron, and which affords one of the finest harbours on the western coast of Australia.

By 1839 a chain of posts had been established between Sydney and Melbourne, a direct distance of 400 miles, and the road was already considered so secure that it had been travelled by a lady, and the track from Sydney to Adelaide had become almost a beaten road for enterprising drovers, with their flocks of thousands of sheep. Another town had been founded at Port Lincoln, and Mr. Eyre completed a journey from that port to the north-west, in order to examine Stocaky and Fowler Bays, where it was thought probable an outlet of a river might be found, instead of which, however Mr. Eyre states that the little water he met with in crossing the Port Lincoln Peninsula all drained to the north.

Sir George Grey, nothing daunted by the fatigue and privations of the previous year, again set out in February, 1836, on an exploratory journey to Shark's Bay; unfortunately his boats were wrecked there in a gale of wind, and he and his party were compelled to make their way overland to Perth, a direct distance of 350 miles, through a country utterly unknown, during which they suffered extremely from hunger, and Mr. Fred. C. Smith, a young man of much promise, succumbed under the great fatigue to which his youthful frame was exposed. Sir George Grey reported very favourably of portions of land in this interesting part of Western Australia. No hostility was en-

countered on the part of the natives, and the same language was found to be understood all along this western coast of Australia.

Mr. Eyre, who left Adelaide on the 18th of June, 1840, in the hope of being able to plant the British standard on the tropic of Capricorn, in longitude 135° or 136°, met with an unexpected obstacle to his progress, in which was at that time described as being a crescent-shaped lake, called Torrens. The length of this piece of water or waters was described as exceeding 400 miles, its breadth was inconsiderable, but the shores, composed of soft mud and sand, could not be approached.

Sir George Gipps, governor of Australia, issued a series of important reports the same year, comprising an account of the Clarence River, a survey of Moreton Bay, in what is now Queensland; a report on the dividing range of New South Wales, and a region recently explored by Count Strzelecki, at the extreme south-east corner of Australia, and named by him Gipps' Land; and a report of Mr. Tyers' survey of the prescribed boundary between New South Wales and South Australia.

Count Strzelecki (whose name now comes forward as an Australian explorer) gave a very animated description of Gipps' Land. It has an extent of 5,600 square miles, and upwards of 250 miles of sea-coast, and eight rivers; a navigable lake and lagoons bisecting

STOCK-KEEPER COLLECTING HIS HERD.

one hundred miles of its length; and it only required the construction of bridges, and the occasional clearing of bog and brush, to establish communication over the whole district. The richness of the soil and pasturage could, it was said, scarcely be surpassed, and the ranges of hill were easy of ascent. According to the count's descriptions, this region presented a most inviting prospect to settlers, more especially cattle-breeders, the natives being inoffensive and gentle. It is marked in the map which accompanies Count Strzelecki's work on New South Wales as an alluvial tract, and yet, strange to say, colonisation has made little or no progress there. Governor Latrobe sent Mr. John Orr to explore the same region in 1841 and that gentleman ascertained that the course of the Latrobe was not south-west, as laid down at first by Count Strzelecki, but due east, and that in its progress it received the Rivers Maconochie, Barney, and Dunlop, which rivers were at first supposed to empty themselves directly into the sea. The Latrobe, increased by these tributaries, falls into a large lake, described as being twenty miles long from east to west, and six miles broad, and which also receives the Perry. This lake was named Wellington.

Mr. Eyre, having found his intended progress northward from the head of Spencer's Gulf intercepted by that extraordinary geographical feature of the country, the great Horse-shoe Lake (Torrens), he directed his

steps towards Streaky Bay, in the hope of finding to the west of the lake the means of resuming his journey.

Mr. Eyre left Fowler's Bay on the 25th of February, 1841, accompanied by an overseer and three native boys, and provided with horses and provisions for nine weeks, and he reached King George's Sound on the 7th of July, having traversed over upwards of 1,040 miles; for the last half of his journey, the whole of which was attended by the most distressing circumstances, he was only accompanied by a native of King George's Sound, of the name of Wylie. In passing from behind Lucky Bay to the lagoons west of Esperance Bay, a considerable extent of grassy land was passed, with many patches of rich soil in the flats and vaneys, and abundance of water. There was, however, no timber but the tea-tree. About sixteen miles north-east from Cape Roche, the travellers fell in with a considerable salt-water river, from the west-north-west, which appeared to join the sea at a gap left by Flinders in the coast-line. On the banks of this river were some casuarina tea-trees, eucalypti, and a little grass. Inland from where the river was crossed, the country seemed to improve, and good runs for sheep and cattle might perhaps be found in that direction. Farther westward, the mahogany, red-gum, and other trees, commence, and continue to King George's Sound, the whole way to which settlement they form a tolerably dense forest. Very few natives were met with by Mr. Eyre on this route, and those were for the most part timid or well disposed.

We have alluded to the distressing circumstances under which this trying journey was performed, and we shall now proceed to give some idea of these from Mr. Eyre's own recital.

A WOOL STORE AT GEELONG.

Having left Fowler's Bay, he relates, on the 26th February, 1841, I arrived at the head of the Great Australian Bight on the 3rd March. Here we halted four days to rest our horses, as they had been three days without water, previous to our arrival at the head of the Bight. From this point we had one hundred and thirty-five miles to travel without water, until we had passed the first of the remarkable line of cliffs mentioned by Captain Flinders. In effecting this passage our horses were five days without water, and were consequently much reduced in strength and condition. The line of cliffs now receded some miles from the coast, but still continued running nearly parallel to it inland, and forming a perfectly level bank, visible beyond the low and barren country intervening between it and the sea; until, as we advanced, the whole merged in a succession of high sandy or stony ridges, covered by a dense and impenetrable scrub, and reaching to the very borders of the sea. To attempt a passage through such a tract of country was quite out of the question, and we were consequently obliged to keep very near the coast, and frequently to trace round its shores for many days, thus considerably increasing the distance we should otherwise have had to traverse. For four days we continued to travel steadily, without finding water; on the fifth, our horses were much exhausted, and, one by one, three or four of the best dropped behind, and we were compelled to leave them to their miserable fate. The other poor animals still continued to advance with us, although suffering much from the almost total want of food as well as water. This dreadful state of suspense and anxiety continued until the afternoon of the seventh day, when, by God's blessing, we were once more enabled to procure water by digging among the sand drifts of the coast, after having accomplished a distance of fully one hundred and sixty miles, through-

out which not a drop of water could be procured even by digging.

We had now seven horses left, but they were barely alive. For eight months previous to our leaving Fowler's Bay, they had almost incessantly been occupied in the labours of the expedition to the northward, and in that space of time had travelled over a distance almost incredible, and it required far more than the short month we were able to afford them at Fowler's Bay to recruit their exhausted strength, or renew a spirit that was almost broken by incessant toil. It may readily, therefore, be imagined that the severe privations they had endured in rounding the Great Bight had reduced them to perfect skeletons, without either strength or spirit. To me it was only a matter of surprise that a single horse should have survived such extremity of suffering. We were now at a place we could procure abundance of water, but there was scarcely any grass for our poor horses, and the little they could find was coarse, sapless, and withered. To add to our difficulties, we were almost without provisions. In the early part of this journey, we were obliged to abandon the heavy part of our baggage: water-kegs, ropes, buckets, horse-shoes, tools, medicines, pack-saddles, cloths, great coats, and part of the ammunition, were all left behind. As we advanced, and our horses became weaker, it was necessary to leave even the provisions, instruments, and the remainder of our ammunition, light though they were, while we hurried on with the wretched animals, scarcely daring to hope that it might yet be possible to save their lives. Having arrived at the water, and rested there during six days, I sent my overseer and one of the native boys (with the three strongest of the horses, driven loose) to try and recover the things we had lost left, and which were about fifty miles from the water; those abandoned earlier on the journey were too far distant for us to attempt their recovery. On the fifth day they returned, after a most painful journey; one of the horses had perished, the other two almost dead, and the party had only succeeded in bringing a portion of the baggage they were sent for. As there were many things amongst those they had not brought which we could ill afford to spare, I left the overseer in charge of the party, and the day following his return I proceeded myself, accompanied by one of the elder boys, but without horses, to make a second attempt for their recovery; this I effected, and on the fourth day rejoined my party at the water. Our horses were now reduced in number to five, and the whole were so thoroughly jaded and worn out, that it was evident we could not attempt to move from our present position for some time to come, especially as we had the gloomy prospect of a vast extent of country before us, in which there was not the least hope of water being found. In the meantime our provisions were rapidly disappearing. From the very commencement of the journey, our weekly allowance had been very limited—gradually it had been further reduced—and now that a long delay was unavoidable, I found it necessary to kill one of the horses, to enable us to husband the little flour we had remaining.

Hitherto my labours had been comparatively light, for in the midst of all the cares and anxieties by which I was surrounded, my overseer had placed the most implicit confidence in my guidance, and had cheerfully gone through the duties that fell to his share. This support I no longer experienced, and it was with the greatest pain I discovered that my fellow-traveller had become disheartened and dispirited, foreboding evils that might not occur; and though he still exerted himself readily and strenuously on every occasion, I could readily perceive that (although the greatest difficulties of the undertaking were over) he was disinclined to continue the expedition, and would rather have attempted to recross the fearful country behind us, in the vain hope of being able to return to Fowler's Bay, where we had left a considerable depôt of provisions. This dispiriting impression became, unfortunately, conveyed to all the native boys, and eventually became the cause of an occurrence as frightful as it was fatal to the poor fellow with whom it had originated. In the earlier stages of the expedition the three native boys had behaved well, and been very serviceable, but, as we advanced, this good conduct gradually disappeared; and, added to our other annoyances, not long after leaving Fowler's Bay, it became necessary for the whole party to walk, and though the native boys were allowed to ride long after myself and the overseer had given it up, it at last became imperative, from the state of the horses, they should be dismounted. This, added to the insufficient quantity of food which our low state of provisions allowed to each individual, made the three boys gloomy and surly, and we had frequently much trouble in getting them to assist in any way; and then the little they performed was rarely done with cheerfulness and good humour. It was impossible to make them understand the necessity of the case. As long as ever a horse could walk, they considered it a hardship not to ride, and as long as there was an ounce of provisions left they considered themselves ill-used if not allowed to eat to excess. It was of no avail telling them that if the horses were ridden they could never get through the journey, and that we should have to carry everything ourselves; or that, if we consumed the little stock of provisions we had all at once, we must starve afterwards. The fact of myself and overseer walking and living on the same allowance of food as themselves was no argument to them; and we could not dissipate a sullen discontented humour. This sullenness of disposition became much augmented, when they perceived that the overseer himself was doubtful and disheartened at our future prospects, and I really think their impression was that we could never accomplish the journey we had undertaken. In this frame of mind it was they deserted from the party (April 22nd), after being detected stealing the provisions during the night—a practice they had continued some days before they were found out. After an absence of four days they returned, and begged to be forgiven, stating that they were unable to procure food of any kind for themselves. As they were freely received again, I had strong hopes that their future conduct would be better, but it would appear from the sequel that they were still unwilling to continue to prosecute the journey, that they still looked back with longing to the provisions left at Fowler's Bay, and that they had only rejoined the party again with a view of plundering the camp of provisions at the first favourable opportunity, and then endeavouring to retrace their steps to a place where they knew plenty had been left, and from thence (should they succeed in arriving there) they might eventually make their way to Port Lincoln, or get away in some of the vessels whaling along the coast. This scheme was, unhappily, but too successfully executed during the night of the 29th

April, whilst I was absent from the camp, engaged in watching the horses to prevent them straying. After plundering the stores of provisions and fire-arms, it would appear they were preparing to depart, when the unfortunate overseer awoke, and in his attempt to prevent their purpose fell a victim to these ruthless murderers.

A copy of the depositions of myself and the boy Wylie (who did not accompany the other two) relative to this melancholy occurrence, is herewith inclosed for the information of his excellency.

I was now deprived of my only aid, and felt bitterly the loss of a man whose fidelity and good conduct had retained him in my service for many years, and whose unwillingness to leave me, when I commenced this perilous journey, has been the unconscious means of his own destruction. At a distance of fully 450 miles from Fowler's Bay, and nearly 600 from King George's Sound, I was now in a position but little to be envied. Left alone with a single native, whose fidelity I could place no dependence upon, with but little provisions, and almost without arms, whilst my jaded horses had already been three days without water. I had no time for deliberation. To attempt to retrace my steps to Fowler's Bay I knew would be certain destruction—it would have been impossible for us to recross that fearful country; and I had, therefore, no alternative but to push on for King George's Sound, humbly trusting in the merciful protection of that Almighty Being who alone may guide the wanderer on his way in safety.

Hurrying away from the fatal scene, I advanced with the native boy four days longer without finding water, during which we travelled with but little intermission almost night and day. On the fourth day we again procured water by digging, but as this made the seventh day that the horses had been (for the second time) without water, and during which they could not have travelled less than 150 miles, they were much exhausted by fatigue and privation; and it again became necessary to make a long delay to afford them a temporary rest.

Our stock of flour was now reduced to sixteen pounds, and we had still nearly 500 miles to travel before we could hope to obtain relief, so I was again under the necessity of killing one of our remaining horses, to enable us to halt and afford to the other four that rest which they so much required. This supply, together with a couple of kangaroos and a few fish we were lucky enough to procure, lasted us nearly a month, and we were steadily advancing on our journey towards the promontory of Cape le Grand, where my intention was to have killed another horse, and halted again for a few days' rest. Fortunately we were spared the necessity of doing this, for on approaching the Cape on the east side, we were overjoyed to discover, on the 2nd of June, a large vessel lying at anchor in a bay, immediately east of Lucky Bay, and which I have named Rossiter Bay. She proved to be a French whaler, the *Mississippi*, of Havre, commanded by Captain Rossiter. Having made known our situation to the captain, both myself and the native boy were most hospitably treated on board his vessel, and received every attention and kindness during the twelve days we remained. Upon our leaving to proceed on our route, we were most liberally furnished with everything we could wish for; and I am happy to have it in my power to record publicly the great obligations I am under to Captain Rossiter for his kindness and attention. After leaving Rossiter Bay, on the 15th June, we advanced steadily towards King George's Sound, arriving there, with four horses still left, on the 7th July; and thus, by God's blessing, terminating a journey that from circumstances had been peculiarly harassing, and which, from unforeseen difficulties, had been protracted to a period far beyond what had been at first anticipated.

The same year Captain Stokes, R.N., discovered two rivers falling into the Gulf of Carpentaria, to which he gave the name of Albert and Flinders Rivers. They are said to be small, but there is evidence of their being greatly swollen at certain times of the year, as rushes and grass were found adhering to the branches of the trees twenty feet above the level of the water.[1]

Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, so celebrated in connection with Australia, from his having first suggested, from the identity of structure and position of the Australian Alps with the Ural, the existence of gold in those regions, took up, in a clear, energetic, and decisive tone, the claims of Port Essington, on his being appointed President of the Royal Geographical Society in 1844, and it is but doing justice to that eminent man's consistency, that in face of all obstacles, and of an obstinate opposition on the part of Government, he has never failed in his advocacy of claims which time and the progress of events will one day place far beyond the petty controversies of a home Government and a Royal Geographical Society.

Another settlement, called Victoria, was attempted in 1838, under Captain Sir J. Gordon Bremer, R.N., and Sir John Barrow, at that time secretary to the Admiralty, forwarding a letter from the Governor to the Royal Geographical Society, expressed himself in the most hopeful terms in respect to the prospects of this North Australian colony.

Captain H. Hamilton explored the country lying between Liverpool Plains and Moreton Bay the previous year (1813), and furnished some remarkable details on the geography of a district at that time imperfectly known, but which, from its natural advantages, was foreseen would become a very important addition to the Australian colonies. On the other hand, Captain Sturt had, by a correct survey of the course of the Hume river, and of the hilly districts extending to the junction with the Morrumbidgee, distinctly made known the valueless character of many large tracts to be avoided by all those who were searching for appropriate sites of new settlements.

In this year (1844) Sir George Grey, at that time governor of South Australia, made an exploratory journey along the south eastern sea-board of South Australia. The most interesting features of this journey, besides the addition made to our knowledge of an unknown region, were the discovery of petrified shrubs of a trellis-work, erected by the natives to capture birds, of the calcareous tufa, termed "biscuit," which is also met with near Port Philip; of natural wells, one of which was called "The Devil's Punch Bowl," when it might, from its value, have had a name of quite an opposite significance, and of an old native who, according to the custom of the country, being incapacitated from obtaining his own food, had been left to perish under a little bush.

[1] The discoveries of Leichhardt, and still more recently of Messrs. Stuart and Burke, will soon determine the settlement of the well-watered country round the Gulf of Carpentaria, and which it is now proposed to call Burke's Land.

At the time when extreme severity prevailed in the penal settlements of New South Wales, many convicts ran away into the bush, to chance their lives amongst the natives rather than suffer a living death whilst undergoing the punishment of their crimes. Many had been immediately speared, it was said, from going among the natives with their clothes on; they being ignorant of what clothes are, supposed a clothed man to be some strange creature. On the occasion of Mr. Russell and Mr Petrie, superintendents of government works at Brisbane, going from that town to explore Wide Bay, they fell in with, and brought back with them, two of these bushrangers. The first they came in contact with was at Harvey's Bay. Having heard that there was a white man among the natives there, Mr. Petrie, considering that he might become useful as an interpreter, and also be able to give some information of the country and of the native tribes, wrote a note and persuaded some of the natives to take it to him at their encampment, about twenty miles distant.

We waited anxiously, Mr. Russell relates, for a time, and in the afternoon saw two or three men coming along the beach towards the bay. By the telescope we could distinguish the runaway, looking as much a savage as any of them, with his spear in his hand. Petrie and Wrottesley took their guns and went to meet him. Jolliffe and I stayed to guard our camp. The scene at the meeting was curious; the man could not recollect his own language for some time, but he afterwards told us that when he saw the note, although unable to read it, he knew that his countrymen were near, and felt overjoyed at the chance of returning once more among civilised men. When pressed to join us, and return to Moreton Bay, the cruelties he had suffered filled him with dread, and it was long before we could persuade him that it was no longer as when he had left; and being at last convinced by what we told him, he expressed his willingness to work his best if they would not flog him, and to make himself useful as interpreter between us and the natives. His name was Bracefelt, but he was called by the natives Wandi, from a fancied likeness to a man who had died some years before, the son of one of their fighting men, upon whom he was thus fathered, and his life saved. He could speak four different languages of the natives, and had been in the habit of taking his part in the fights between them, but never could be persuaded by them to turn cannibal. He was soon washed and clothed, and in a few days became perfectly satisfied, and seemed glad to have been rescued from his *black* life.

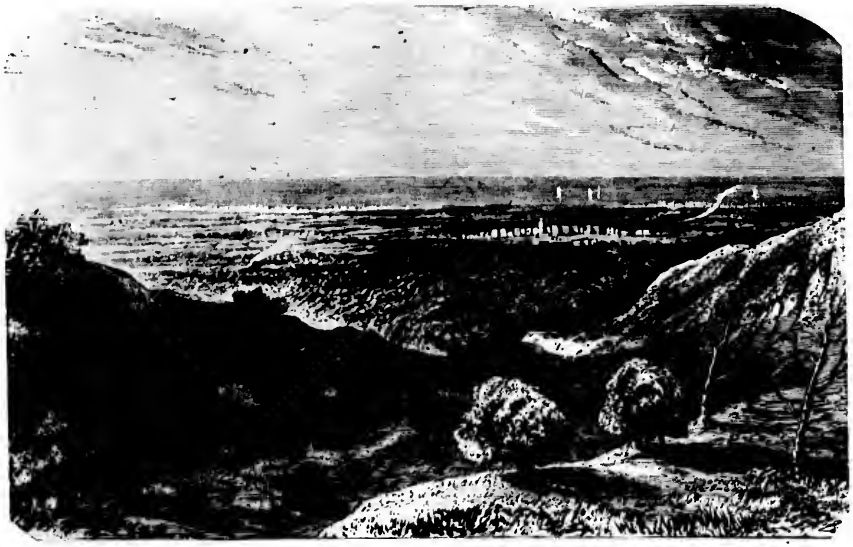
Having arrived at the River Monobocola, they became very anxious to see some of the natives, among whom Bracefelt said there was another white man, named Davis, but called by the natives Darumboi (kangaroo-rat). He had absconded from the penal settlement fourteen years before, and had not since been heard of. With this view they proceeded up the river as high as a boat could go, say fifty miles from the mouth, and having reached this point they encamped on the left bank, both banks being covered by a thick scrub, behind which were sandy ridges.

Petrie sent Bracefelt with the black to look for natives. He once returned and said he could see nothing of them; he went out again and came back frightened, stating he had found an encampment of natives, but had never expected to find them collected in such great numbers;[1] if, however, two men would accompany him to within a short distance, and wait to see if any attack were made, he would enter their camp and speak to them Jolliffe and I (says Mr. Russell) offered to go; but he said he would rather take two of the crew armed; I thought this rather strange, as he could have depended more upon us than upon convicts, but it turned out afterwards that he had fears of our being speared, and he valued our lives more than theirs. The natives were at this time only one mile and a quarter distant. Bracefelt, who had met this tribe ten years before at the bunya bunya, but could not answer for their recollecting him, now stripped, took his spear as he was wont among his own tribe, and, accompanied by the two men, and by our native man, Wallupe, who went very unwillingly, approached cautiously, and saw that the natives thought themselves in perfect security, little dreaming who were their neighbours. Bracefelt halted the two men, and then, with Wallupe, went over the creek between them and the camp, and walked straight into the midst of them, calling out his name, "Wandi." They were completely taken by surprise, and seizing their spears hundreds rushed out from every corner of the scrub, yelling like madmen. Darumboi at the moment was at the other end of the camp with his adopted father, skinning a kangaroo they had just killed. As soon as he saw Wandi he rose, and, perceiving the two other white men at a distance, he rushed by him and ran at full speed to them; he was unable to do more than say a few words in English. Bracefelt's surprise was great on seeing Davis, as he had no idea that he was still living. He went to him and told him in the native language how we had come, and also that if he chose, he might join us Davis, who only remembered the penal settlement in its days of tyranny, accused Bracefelt of having brought the whites to take him, that he might get off his own flogging on his return

All this time they had been walking towards our camps, and this was said just as they came in sight. Bracefelt stepped back, and raised his spear, Davis did the same; all the black devil seemed to rise in them both, when Bracefelt sang a war-challenge at the top of his voice, which we could plainly hear. It was truly a curious scene—two white savages challenging each other to fight, their spears raised on high, and, with all the air, attitude, and ferocity of natives; their bodies all *cochie*, or painted and tattooed across the chest, besides large scars of former wounds on their backs and legs. Davis, or Darumboi, was the finer man of the two, and about twenty-seven years of age; he had been transported when only eleven; on seeing us they paused, and, after a little, both came towards us. When Davis came to the top of the sand-bank overhanging our camp, he took a long frowning look at us, as in defiance. On calling him he rushed down, and addressed himself to Petrie, whom Bracefelt pointed out as being a government officer. The first words he uttered were, "My name's Jem Davis, from Glasgow,"

[1] We afterwards found that this was the season when the natives resort thither to feed on the fruit of the bunya bunya, and that no less than sixteen tribes had already assembled. This tree is a noble pine, growing as straight as an arrow to the height of from one hundred to three hundred feet. It bears a large cone full of nuts, which are excellent when roasted, but taste, when raw, like the horse chestnut. The natives of the district have desperate frays to maintain their own against intruders.

and unable to say another word in English, he ran off into a most rapid *black speech*. Bracefelt afterwards told us, "that he had escaped from the settlement because the prisoners were used so cruelly, that they cut each other's throats that they might be sent to Sydney to be hanged." This was a fact; he ran away at thirteen years of age, through fear of being murdered by his messmates, who thought death preferable to the cruelty with which they were treated. Davis was wearing the necklaces and armlets of the natives. As he went on, and saw we did not understand him, and he was unable to express himself in English, he worked himself into a violent passion, tearing and clawing the ground with his hands, and shrinking his voice from the shrillest tone to a mere whisper, the very picture of a Bedlamite. He has since told me his feelings were so excited on once more meeting with his fellow-countrymen, that he cannot recollect what passed. After much talking, Bracefelt, who was standing by, got him to be silent, and said that Davis wished to explain to us that we should be in great danger if we went up the mountains, from which we were now only three miles distant, thus dividing our party. He told us the cause of the mortal enmity of the natives to the white men arose from a fearful crime committed by the latter some time back. The natives having a strong predilection for mutton, stole the sheep; many came from a distance to feast on the white man's flocks. The shepherds, seeing such numbers of fierce men, resorted, it is said, to poison; at all events, from some cause about thirty were reported to have died. They believed that those unfortunate men were poisoned, and it created among them, far and wide, a direful feeling of revenge, which to this day has not subsided. Only



ADELAIDE.

two months ago, two men of Mackenzie's were murdered; the watch of one of these murdered shepherds was now in the possession of Darumboi's father, and he promised to get it if we would allow him to return for that night; he also said that he would frighten them about our strength, and do all he could to prevent an attack; he went, and we got all ready, keeping sharp watch all night. Darumboi told us that the way they would come upon us would be by creeping through the long grass, and if any white should fire a gun, they knew that it would require reloading, and twenty or thirty would immediately rush upon and spear him. This was all very fine; however, after a few hours we lost the anxiety we at first felt, and betook ourselves to the boat, which we anchored for the night under the dark side of the bank, fell asleep, and never woke till sunrise. Had the natives attacked us in this position we should have fallen an easy prey, as the banks were high and scrubby all round, and they might have speared us without our getting a shot at them in return.

15th.—Next morning we fired two guns as a signal for Davis to come, and he soon made his appearance with his father and the watch. The father was an ill-looking fellow, but said nothing, and backed out of the water from us. Davis told us that he frightened them with the account of our strength, which kept them quiet. On his getting into the boat, he tore off his bracelets and threw them into the water, but I caught them, and have kept them as curiosities. In the evening we had Davis shaved, well washed, and dressed; he was cut in every direction, either in tattooing, or with the stone knives in fighting; he had the wound of a spear through his thigh, and a boomerang had smashed his right knee. He was evidently well acquainted with the northern country, and what

we had previously heard from Bracefelt perfectly coincided with his statements; he knew of three other rivers running into Wide Bay, and told us their names; but what pleased me most was, to hear him say there was a large river running into the sea, many miles north of Wide Bay. This river, the natives said, came from the back of the Bunya Bunya Mountains, which is our Downs, but they could not say where the source was. Davis became gradually civilised, caught up his own language quickly, and by the time we got back to Moreton Bay no one could have believed he was the same independent-looking savage that startled us on the night of the 14th.

The natives followed us a long way on the banks of the river, keeping up a conversation with Darumboi, whom they were evidently very sorry to lose; he told us they hung about his neck and kissed him at parting, and cut their own heads as a sign of grief. The various intonations of voice, according to the degree of grief, were quite affecting at times; we could see but little of them, however, as they would not even show, but kept peering from behind the trees at a distance, and moving as the boat moved.

On the 17th, ran down to our former station on Frazer's Island; and on the 18th, getting a good north-west breeze, we ran under "Russell's Lap," but we had baffling winds and a head-sea till the 24th, when the wind changed, luckily for us, for our provisions were out when we arrived at Moreton Bay.

The following singular account of the cannibalism of the natives of this part of the country, was received from Bracefelt and Davis, who had lived so many years with them.

The natives supposed all their own men who had died or been killed in battle to become white men; because, before eating them (for they are cannibals), they draw the skin off, and roast the flesh before cutting it up. When flayed in this way the flesh of a black man is perfectly white. They believe he becomes a white ghost in another country beyond the sea. Accordingly, when they first heard of whites, they supposed them to be the ghosts of their own dead come back: and if any one could fancy he traced a resemblance in a white man to any deceased relation or friend, he took the white man under his protection, in the full persuasion that it was his son, brother, or whoever it might be, returned to him. In such a case, a white man has nothing to fear from the tribe to which the patron belongs. They will kill a fat white man sometimes to eat, if he is not owned by any of the tribe as some ghost of a returned relation, but they will not skin him, as they suppose him to have been already skinned when eaten as a black. In cutting a man up, they open his back, and having extracted the bones from the legs and arms, these are eaten by the men as being titbits. They then cut the head open, and pick it, viscera and heart are given to the gins, whom they use worse than dogs.

If the interior of Australia presents one of the most interesting geographical problems, a knowledge of the coasts of that immense island was always felt to be of primary importance; and accordingly the Government, anxious that they should be accurately surveyed, despatched the *Beagle*, under the command of Captain Wickham, as we have before seen, and from that time to May 1843, a period of nearly six years, the *Beagle*, first under command of Captain Wickham, and subsequently under that of Captain Stokes, twice made the circuit of the Australian continent, affording ample opportunity to her gallant commander and crew for displaying that skill and perseverance for which the navy of our country is so conspicuous. The full value of the *Beagle's* surveys is more and more appreciated as our colonial settlements in Australia acquire extension.

At the same time it was felt that if a practicable route could be discovered between Sydney in the south and that part of the north of the great Australian continent in which Port Essington is situated, the importance of that settlement would be greatly enhanced. At the very time when this desideratum began to be most generally felt, the man made his appearance who appears to have been, of all others, the best qualified to carry it into execution.

Dr. Leichhardt, a visitor in New South Wales, a man of science and enterprise, is said, indeed, to have himself originally conceived, without any pressure from without, the idea of making an overland journey from Moreton Bay—at that time the most northern British settlement on the coast of New South Wales, but now in Queensland—to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The first journey of this enterprising and unfortunate traveller was one of the most extraordinary and successful explorations effected up to that time. The Doctor, following the course of the Burdekin, in North Queensland, and then the River Lynd, beyond what he designated as the Valley of Lagoons and Separation Creek, touched the Gulf of Carpentaria at its south-east extremity, one of the party, Mr. Gilbert, having been assassinated by the natives at the very moment of success; and, passing thence round the souther shores of this vast bay, he proved the whole reg to be most abundantly provided with run streams, and, arrived at Limmen Bight, he cro over the peninsula to Victoria and Port Essington. The whole narrative is so interesting that we regret we have not space to give some details in respect to it.

Next in interest and importance to Leichhardt's first successful journey, came Captain Charles Sturt's bold inraid into the interior of Australia in 1844 and 1845. The details of this journey, like those of Leichhardt's travels, and of MacDonall Stuart's still more recent remarkable peregrinations are, however interesting, too long for our purposes. Suffice it, that after the most terrific sufferings from heat, thirst, fatigue, exposure, and privations of all kinds, and which involved the death of Mr. Poole, one of the party, Captain Sturt, returned to Adelaide, his starting point, after having reached the parallel of 24° 30′ south, and where he was driven back, at the head of Eyre's Creek, by high sand-ridges without either water or grass. In the course of this long journey, carried at first up the Murray and Darling Rivers, Captain Sturt first determined, as has been still more satisfactorily shown of late, that the interior of Australia, instead of being a saline desert, or a great inland watery basin, is diversified by hilly ranges, with pleasant watered valleys, and occasionally good pastoral country; but there was also much that was sandy, saline, barren, scrub, or otherwise unavailable land. Worst of all, many of the water streams only flow at certain seasons of the year. With these exceptions, we find an extent of grassy plains, sometimes subject to inundations, and of grassy valleys, marked in the map, which seem to equal that of the hilly, stony, sandy, barren forest and scrub, or otherwise unavailable lands.

VIII.

MITCHELL'S ATTEMPT TO CROSS THE CONTINENT FROM SOUTH TO NORTH—DISCOVERED A GREAT INLAND RIVER—LEICHHARDT'S FIRST ATTEMPT TO CROSS FROM EAST TO WEST—HIS SECOND ATTEMPT—HAS NEVER SINCE BEEN HEARD OF—A NEW ERA OPENED FOR AUSTRALIA IN 1851—DISCOVERY OF GOLD—MESSRS. GREGORYS' EXPLORATION OF VICTORIA RIVER AND SEARCH FOR LEICHHARDT—MR. BARBAGE TRAVELS WITH A MACHINE FOR CONVERTING SALT INTO FRESH W[illegible]—MR. STUART'S IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES—NAVIGATION OF THE MURRAY.

SIR T. MITCHELL started, in the year 1846, from the junction of the River Macquarie with the Darling, with the same ambitious views as had actuated Captain Sturt to cross the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria. Proceeding to the north, he crossed the Narran Swamp, and thence ascended the River Balonne, to a hilly range, which he named Fitzroy Downs. Beyond this range a river was discovered, flowing to the south-west, fully as large as the Darling; it was called by the natives Maranoa, and was afterwards found, as well as the Balonne, to join the Darling. From hence Sir T. Mitchell traced the Maranoa upwards to a chain of mountains with volcanic summits. Passing between these and a higher range towards the coast, he at length reached another chain of mountains, extending westward, about the 25th parallel of latitude. A difficult sandstone country succeeded; and, on emerging from its ravines, a river, the Belyando, was struck. After following its course some distance to the north, it turned north-east, and was recognised as the River "Cape" of Leichhardt. This was in latitude 21° 30′.

Hence the party retraced their steps to the camp, in latitude 24° 30′, whence, starting afresh, Sir T. Mitchell reached a gap in the westerly range, whence he saw open downs and plains, with a line of river in the midst, extending to the north-north-west, as far as the horizon. He pursued the course of this river during ten successive days, the furthest point which he reached being in latitude 24° 14′, and longitude 144° 34′. Here, from a rise of ground, he could trace its downward course far to the northward. This river has been marked in most maps as the Victoria, from the supposition that it flowed into the river of that name, the embouchure of which is in Cambridge Gulf, but Sir Thomas Mitchell's own impression was that the estuary of the river is in the Gulf of Carpentaria. Sir Thomas Mitchell described the whole of this country as the best watered portion of Australia he had seen, and new birds and new plants marked this out as a region different from any previously explored. Mr. Kennedy was despatched the ensuing year (1847) from Sydney, to trace the further course of Mitchell River, and he found that the river in question did not go far northward from where Sir Thomas Mitchell left it, but that it turned to the west afterwards for 120 miles to the south-west, and finally to the south, where it is lost in a sandy barren country, which Mr. Kennedy conjectures to be the north-eastern limit of Sturt's Desert. Mr. Kennedy advanced as far as latitude 26° 25′, when he was compelled, by want of food and water, to return. He thought that this river would turn out to be Captain Sturt's Cooper's Creek. The country through which it flowed was found to be barren and grassless.

Dr. Leichhardt, the successful traveller from Sydney to Port Essington, started the same year on an adventurous journey in the interior, proposing to himself to traverse the whole centre of the Australian Continent, from Sydney to Swan River. Knowing that it would be useless to attempt this in the line of Sturt's Desert, he resolved to proceed at once to latitude 23°, where, in his last journey, he found the Mackenzie and Peak range; and as the Mackenzie was well supplied with water, to follow it up to its sources. He thought that he would then be able to ascertain whether the western branches of the supposed watershed go down to the southward to join the system of the Darling, or whether they turn to the northward and form the sources of the largest rivers. Should the latter have proved the case, and should the country have been sufficiently well watered, it was his intention to have proceeded to the westward, keeping the same latitude, and endeavour to reach the waters of the north-west coast. But should want of water not permit him to continue his journey to the westward, or even to the northward, it was then his intention to retrace his steps down the Mackenzie and follow the track of his last journey up the Burdekin. Unfortunately, after reaching the downs of the Upper Mackenzie and Peak Range, Dr. Leichhardt had been compelled, by events over which he had no control, to retrace his steps to Sydney. Nothing daunted, however, by his failure, this intrepid traveller determined to again attempt the solution of the problem, and to penetrate through the centre of the Australian Continent. In the meantime, and while waiting for the proper season to make the necessary arrangements, he made an excursion to Fitzroy Downs, for the purpose of exploring the country between Sir Thomas Mitchell's track and his former route. He started on this expedition on the 9th of August, 1847, and returned to Sydney about the beginning of October, having examined a considerable tract of country on the banks of Dogwood Creek, the Balonne, the Colgoon, and the Condamine.

Dr. Leichhardt started on his last great undertaking about the beginning of 1848, and information of his progress was received as far as the Cogoon, from Captain Philip King. He proceeded along the Condamine River to the Fitzroy Downs, which he described as a splendid region, but feared that want of water would render it to a great degree unavailable. He crossed the downs for twenty-two miles from east to west, and came on Mount Abundance, passing over a gap in it with his whole train. He described his cattle as in excellent order, and his companions in high spirits. The date of his letter was April 3, 1848. A report of later date, which appeared in the *Maitland Mercury*, stated that Dr. Leichhardt had subsequently discovered a rich tract of country with grass and water, which he considered of such importance, that, viewing the uncertainty of his further proceedings, he had himself returned 300 miles to give information of his discovery to the colonial authorities, leaving his party all well, and that he had subsequently returned to them.

Since that epoch nothing has been heard of the enterprising traveller! Captain King, writing home from Paramatta, on the 2nd of March, 1850, said: "Not a word yet of Leichhardt, whose time is up. A Spanish frigate, *La Ferrolana*, has just arrived here from Swan River, where they had not heard of him. I am sure he will have pressed on to cross the desert, and there he must have starved for water. The colonists have been making a stir about going in search; but I fear that he has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal

and perseverance in trying to cross the wretched country which exists in the western part of these regions. Had anything happened to him in the early part of his journey, the mules would have returned to the settled districts." The Admiralty at this time directed a ship to look into the then deserted Port Essington now and then, under the chance of learning something of the traveller's fate.

The last letter from Leichhardt was dated "Mount Abundance, April 4th, 1848." Since then two expeditions have found traces which are considered to have referred to him. The one expedition was that of Mr. Hely in 1852, and the other that of Mr. Gregory in 1858.

Mr. Hely found two camps 150 miles from Mount Abundance, each of them marked with the cypher XV. A., inclosed within a rude border of bent lines that bore some resemblance to a letter L., and which he interprets as indicating "Leichhardt, April 15." He also heard from the natives of the neighbourhood that Leichhardt was murdered at that very place.

Mr. Gregory, we have further seen, found remains that he concluded to be those of Leichhardt 80 to 100 miles farther towards the interior than Hely's camps, and, as such, to refute the report of his previous death at the latter place. The remains consisted of an L cut upon a tree by a camp; of the marks of sharp axes; of some saplings that had been cut with them; and of two horses running wild.

The Rev. W. B. Clarke, of Sydney, however, doubts if either of these discoveries had any reference to the camps or fate of Leichhardt. He argues that the unfortunate explorer could not have reached Hely Camp on the 15th of August. The letters had been

BRANDING CATTLE.

cut, he thought, by persons on the look out for cattle-runs, and the loose horses found by Gregory in Cooper Creek he ascribed to Captain Sturt's expedition.

A new era opened for Australia in 1851. We have seen that as far back as 1844 Sir R. I. Murchison called attention to the remarkable coincidence between the structure of the great eastern chains of Australia and that of the auriferous Ural Mountains, as also that both were upon a meridional axis, which will also apply to the great chain of Eastern Africa, which corresponds to Ptolemy's Mountains of the Moon, and which are in all likelihood equally metalliferous if not auriferous. That comparison produced some fruits, for in the year 1846 small specimens of gold in quartz rock were sent to Sir Roderick from New South Wales, and that eminent geologist upon this urged the unemployed Cornish miners, who were about to emigrate, to prefer that colony, and there seek for gold in the *débris* of the older rocks of that region. This exhortation caused a sensation in Sydney. The Rev. W. B. Clarke claimed to have suggested the same thing as early as 1841, but if so the suggestion appears to have been confined to the colony. As far as the practicable part of the question is concerned, it appears to have been Mr. Hargraves who first opened profitable works in 1851. The golden flood appeared from the very onset to be distributed at intervals, on the flanks of the main watershed, or back-bone of the continent, which, trending from north to south, bends off the west to pass to the north of Melbourne, where one of the richest accumulations was early detected at Mount Alexander. As auriferous veinstones and masses usually deteriorate downwards in the parent rock, and the richest parts have been superficial, it was found here as elsewhere that the most prolific gold-fields are necessarily composed in that *débris* or drift which had been abstracted by former great

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operations of nature from the surfaces of the mountains, and distributed in heaps of gravel, mud, and sand, upon their sides or in adjacent valleys.

It also became apparent from the onset of this remarkable movement, which followed so closely upon one of a similar character upon the meridional axis of California, that as gold has never been found in a notable quantity, except along the slopes of the more ancient back bones or axes of continents, and has never been derived in any quantity from secondary or tertiary strata, so the gold fields of nature are restricted to comparatively narrow zones, and that all such supplies would prove exhaustible because superficial. Looking at the same time to the vast length of the Australian Alps and of other ridges which may be found to be similarly constituted in that continent, and reflecting that no other large region of the earth (excepting, perhaps, Eastern Africa) had been so long unoccupied by human beings acquainted with the value of the metal, it was felt that a considerable (though temporary) augmentation of precious metal would ensue, which was judged indeed to be of sufficient importance to necessitate the emission of the elaborate formula, that it takes a long time, and a great disproportion in the amount of supply, to affect the relative value, throughout the world, of two such articles as gold and silver. No such result has indeed after the many years' produce of the South American, Uralian, Californian, and Australian mines been apparently even approximated to.

All human enterprise and intellectual energies were not, however, luckily absorbed in gold-digging. The names of those who realised their tens of thousands by washing mud for auriferous particles will have vanished with the particles themselves; the names of those who, stimulated by higher motives, conduced to a further acquaintance with a country which, according to Captain Vetch, may one day have a population of 193,000,000, will be embalmed for ever in the history of future settlements. The progress of geographical discovery, and that of colonial extension, have hitherto gone hand in hand in this vast continent.

The Messrs. Gregory, who had previously distinguished themselves by an enterprising journey of exploration in Western Australia, accompanied this time by Messrs Baines and Wilson, Dr. Müller and others, left Moreton Island on the 13th of September, 1855, in the ship *Monarch*, and the *Tom Tough* schooner, and, after nearly encountering shipwreck at the entrance of Port Patterson, were landed at Point Pearce. The object of the expedition was more particularly the exploration of the River Victoria, and the result was, that Dr. Müller, whose testimony as a naturalist and botanist we should prefer to that of any other person of the expedition, estimated that there were tracts of not less than five millions of acres in extent, which, being covered by the richest grasses, and well watered, are specially fitted for pasture, and therefore suitable for the permanent settlement of a civilised community. He also points out that no other part of Australia possesses so many navigable rivers as the northern seaboard, the Victoria having been ascended by the schooner *Tom Tough* to 100 miles above its mouth. Though necessarily hot, the climate is by no means injurious to European life, as proved by the fact that, although living there for nine months, the party did not lose a man, and scarcely any sickness prevailed. The thermometric tables, kept from November to July, indicate a range from 47° as a minimum to 106° as a maximum, with 84 days of rain. The grasses are described as so luxuriant as to grow from six to ten or twelve feet in height; large timber is scarce, though smaller and other trees bearing fruit are not rare. Rice was found indigenous in one spot by Dr. Müller, and in another by Mr. Wilson, who ascertained that it was eaten by the natives. Fish are plentiful, but kangaroos are scarce.

Not now adverting, says Sir R. I. Murchison, in his consistent advocacy of the claims of North Australia, to which we have before adverted, to the descriptions of various other animals, including the curious walking fish, and noting that the dingo or native dog is larger than in other parts of Australia, I revert with satisfaction to the ascertained healthiness of the country, as well as to the fruitfulness of the soil, to support the suggestion which I made many years ago, and again brought to your notice at the last anniversary—that, whether by the establishment of a penal settlement or a free colony, North Australia ought, unquestionably, to be occupied without further delay.

On my own part, I adhere to the opinion that, craving as we do any site to which we may transport felons, there is no region on the globe which combines more advantages, with the gain of a high political object, than the north coast of Australia with its bays and streams. The convicts who might be first planted there, as I have previously shown, will be so completely cut off from all other parts of the seaboard of Australia which are occupied or can be occupied for a long time to come, as to prevent the escape of criminals. Now, as few persons will deny that it is of great importance that our maritime power in the Indian Archipelago should be sustained by having a port on the coast of North Australia, as a refuge for our ships, and as a *point d'appui* for naval operations in case of war, so, I trust, that after colonising the other sides of this continent, England will no longer abstain from unfurling her flag on its northern shores, whether by forced or free labour.

In a subsequent report or anniversary address, the same high authority was led to modify his views somewhat in respect to the gold produce of Australia, more especially that of gold *in situ*, as also with regard to the new penal settlements—the advisability of removing which further off (to Cambridge Bay, for example) was by that time fully understood. MacDouall Stuart's explorations, and indeed the whole progress of discovery, seem also to attest that the distinguished President of the Royal Geographical Society went to as great an extreme when he denounced almost all the interior of Australia to be a sterile desert, as were the early explorers when they fancied it was all saline watery expanse or marsh. There is no doubt that there is a great extent of arid, unfertile land and worthless scrub, but we are inclined to think that the greater part of the continent will yet be found more or less available.

At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held on the 14th of January, 1861, when the journal of Mr. J. MacDouall Stuart's expedition across the centre of Australia, from Spencer Gulf on the south to latitude 18° 47′ on the north, was read before the society, Sir R. I. Murchison said he had to make an apology for a theoretical opinion he had formed as to the difficulty of traversing this continent, and Count Strzelecki, who said that he was himself at one time of opinion that the interior was a vast desert, was also, he said, ready now to recant that view.

If New South Wales, said the worthy president of the society, in connection with another topic which must for the moment take precedence of Stuart's discoveries, has exhibited a diminished supply from most of those tracts which first gave forth their golden abundance, and has only recently been enriched by a small additional quantity derived from a part of Bathurst county, the great coast-chain, bending to the west, and passing to the high level of the Mount Kosciusko of Strzelecki to Victoria, has proved to be charged in certain spots with an amount of gold quite unheard of in any other part of the world.[1]

The extraordinary rise of the flourishing colony of Victoria is the necessary result of such a vast auriferous produce, and the simple fact, that upwards of 125 tons of gold were sent to Britain in the preceding year, exclusive of local use and exportation to other countries, is so astounding, that a few years ago the mind would have been incapable of measuring the effects which such an enormous addition to the symbol of material wealth might produce upon the destinies of the human race.

Without pretending to statistical acquirements, I formerly ventured to contend that, as the scarcity of the precious metals throughout vast portions of the civilised world had long been a growing evil, and that the hoarding of a substance so easily hidden as gold would continue, and even increase, in countries having unsettled governments, so it seemed to me that, great as the supply might be, it would not be more than sufficient to meet the demand. The dry river-beds of the old world had, in fact, to be filled up with the golden stream; and experience has now shown us how long it has taken to fill them, and how inadequately they are yet supplied.

But then comes this question. If the present annual amount of supply from Victoria and California should continue, must not a great depreciation of the precious metal follow? Now the answer must be shaped in accordance with unquestionable geological and statistical evidence. Judging from experience, all gold veins in the solid crust of the earth diminish and deteriorate downwards, and can rarely be followed to any great depth except at a loss in working them. Again, as the richest portions of gold ore have been aggregated near the upper part of the original veinstones, so the heaps of gravel or detritus resulting either from former powerful abrasion or from the diurnal wear and tear of ages, and derived from the *surface* of such gold-bearing rocks, are, with rare exceptions, the only materials from which gold has been or can be extracted to great profit. These postulates, on which I have long insisted, in spite of the opposition of theorists and schemers, have every year received further confirmation, and seem, on the whole, to be so well sustained as matters-of-fact, that the real problem we have now to solve is, How much time will elapse before the gold of Australia is finally riddled out of these heaps or basins, or extracted from a few superficial veinstones?

It would indeed be presumptous in anyone who had not closely surveyed the rich auriferous tract of Victoria to pretend to answer this question; but there is a wide distinction between the measurable capacity of the contents of these broken heaps, or rare thin veinstones, *in situ*, and those imaginary mountains with bowels of gold of the theorist, the very thought of which has shaken the nerves of so many fundholders. For, it must be remembered, that all the accumulations of broken golden materials, or the great source of supply, have well-defined bottoms. They are, in fact, troughs filled in with gravel or shingle, the cubical contents of which, when the country has been thoroughly surveyed, can be computed; and though it may never be possible to predicate the amount of ore contained in all parts of such slopes or hollows, yet, judging from the rate of excavation now going on, a good geologist like Mr. Selwyn, who is conducting the survey in Victoria, may well be able to give us approximate data as to the probable number of years required to empty out the metalliferous fragments from all those troughs or basins in which they have been detected.[2]

The other sources to which I have alluded, I learn from Mr. Westgarth, an intelligent resident of the colony, have, however, of late been worked to some profit These are the narrow veinstones of quartz rock, two or three feet thick, which at the surface, are rich in gold, and which have also been partially worked in California; and so long as the miner is near the surface, these veinstones will unquestionably well repay the cost of working them. When, however, they are followed downwards into the body of the rock, they have usually been found impoverished, either thinning out into slender filaments, or graduating into silver or other ores; so that these insulated thin courses of auriferous quartz — mere threads in the mountain masses — will soon be exhausted for all profitable purposes, when the upper portions shall have been quarried out.

But whatever may be the duration of the gold produce, Victoria has already become a wealthy colony, whose agriculture and commerce have risen to a pitch which will ensure her future greatness, even should the period arrive when her rich golden harvests are no longer to be gathered.

Nowhere in the annals of mankind has there been known so wonderfully rapid a rise as that which has taken place in and around a spot which, surveyed only a few years ago, was first formed into a separate colony in 1837. In each file of the well-written periodicals of Melbourne, we see pregnant proofs that this spot is already one of the great centres of the world's commerce, and is inhabited by an intelligent and advancing people, well worthy of the parent stock.

The latest accounts from Western Australia, given in the detailed explorations of it, as published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*,

[1] The total produce of New South Wales in 1856 was 138,823 ounces, whilst the returns from Melbourne for the same year gave the enormous amount of 125 tons 6 cwt. 6 lbs., or a money value of upwards of 12 millions. My distinguished friend Sir Charles Nicholson, formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives at Sydney, informs me that there can be no doubt that gold is surreptitiously disposed of to a considerable extent (by the Chinese especially)1 so that the actual quantity of the precious metal produced is probably in great excess of that specified in the official tables.

[2] A certain amount of the gold of Melbourne, whether occurring in drift or finely levigated clay, is reached by sinking shafts through basaltic coulées, which have evidently flowed in recent times, since they cover woody substances, including cones which, though in a charred or brown-coal condition, have been recognised by Mr. Robert Brown, as belonging to the remarkable Australian living genus, the Banksia, which that great botanist was the first to find and describe.

afford little hope that our colonists are there to be enriched by mineral wealth; the great saline desert which Sturt tracked from south to north, and Eyre travelled upon coastwise on the south-west, having been met with at several points by Gregory and Austin. Again, rich as is South Australia in her Burra-Burra copper-mines, no material quantity of gold has yet been detected in that colony, notwithstanding some vigorous searches, among which those of Mr. Herschel Babbage have recently been brought to your notice.

Turning, then, from that knot of elevations which, forming the background of Victoria, are so prolific in gold, and exploring that long eastern cordillera which leads from New South Wales to the Gulf of Carpentaria, though we may meet at intervals with an auriferous patch or two to entice the explorer northwards, the real incitement to new settlers is found in the rich soil and the good herbage they fall in with as they extend civilisation northwards. Thus, from the clear and accurate survey of the vast Peel River settlements by that sound mining geologist, M. Odernheimer, we now know that no valuable amount of gold is to be found there, either in the loose *débris* or in the solid rocks. Independently, however, of gold, the northern progress of civilisation, as far as skill and energy can aid it, will assuredly be secured upon a solid basis by the present enlightened Governor-General Sir W. Denison.

The exploration of that eastern cordillera, so long ago undertaken by Count Strzelecki, and which has since been carried further out by Leichhardt, Kennedy, and Mitchell, has recently had its northern and north-western offsets brought more definitely into notice by Gregory and his associates.[1] The advanced guard of the colonists has now even crept on so far beyond Moreton Bay, as to be already within about 560 miles of the head of the Gulf of Carpentaria; and judging from the fertile nature of most of the unoccupied lands, the period doubtless is not very distant when our countrymen will reach that great haven, which, penetrating for 500 miles into the continent, will surely, in future ages, be crowded with ships carrying on a great commercial intercourse between Australia and the Eastern Archipelago, Hindostan, and China.

Looking to that future, and even to our present interests, it was a subject of regret that it should have been thought expedient to discontinue the occupation of Port Essington, and to abandon all intention of holding any other station along the northern coast of this vast continent. Unable now to enter upon a consideration of what bay of the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria may be selected as an "entrepôt," there is little doubt that the time will soon come when all minor difficulties will disappear before the energy of British colonists, in their endeavours to connect their Australian possessions with the rich marts of the eastern hemisphere.

In treating this subject there is, however, another point which seems of incalculable national importance. If the idea of forming settlements through convict labour is to be discarded as respects the Gulf of Carpentaria, because the free population of New South Wales is advancing towards that great haven, then let us turn to that noble bay upon the north coast, of which Cambridge Gulf forms the western side, and whose eastern side receives the waters of the Victoria River. First explored by Philip King in 1819, and by Wickham and Stokes in 1839, the basin of the Victoria was recently the scene of the encampment of Gregory, whence he extended his researches southwards to the saline desert, and eastwards to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The real opinion of such an experienced colonist and geographer is of infinitely greater value than those speculations which would describe the whole of that region, on account of its latitude, as unfit for the settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race! The plain answer to this view is, that on the banks of the navigable river Victoria, the party of Wickham and Stokes were perfectly healthy in 1839; and recently our countrymen were stationed there for nine months without the loss of a man. Mr. Gregory, after a residence of many years in Western Australia, has thus written to his friend, the former governor of that province: "This portion of Australia far surpasses the western coast both in its fertility and extent, and its capabilities for settlement. Good harbours are numerous along the coast, and there is abundance of fine country for stock and cultivation." Again, he says: "The valley of the Victoria far exceeds the best parts of Western Australia both in fertility and extent."

Let us also hear what Dr. Ferdinand Müller, the botanist of the last expedition, says. This gentleman, who, by his Australian researches, has, according to Sir W. Hooker, placed himself in the front rank of botanists, having collected in tropical Australia about 1,500 species of plants, of which 500 are new, thus writes to his friend Mr. C. Latrobe, the former Lieut.-Governor of Victoria: "North Australia, with the exception of the east coast, possesses essentially a dry Australian, and not a moist Indian climate. Fevers do not therefore exist, and we escaped such jungles and swamps as those in which Kennedy's party exhausted their strength. There is abundance of good country in North Australia, and with access for vessels to the lower part of the Victoria, full scope for the formation of a new colony. But as a new settlement can scarcely be formed in such a remote and certainly hot part of the globe without prison labour, against which the public mind is turned with such decision, and as, without great inducements, the squatters will find it for a long time unprofitable to migrate in this direction, I fear that the pastures of North Australia will yet be left flockless for a long time."

With such facts before them, it is possible that our government may see that this profitic and healthy region, so remote and so entirely cut off by the great interior saline desert from all our established colonies, that no intercommunication can possibly take place, is, notwithstanding its summer heats, a perfectly fit and proper receptacle for our convicts, whose labour there would completely repay their cost of maintenance. When our prisons are crowded, and crime is rapidly augmenting with our increasing population, it does, indeed, seem desirable to seize upon such a zone of exile as is here offered, and, by removing worthless characters from our land, render them really useful in occupying the only coast of that continent on which the British flag does not now fly, though it has been there twice unfurled. But I forbear to press this feature of a topic which can be better handled by politicians; and all I venture to urge is, that, whether

[1] No auriferous tract appears to have been discovered by Mr. Gregory's party.

by forced[1] or free labour, North Australia should be colonised.

When, says Sir R. I. Murchison, in 1844, I expressed an opinion from the best authority that, if our Government would render Port Essington a permanent and independent colony, rich mercantile houses would at once set up establishments there, and freight large vessels to trade with the Eastern Archipelago and China, I wrote in the full conviction that, even if that particular station should be abandoned, because it was exposed to tornados, other sites could be selected in a region, which so many experienced naval officers and other authorities have eulogised as offering capacious harbours, and a climate not unsuited to Europeans—lands in which the pastures are magnificent, whilst the sea swarms with the finest fishes.

In the face, then, of these evidences, is the state of indifference of our country to North Australia to continue? Is Britain not to commence the formation of a settlement, whether by penal servitude or free labour, in the fertile basin of the northern Victoria, or elsewhere, and thus secure future entrepôts for her commerce? What better guarantees can be had that success would follow, than the fact, that in the worst and most exposed part of this region (Port Essington) a British garrison was in a healthy state for several years, and that in its more southern portion the explorers in two expeditions have equally preserved good health?

Lastly, looking to the future destinies of our country, is it to be forgotten that France has recently taken possession, not only of that New Caledonia which our own Cook discovered and named, but also of the Isle of Pines, where our colonists from Sydney carried on a trade in sandal wood, and has thus acquired *a point d'appui* on the eastern flank of our largest Australian colony?

Or ought we to close our eyes to the vast importance not only of securing good harbours of refuge in Northern Australia, but also of there establishing naval stations, which would prove invaluable for steam navigation, and where, in the event of war, our fleets may rendezvous, and thence move directly upon the flank of any enemy, who might be operating against our eastern trade and possessions?

In short, it is scarcely possible to point to any region of the globe where British occupation is so imperatively called for, whether as a precaution, or with a view to future commercial interests.

In 1858 Mr. Augustus Gregory performed an important inland journey, from Moreton Bay, in which, though unsuccessful in discovering any relics of Leichhardt and his party (the first object of the expedition), he was enabled to define the nature of the interior of the continent from north-east to south-west, and to reach Adelaide in South Australia. Taking a north westerly course to the west-north-west, and north-west, he at first found abundance of green grass, though he fears that in seasons of drought few of the water-holes, even at a moderate distance from the colony of Moreton Bay, recently named Queensland, are permanent. Tabular sandstone ridges, basaltic peaks, or finely-timbered valleys succeed; but on passing from the River Nare to the north north-west, it was found that the drought had been of such long continuance, that the whole of the vegetable surface had been swept away by the wind, leaving the country an absolute desert; a few widely-scattered tufts of grass being the only food discoverable for the support of the horses. When on the route to the north-west, which it is known that Leichhardt had intended to follow, Gregory found that high floods had obliterated all tracks of previous explorers, and that the very districts described by Mitchell as covered by a rich vegetation, were parched and barren clays. In latitude 24° 55′, longitude 146° 6′, a tree was, however, discovered, on which the letter L was cut, indicating very, probably, that Leichhardt had encamped there.

Continuing the search towards the north-west, Gregory then encountered tremendously heavy rains, and was entangled among numerous and deep channels and boggy gullies, from which the party was only extricated by extraordinary exertions. Such are the frightful vicissitudes abounding in this low region of alternate flood and drought which separates the fertile hilly country of the east coast from the great interior saline desert. In this region they met with occasional small parties of natives, who, as usual, were shy and treacherous, but easily intimidated. Despite of all impediments, and much privation, the adventurers pushed on up Thomson River, through a desolate and arid, red-coloured, sandy country, until they reached latitude 23° 47′, when the total cessation of water and grass put an end to all efforts to penetrate farther to the north west. Compelled most unwillingly to abandon the principal object of their travels, by continuing to follow the route probably taken by Leichhardt, Gregory and his companions then turned to the south-west, and ascertained the nature of the country between his remote position and Kennedy's farthest explorations, proceeding through more southern latitudes to reach the settled country of South Australia. The vicissitudes and privations experienced in this route to the south-east are succinctly related, and the outlines of ground, whether stony desert, plains with low ridges of red drift sand, or sandstone table-lands, are well defined. Advancing by Cooper Creek, and that branch of it named, by Sturt, Strzelecki Creek, the travellers finally reached Adelaide.

Respecting the fate of Leichhardt, Mr. A. Gregory thinks it probable that the adventurous traveller, advancing from the Victoria, was lured on to the north-west by favouring thunder showers, until, on the cessation of the rains, he was arrested in the parched and waterless tract, and, unable to advance or retreat, he perished in the wilderness. Gregory also informs us, that west of the meridian of 147° east longitude most of the country is unfit for occupation, until the boundary of the colony of South Australia, or 141° east longitude, is reached in more southern parallels.

The feeling in this country was at this epoch the reverse of what it had been in the days of Oxley and

[1] It has indeed been stated, that the inhabitants of the free colonies of Australia protest against any further transportation to that continent. Now, a resident of Victoria, in South Australia, might with as much consistency declare that there should be no penal settlement in any part of the world, as that the Victoria of North Australia should not be so first settled through convict labour; for the great interior saline desert more completely separates the northern from the southern region of Australia than any sea. That desert is utterly impassable by human efforts, and any convict who should escape from Victoria River or Cambridge Gulf would have to find his way by upwards of four thousand miles of sea voyage before he could reach Melbourne! It is, indeed, extraordinary that, in the debates upon this subject, no allusion has been yet made to Cambridge Gulf and the rich basin of the Victoria River.

Cunningham, that the interior of Australia was a watery plain; it took the opposite extreme, and the explorations of Mr Gregory were said to combine with the researches of Sturt to demonstrate that, whether as examined from the north east or south, a very large portion of the interior was a worthless saline desert.

Mr. Herschel Babbage, however, who had previously distinguished himself by a survey of Southern Australia, did not lend himself to this discouraging hypothesis. Aided by Mr. C. Gregory, armed with an apparatus for the conversion of salt water into fresh, the transport of which, however, proved to be a great encumbrance; and substituting riding and pack-horses for heavy teams and drays, this explorer showed how capable he was of reaching and defining a new country in which fresh water was found to exist. Fixing with accuracy the latitude and longitude of several points, he proved the existence of dry land between the masses of water which had been previously united upon our maps under the name of Lake Torrens, while he defined their outlines, distinguishing the northernmost of them by the name of Lake Gregory.

Various other documents and sketch-maps relating to South Australia, demonstrated what vigorous exertions have been made by other explorers. Thus, Major Warburton defined large tracts of country north of the Gawler Ranges, *i. e.*, between Streaky Bay on the south-west, and the saline country occupied by Lake Gairdner and its adjacent lagoons. The larger part of this country seems to be incapable of supporting colonists, from the want of fresh water, and its prevalent saline character. This active officer also showed that, in many parts, the saline condition of the surface of the country was due to the existence of saliferous rocks beneath, being in this respect analogous to the saline steppes of Russia. Police trooper Geharty, in a separate tour, proved the extension of lands equally sterile with those explored by Major Warburton, which was to be expected, as the tract lies contiguous to the sterile coast range of Eyre. To the east of Lakes Torrens and Gregory the explorations of Mr. Samuel Parry and Corporal Burt were also worthy of notice; the former having determined several points of latitude and longitude, and having given us information respecting the nature of the rocks which occupy the region intermediate between Lake Torrens and Angepena, near the settled parts of the colony.

In the meantime, whilst Mr. Babbage was occupied with his earlier difficulties, and other explorers were determining the real condition of the saline tracts lying between 32° 30′ and 31° of latitude, an unaided colonist, Mr. MacDouall Stuart, a former companion of Sturt, passed rapidly beyond all these saline tracts, and discovered a large, well watered, and more elevated region to the north-west. As soon as he ascertained the existence of a permanent supply of fresh water at Andamoka, in south latitude 30½°, and had thus secured a retreat, he dashed on to the north and north west, and soon fell in with numerous gum-creeks, containing streams which flowed from hills ranging from south-east to north-west, and further ascertained that large portions of this region were well grassed, and admirably adapted for settlement!

The Governor of South Australia, Sir R. G. MacDonnell, stated that the extent of this newly discovered available land amounted to from 1200 to 1800 square miles, and rightly named the principal waterparting, Stuart Range. His Excellency then added, that the House of Assembly of South Australia had presented an address to him, requesting that the necessary steps should be taken for granting Mr. Stuart a fourteen years' lease of 1500 square miles of the new country.

When we look to the fact that this explorer had, in the first instance, to get through the southern saline desert between the sea and those interior lands—that he was accompanied by one white man, Foster, and a black man only, and that his compass and watch were his only instruments, we cannot too highly applaud his success.

Not only did Mr. MacDouall Stuart define the northern portion of this new and fertile region, but before he returned by a most daring and perilous route to the coast on a meridian far to the west of his line of advance, he also ascertained the southern limit of all the available land.

Nothing in Australian travel more strikingly displays the bold and undaunted spirit of adventure, than when Mr. Stuart had reached the southern limit of the fresh-watered country, and ascended a hill near Mount Espy to look southward over the country between him and the sea, he descried nothing but a vast saline desert through which (his provisions being almost exhausted) he must pass. Nothing daunted by that dismal prospect, or the great privations he would have to suffer, he regained the sea-shore, and, travelling along it, once more found himself on the threshold of colonisation. From the 7th of August, when he entered on this desert country, he and his companion Foster had to suffer from hunger and thirst during a fortnight before they reached the settlement of Mr. Gibson, in Streaky Bay. There, both the explorers nearly died, in consequence of the sudden change from a state of want to good diet. Recovering, however, they reached the regularly settled districts of the colony, and were hailed with acclamation in Adelaide.

Now, had the brave MacDouall Stuart perished like Leichhardt in this last dreadful march to the sea-board, all notion of a well-watered, rich interior country on the north-west might have been for ages unknown, and his success being ignored, his fate would have checked all further enterprise in that direction.

Whilst it is pleasing to reflect on this happy result, it is also well to know, that the newly-discovered fertile lands may be approached from the settled and central portions of the colony without touching upon any part of the sterile saline coast-tract. For, as above said, it has been ascertained that the Lake Torrens of earlier days is divided into at least two bodies of water, and that the mass of land dividing them, which has since been traversed, may serve as the line of route to Stuart Range.

Through the researches of the government surveyor, Mr. Samuel Parry and of Corporal Burt, as well as by a return journey of Major Warburton, it has also been ascertained that practicable routes exist from Angepena, on the north-west of the settled country of Adelaide, to the region of Lake Torrens, by which (there being a sufficiency of water-holes) a communication may, it is hoped, be maintained between the settled districts and the new country.

Whilst such were the discoveries of travellers overland, an object of paramount importance to Australia has been accomplished by water. The opening of the River Murray to navigation was first accomplished by Captain Francis Cadell, in 1853. Steadily persevering, with augmented resources and additional steamers, the

same individual and other parties have been recently plying on this river from its mouth, near Adelaide, in South Australia, to Albury, a distance of nearly 1800 miles. The channel of the Wakool has also been tested for fifty miles, and Captain Cadell has passed up the Morrumbidgee in a steamboat for 800 miles. Thus, a region in which six years ago no internal traffic existed, has been opened out to water-carriage over a distance of 2650 miles, it being estimated that 1150 miles more may eventually be accomplished in the Rivers Wakool, Edward, and Darling. The Murray and Morrumbidgee are now ascertained to be navigable from May to the end of December in every year, and for the whole twelve months in those years when more than the average amount of snow and rain falls in the Alpine country in which they take their rise. The Darling, not having its sources in mountains of such altitude, cannot be similarly reckoned upon, though probably it might also be rendered navigable in ordinary seasons if the drift timber, which at present encumbers it, were removed. Referring to the clear and searching report of a committee on the navigation of the Murray and its affluents, printed by order of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales (29th October, 1858), we cull from that document the astounding fact, that twenty towns, some of them of considerable size, such as Albury, Deniliquin, Gundagai, Tumut, and Wagga-Wagga, have been called into existence, and that seven more are about to be prochimed. Already 71,000 acres of land in this vicinity have been sold; and if, by artesian borings, fresh water should be obtained in the vast salt-bush countries yet unoccupied, prodigious additional quantities of sheep and cattle may be supported in the adjacent regions

Descending from the lofty Australian Alps of Strzelecki (Mount Kosciusko), the Murray traverses tracts, some of which, as well as portions of the basin of the Morrumbidgee, have been ascertained by the Rev. J. M. Clarke to be highly auriferous, and in other respects also metalliferous. One of these gold tracts, Adelong, has indeed already been reached within sixteen miles by one of the steamers. When we consider that this internal water-carriage is already very serviceable for a vast distance to the colony of South Australia, in which the Murray debouches; that higher up the same stream is contiguous to the rich gold-bearing and rapidly rising tracts of the northern parts of Victoria; and that, out of the 1,800 miles now proved to be navigable, 1,300 lie within the territory of New South Wales, we must rejoice in the reflection that British industry and science have brought into activity a line of intercourse and traffic which must for ever unite in mutual interest the three largest of our Australian colonies.

Under the auspices of Sir Richard Macdonnell, Mr. William Randall performed, in the year 1859, the most remarkable achievement in steam navigation which has yet been accomplished on the Australian continent. This consisted in a voyage on the Darling, extending by the windings of the river to 2,400 miles from the sea, and to 1,800 reckoning from the junction of the Darling and Murray. The Darling in its long course has but a single fall of about eight feet in several hundred yards, an obstruction to its navigation only when its waters are at the lowest; so that we have here a great water-way into the interior of the continent, and already on the fertile banks of the Darling many runs have been established.

On the north-eastern side of the continent, and towards the southern limits of the new government of Queensland, a very important discovery was made the same year, consisting of a capacious harbour sheltered from every wind. The territory within which this harbour exists is on the eastern slopes of the Australian Alps, and is therefore probably well watered, which is equivalent to its being fertile, since it lies close to the tropic. Should this turn out to be the case, it will most likely be found well adapted to the growth of cotton, the sugar-cane, and even coffee. In this event an abundance of suitable labour only will be wanting, which can be supplied by a liberal importation of Chinese immigrants.

IX.

J. MacDouall Stuart's Exploratory Journeys in the Interior — Journey of 1860 — MacDonnell Range — Mount Stuart, Centre of Australia — Mount Denison — Serious Illness — Bonney and MacLaren's Creeks — Supposed Tributaries to the Victoria — Murchison Ranges — MacDouall Stuart is compelled to return by the Hostility of the Natives — Second Journey in 1861.

We shall now proceed to give some account of Mr. J. MacDouall Stuart's exploratory journey made in 1860, and which, with Burke's, and the same traveller's (MacDonall Stuart) subsequent journies, are among the most remarkable yet made towards determining the true character of the interior of the Australian continent. We must at the same time guard against being led away by the success of this adventurous and successful traveller to adopt the belief that there are vast internal tracts of great continuous extension where colonists can settle. The data ascertained by Stuart amount simply to this, that, at considerable distances from each other, there exist oases, refreshed by springs, in and around which good pasturage for sheep and cattle are to be obtained. On the other hand, these oases are separated from each other by broad tracts of bushy scrub, often saline, most difficultly permeable, and in which no trace of springs has been detected. Such intercalated waterless tracts present, therefore, considerable but by no means insuperable obstacles: for, if Stuart could traverse and retraverse them with his appliances, how much less will be the difficulty when the scattered and well-watered oases become so many centres of occupation by the location of herdsmen and the erection of rural habitations, such, for example, as Messrs. Chambers and Finke, the spirited employers of MacDonall Stuart, propose to establish.

The *South Australian Advertiser* has, with pardonable enthusiasm, held out the same explorer's latest successes as far surpassing all that had been previously done. We need not (says the journalist) remind the reader of the various attempts that for many long years past have been made to cross the Australian mainland, or, as it has been termed, "to solve the problem of the interior." From almost every point of the coast expeditions have been despatched, equipped and provisioned with all that ingenuity could devise or money procure; the great object of ambition being to reach the centre—to reach it from any point, and having made the centre, to strike any part of the opposite shore. All these expeditions have failed. They have enjoyed the advantage of intrepid and skilful leaders; in some instances a light and in other

HUNTING KANGAROOS.

instances a heavy equipment has been preferred; the conditions and circumstances of starting have been varied; the failures of former expeditions have resulted in the preparation of new and improved schemes of action, which it was fondly believed would convert a series of disasters into eventual success; scientific geographers have combined with hardy bushmen; but, alas! the same issue has awaited every renewed attempt; and the latest map of Australia is decorated—east, west, north, and south—with explorers' tracks along the coast-line, and here and there for a limited distance inland; but the centre is a blank. No hand had dared to fill up that blank. No one could say whether the centre of Australia was a salt sea or a fresh lake, or a desert of eternal sand, or a fruitful and populous country of hills, valleys, and rivers. But our old maps must now be thrown away, and a new map be prepared. Stuart has solved the problem; has penetrated to the centre; has shown us mountain ranges and grassy valleys; has described to us the flora and fauna of that *terra incognita*; has briefly sketched for us the native races; has—in one word—filled up the map of Australia for the information of mankind, and for the special benefit of all who live on this part of the earth's surface.

The plans and charts designed by Mr. Stuart to accompany his diary are not yet out of the hands of the lithographer, but they will shortly be produced in sufficient numbers to enable all persons to preserve a perfect record of this wonderful feat of travel. Let it be remembered that Stuart, Kekwick, and Heed—three men only—have done this great deed; have visited, revisited, and again revisited the centre of Australia; have advanced from that centre in various lines of direction; have filled up the map of the country along the whole of their long track and its many divergencies; and were only prevented by hostile tribes of native warriors from accomplishing wh

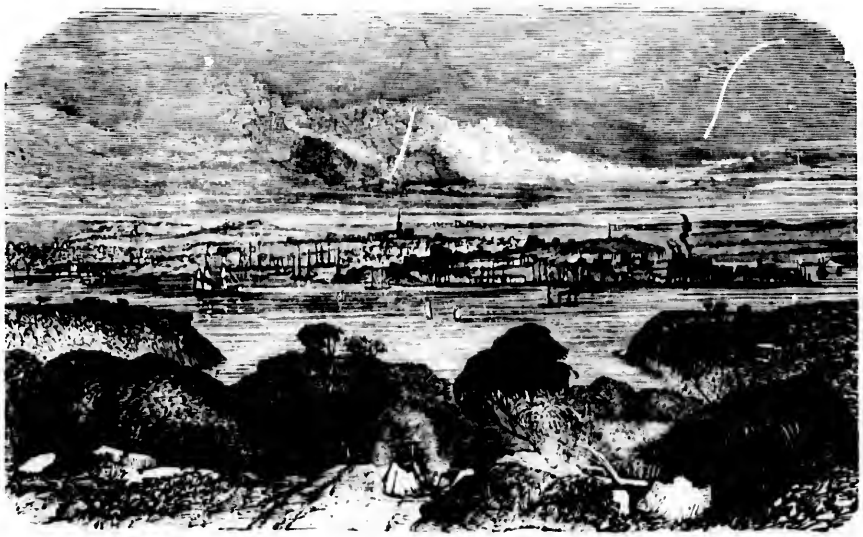
GOLD DIGGINGS AT OPHIR.

they looked forward to as the legitimate reward of their heroic efforts—the making of the northern or north-western coast.

MacDonall Stuart left Chamber's Creek on the 2nd day of March, 1860, for the north-west, with thirteen horses and two men. They passed, the very next day, over the spot where the natives had had a fight, and there were the remains of a tall native lying on his back—the flesh nearly devoured by crows and dingos or native dogs. On the 16th they lost a horse in a bog. On the 17th they fetched a creek, called the Neales, and which they held by to nearly the end of the month. On the 12th of April they reached the MacDonnell range of hills, the first real range, Stuart says, since leaving Flinder's Range; and on the 22nd they camped in 111° 30′. "I am now camped," says Stuart, in his diary, "in the centre of Australia, about two and a half miles to the north-north-east, in a high mount. I wish it had been in the centre. I shall go to it to-morrow and build a cone of stones, plant the British flag, and name it Central Mount Stuart." On the 27th they found traces of natives on the east side of Mount Denison; and again, on the 1st of May, on the north-west side of Mount Barkly. On the 17th they saw two natives armed with spears; by this time the horses were nearly exhausted, and Stuart himself was attacked with an illness under which he was nearly succumbing at the latter end of the month.

On the 1st of June they reached the Murchison ranges, and struck several large gum creeks, which Stuart believed must empty themselves at the north-west coast, or into a lake. On the 13th of June, Stuart narrates The horses still look bad, and stayed by the water nearly all night; they had been 101 hours without a drop, and have accomplished a journey of 112 miles; they will require a week to recover; one is very lame, from a kick the little mare gave him in her madness. Thus ends at present my last attempt to make the Victoria River; three times have I tried it and been forced to retreat.

About eleven o'clock I heard the voice of a native; looked round and saw two in the scrub, about a quarter of a mile distant. I beckoned them to approach, but they kept making signs which I could not understand. I then moved towards them, but the moment they saw me move they ran off immediately. Some quarter of an hour afterwards they again made their appearance on the top of the quartz reef opposite our camp, and two others showed themselves in the same place where the two first did. Thinking this was the only water, I made signs to the two on the reef to go to the water; still they continued to talk and make signs which I could not understand; it seemed as if they wished us to go away, which I was determined not to do. They made a number of frantic gestures, shaking their spears and twirling them round their heads, I suppose bidding us defiance. The youngest was about twenty-five years of age. He placed a very long spear into the instrument they threw them with, and after a few more gestures descended from the reef and gradually came nearer. I made signs of encouragement to him to come on, at the same time moving towards him. At last we arrived on the banks of the creek, I on one side, he on the other. He had a long spear, a wamera, two instruments like the boomerang, but more the shape of a scimetar with a very sharp edge, having a thick place at the end for the hand, roughly carved. The gestures he was making were signs of hostility. He came fully prepared for war. I then broke a bunch of green leaves and held it up before him, inviting him to come across to me. That he did not fancy, so I crossed to him and got within two yards of him. He thought I was quite near enough and would not have me any nearer, for he kept moving back as I approached



SYDNEY.

him, till at last we both stood still. I tried to make him understand by signs that all we wanted was the water for two or three days. At last he seemed to understand, nodded his head, pointed to the water, then to our camp, and held up his five fingers. I then endeavoured to learn from him if there was water to the north or north-east, but could make nothing of him. He viewed me very steadily for a long time, began talking; and seeing that I did not understand him, he made the sign that natives generally do of wanting something to eat, and pointed towards me. Whether he meant to ask if I was hungry, or that I would make a supper for him, I do not know. I bowed my head as if I understood him perfectly. We then separated, keeping a watchful eye upon him all the time I was crossing the creek. Before I left him the other one joined. The first was a tall, powerful, well made fellow, upwards of six feet; his hair was very long; he had a net of a red colour round his head, with the ends of his hair lying on his shoulders. I observed no other thing that was peculiar about him. They had neither skins nor anything round their bodies, but were quite naked. They then took their departure. A short time afterwards I saw them joined by five others; we have seen no more of them to-day, and I hope they will not again trouble us, but let my horses rest in peace.

On the 23d they were again visited by two natives, who presented them with four opossums and a number of small parrots. They were, Stuart relates, much frightened at first, but after a short time became very bold, and wished to steal everything they could lay their fingers on. I caught one concealing the rasp used in shoeing horses, under the netting he had round

his waist, and was obliged to take it away from him by force. The canteens they seemed determined to have, and it was with trouble we could keep them away. They wanted to pry into everything, and it was with difficulty we could keep them off. In about half an hour two other young men approached the camp. Thinking they might be in want of water, and afraid to come to it on account of the horses, I sent Ben with a tin dishful, which they drank. They were very young men, and much frightened, and would not come near. About an hour before sundown the first that came returned, bringing with them three others. Two were powerful, tall, good-looking young men, and as fine ones as I have yet seen. They had a hat or helmet on their heads, which looked very neat—fitted close to the brow, rising straight up to a rounded peak, three or four inches above the head, and gradually became narrower, towards the back part. The outside is network; the inside is composed of feathers, very tightly bound with cord until it is as hard as a piece of wood. It may be used as a protection against the sun, or armour for the battle-field. One of them had a great many scars upon him and seemed to be a leading man. Two only had helmets on, the others had pieces of netting bound round their foreheads. One was an old man, and seemed to be the father of the two young men. He was very talkative, but I could make nothing of him. I endeavoured to obtain from him where the next water is, by signs, and so on. After talking some time, and he talking to his sons, turned round and astonished me by giving me a masonic sign. I looked at him steadily. He repeated it, as did also his two sons. I returned it, which seemed to please them much. The old man then patted me on the shoulder, stroked my head, and took their departure, making friendly signs till out of sight. We enjoyed a good supper from the opossums, which we have not had for many a day. I find the quantity of rations is not enough; the men are complaining of weakness, for want of sufficient rations.

On the 26th of June, when they were pursuing their way down a large gum creek, with sheets of water, they saw some natives, as also their fires. Towards evening, Stuart relates, he was moving on to the place where they had crossed the creek in the morning, and had just entered some scrub, when suddenly up started three tall powerful men, fully armed, having a number of boomerangs, waddies, and spears; their distance from us being about 200 yards; it being also near dark, and the scrub we were then in being very disadvantageous for us, I wished to pass them on, without taking any notice of them; but such was not their intention, as they continued to approach us, calling out, and making all sorts of gestures, apparently of defiance. I then faced them, making all sorts of signs of friendship I could think of. They seemed to be in a great fury, moving their boomerangs about their heads, and howling to the top of their voices, also performing some sort of dance. They were now joined by a number more, which in a few minutes increased to upwards of thirty—every bush seemed to produce a man. Putting the horses on towards the creek, and placing ourselves between them and the natives, I told the men to get their guns ready, for I could see they were determined upon mischief. They paid no regard to all the signs of friendship I kept constantly making, but were still gradually approaching nearer. I felt very unwilling to fire upon them, and continued making signs of peace and friendship, but all to no purpose. An old man (the leader), who was in advance, made signs, with his boomerang, for us to be off, which proved to be one of defiance, for I had no sooner turned my horse's head to see if that was what they wished, than we received a shower of boomerangs, accompanied by a fearful yell; they then commenced jumping, dancing, yelling and showing their arms in all sorts of postures, like so many fiends, and setting fire to the grass. I could now see many others getting up from behind the bushes. Still I felt unwilling to fire upon them, and tried to make them understand that we wished to do them no harm; they now came within 40 yards of us, and again made a charge, throwing their boomerangs, which came whistling and whizzing past our ears. One spear struck my horse. I then gave orders to fire, which stayed their mad career for a little. Our pack-horses, which were before us, took fright when they heard the firing and fearful yelling, and made off for the creek. Seeing the blacks running from bush to bush, with the intention of cutting us off from them, while those in front were still yelling, throwing their boomerangs, and coming nearer to us, we gave them another reception, and sent Ben after the horses, to drive them to a more favourable place, while Keckwick and I remained to cover our rear. We soon got in advance of our enemies, but they still kept following, beyond the reach of our guns, the fearful yelling continuing, and fires springing in every direction; and it being now quite dark, with the country scrubby and our enemies numerous, bold, and daring, we could easily be surrounded and destroyed by such determined fellows as they have shown themselves to be. Seeing there was no chance with such fearful odds against us (ten to one), and knowing the disadvantages under which we laboured, I very unwillingly made up my mind to push on to last night's camp, which we did. I have considered the matter over, and I do not think it prudent to remain here to night; I shall therefore continue my journey until reaching the open grassy plain on Gum Creek; they still keep following us. I only wish I had four other men, my party being so small we can only fall back and act on the defensive. If I were to stand, and fight them, our horses must remain unprotected, and we in all probability cut off from them, which they seem to be aiming at, and prevent our advance up the creek; by this time they must know that we do not care for them. Arrived at Hayward's Creek at 11 o'clock.

Wednesday, June 27.—Hayward's Creek. Last night it was my intention to have gone this morning to Keckwick's Ponds to water the horses, give them this day to rest, and to have proceeded the next day back to the large creek, and go on to the distant hills that I was steering for on the 25th instant; but, after considering the matter over, I have most reluctantly come to the determination of abandoning the attempt to make the Gulf of Carpentaria, as being most imprudent, situated as I am, and my party being too small to cope with such wily determined natives as those we have just encountered. Their arrangements and manner of attack were as well conducted and planned as Europeans could do it. They observed us passing in the morning, examined our tracks to see which way we had gone; knew we could get no water down the creek and must return to get it, so thus must have planned their attack. Their

charge was in double column, open order, and we had to take steady aim to make an impression. With such as these for enemies, it would be destruction to all my party for me to attempt to go on, and all the information of the interior that I have already obtained would be lost, having only half rations for six months (four of which are already gone) and my men complaining of weakness from short rations, and unable to perform what they ought to do, and my health being so bad that I am scarcely able to sit in the saddle the whole day. After considering all these obstacles, I think it would be madness and folly to attempt and risk more. If my own life would be the only sacrifice, I would willingly give it to accomplish the end I aimed at, but it seems I am not to obtain it. Man proposes, but God disposes; and His will must be obeyed. Only two showers of rain have fallen since March. I am afraid of the water drying up to the south. I fully expected rain at this time, but not a drop has come. The days now are very hot. The feed for the horses is as dry as if it had been the middle of summer. They are much reduced in condition; so much so that I am afraid of their being longer than one night without water. Seeing there are signal smokes around, and judging that our black friends at Keckwick Ponds might have been playing a double part with us, I gave them a wide berth, and steered for Bishop's Creek, where we arrived in the afternoon. No natives have been here since we left; they seem to be very numerous, judging from the number of graves (which are in trees) that we have passed between this and the large creek where they made their attack upon us. These natives have quite a different cast of features from those in the south; they have neither the broad flat nose, large mouth, nor the projecting eyebrows; but more of the Malay; they are tall, muscular, well-made men, and I think must have seen or encountered white men before.

Mr. MacDouall Stuart finally reached Chamber's Creek on his return, on Saturday, September 1st, 1860, after one of the most remarkable exploratory journeys yet performed in the attempt to cross the Continent.

Mr. MacDouall Stuart made another attempt during the past year, 1861, to cross the Australian Continent. Driven back, on his previous journey, by the hostility of the natives, he was this time accompanied by a force sufficiently powerful to resist any aggression. Nevertheless, from the greatly increased consumption of provisions, it was found that there would not be sufficient to enable him to hold out in his efforts to reach his destination; hence he was not able to reach the northern coast. The farthest point attained being in longitude 133° latitude 17°, within some hundred miles of the Gulf of Carpentaria. On his return to Adelaide, on the 23rd of September, he describes his way as having lain across reaches of waterless and arid plains, which were, however, fortunately for him, interspersed by tracks of well-grassed and watered bits of country, suitable for the habitation of man, and eminently so for sheep and cattle.

One of the most elaborate, and yet at the same time most unfortunate, schemes of discovery was the last of all, got up originally through the offer of £1,000 by an anonymous individual and the conditional raising of £2,000 more. The arrangement and direction of the expedition was confided to a select body of learned men. Camels were procured from Arabia; and on the 20th of August, 1860, a thoroughly well-equipped and carefully organised expedition started to explore the great mystery of Central Australia under the command of Robert O'Hara Burke, with W. J. Wills as his scientific assistant, and about a dozen others, with twenty-five camels, horses and stores. They set forth from Melbourne cheered by a vast multitude, but unfortunately Mr. Landella, who had charge of the camels, returned with the rest of the party, leaving Burke, Wills, and two men, King and Gray, to continue the enterprise with six camels, one horse and three months' provisions. This gallant little band succeeded in crossing the continent and reaching the Gulf of Carpentaria, but unfortunately on their return to Cooper's Creek, almost within the bounds of civilisation, the depôt party had gone, practically abandoning them in their then condition to their fate, and they all, with the exception of King, who was rescued by Mr. Howitt's party, perished from exhaustion and starvation.

"There is not," writes the *Melbourne Herald*, "a more touching and romantic chapter than the narrative of John King, the sole survivor of the expedition. It will live in the minds of generations to come. When the wilderness which they have added to the possessions of civilisation is populous with busy towns and quiet pastoral villages, at many a fireside will the story of Burke and his companions be rehearsed. How they started from Melbourne, an imposing cavalcade, amidst the cheers and farewells of assembled thousands; how they journeyed with speed and comparative ease to Menindie, and, leaving a reserved force there, continued their route to Cooper's Creek; how, having completed all his arrangements in a most business-like way, and given his last directions, the leader, with his three trusty fellow-explorers, struck boldly and confidently into the untracked desert; how they went right across the continent, and saw the tidal influence of the Indian Ocean upon the waters of the Albert River; how they encamped there for a time, vainly looking out for help to reach them by sea; how they returned upon their track, leaving one of their number on the route a victim to famine, and reached the Cooper's Creek depôt within a few hours of the time when the relief party had abandoned it; how their scanty stock of provisions was soon consumed, and they were for a time sustained by the kindly services of the savages; but at length, all supplies failing, and after an ineffectual effort to reach the nearest point of the settled district, Wills first and then Burke, sank under their cruel privations and King alone remained alive to convey the sad intelligence of the fate of the explorers. It is, we say, a most moving story, and the pathetic interest of it is crowned by the calm passive heroism with which the adventurers met their melancholy doom. Wills, self-sacrificing in the last trying moment, urges his two companions to 'try their last chance,' and leave him to his fate. They part from him with bitter hearts, and he lies down and dies, in blank solitude. Then the leader himself feels the shadows of death impending over him, and giving his final instructions to the sole survivor—to leave his body unburied, with a pistol in his right hand, that the searchers after him might at once recognise Burke the explorer—he too renders up his life. Peace to the ashes of the brave, intrepid men! They died in the very execution of their duty, faithfully and orderly to the last; and they died after having fully accomplished the arduous enterprise to which they had unreservedly committed themselves."

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THE COLONIES OF AUSTRALIA.

[The following description of the Australian Colonies was written in 1863. Since that period the Colonies have rapidly increased in population and wealth. For later Statistics, see page 397.]

I.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

COLONIES OF AUSTRALIA—NEW SOUTH WALES—DIFFICULTIES OF EARLY PROGRESS—POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL ERAS—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES—DESCRIPTION OF SYDNEY—COMMERCE—POPULATION—GOLD FIELDS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

NEW SOUTH WALES, as might be expected from its priority, is considerably in advance of the other Australian colonies. The little colony of convicts and others founded in 1788 by Captain Arthur Philip consisted of 1,030 individuals; it now numbers 310,000 souls. Its stock consisted of one bull, four cows, one stallion, three mares, and three colts. According to the latest official returns, the live stock of the colony then numbered: horses, 168,929; horned cattle, 2,023,418; sheep, 7,736,323; pigs, 105,998. Its chief harbour, Port Jackson, is hardly surpassed, if equalled, by any in the world; while the city of Sydney, the mistress of this noble harbour and the capital of the colony, is, with regard to its geographical position, as in every other respect, very superior to Melbourne.

By the adjoining colonies, Sydney has been designated the Queen of the South, and it is admitted on all hands that she is entitled to the favourable distinction. Many of the warehouses and shops rank with some of the best in London, and the leading banking establishments, so far as the buildings are concerned, are superior to any of the private or joint-stock banks of the English metropolis, and are not unlike some of our noble west-end club-houses.

Yet has this now prosperous colony and great city, with its noble approaches by sea and by land, had many difficulties to fight with in its upward career. Even during the first two years of its existence the progress of the colony in embryo was retarded by incredible difficulties, which nothing but extraordinary patience and perseverance on the part of the residents, and the moral and physical courage of Governor Philip, could have withstood. In 1790, however, the arrival of the second fleet changed the aspect of affairs, and the colonists began to look forward with hope.

At the latter end of 1792, Governor Philip embarked for England. The government was then successively administered by Captains Grose and Paterson until the 7th August, 1795, when Captain Hunter, R.N., arrived in Sydney, and assumed the administration of affairs. His government lasted five years; and the accession of a regiment for the colony, called the New South Wales Corps (afterwards the 102nd Regiment), and the arrival of capitalists and other free settlers from England, imparted new incentives to industry, and an improved tone to society. Captain Hunter was succeeded by Captain King, who had many vexatious difficulties and determined opponents to contend with. Captain Bligh, who had acquired an unenviable notoriety by his treatment of Christian and his comrades in H.M.S. *Bounty*, when sent to convey the bread fruit from the South Sea Islands to the West Indies, succeeded Captain King. Placed in arbitrary power, the iron rule of this officer was resisted by the colonists, and after a short reign of eighteen months, he was deposed by the officers and men of the New South Wales Corps; and the government was successively administered by Lieutenant-Colonels Johnstone and Foveaux, and Colonel Patterson, from the 26th January, 1808, to the 28th December, 1809, when Lieutenant-Colonel, afterwards Major-General, Macquarie arrived, and assumed the reins of government, the New South Wales Corps being ordered home. The Governor's sway was exercised for twelve years, during which period great progress was made. Population, both free and bond, increased; public buildings were erected at the expense of the British Government; roads were constructed by convict labour, and government farms established. One of the most valuable labours which the annals of the colony of this period present was the exploration of the Bathurst country, and as we have before seen the passage of the Blue Mountains.

Governor Macquarie was relieved in December, 1821, and was succeeded by Major General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B., during whose administration the liberty of the press was established, the right to publish being previously prohibited except by direct license from the governor. He remained in office until the latter end of 1825, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Darling, whose administration extended to October, 1831. His successor, Sir Richard Bourke, was a far more popular governor.

Sir Richard Bourke, after six years' administration of the Government, embarked on the 5th of December, 1837, for England, and on the 23rd of February, 1838, Sir George Gipps arrived in Sydney and assumed the reins of government. The year 1838 was disastrous to the colony, whether as regarded in its commercial, agricultural, or pastoral enterprise; and in November a day of general fasting and humiliation was appointed to be held throughout the territory, severely suffering from a long protracted drought.

In July, 1841, the fifth census of the population was taken. The result was:—males, 87,298; females, 43,558; total, 130,856.

In 1842, two most important measures came into operation; the first was the incorporation of the cities of Sydney and Melbourne, in both of which the municipal elections were conducted with great spirit. The second was the Crown Land Sales Act, 5 and 6 Vict. c. 36, under which Mr. Wakefield's system of bounty emigration was brought into force. The upset price of land was fixed at £1 per acre, and one-half of the proceeds of all land sales was appropriated to immigration purposes.

The year 1843 makes an important era in the political history of New South Wales. On the 1st of January, Sir George Gipps received a despatch from the colonial minister, inclosing the Constitutional Act, 5 and 6 Vict., c. 76, by which further provision for the government of the Australian possessions was made. By this Act a Legislative Council was constituted, partly elective, partly non-elective; electoral districts were constituted, and on the whole a liberal

measure of self-government was conceded to the colonists. This Act was proclaimed on the 5th, and took effect from that day; and the general election took place in June.

In July, Sir George Gipps issued a new code of Squatting Regulations, greatly modifying the unpopular code of 1844.

On the 11th of July, Sir George Gipps, after an administration of eight years, embarked for England. He quitted the scene of his long government with impaired health, and died soon after his return home. Bright passages in his career will long be gratefully remembered by the colonists.

On the 2nd of August, 1846, Sir Charles Augustus Fitz Roy arrived at Sydney, as the successor of Sir George Gipps.

The year 1847 gave promise of increasing prosperity, and in opening the session of the Legislative Council in May, Sir Charles offered his congratulations on the condition of the colony. The colonists were, on the 6th December, 1847, plunged into grief by the death of Lady Mary Fitz Roy, through an accident caused by her being thrown from her carriage.

On the 13th of January, 1851, Sir Charles Fitz Roy issued a proclamation, announcing the receipt of a copy of the Acts of the Imperial Parliament, 13th and 14th Victoria, cap. 59, by which the district of Port Phillip was separated from New South Wales, and erected into a separate colony, to be known and designated as Victoria; provision being made, otherwise, for the better government of Her Majesty's Australian possessions.

A new era in the history of New South Wales must now be dated. On the 12th of February, the existence of the extensive gold-field near the town of Bathurst was discovered; and on the 6th of May the discovery was officially announced at Bathurst. A most important point in respect to the gold discoveries, namely, the settlement of the *quæstio vexata* as to the management of the gold-fields, was raised by Mr. Wentworth on the re-assembling of the session in 1852; but by a happy coincidence, the Australian R. M. steamer arrived on the afternoon of Mr. Wentworth's motion, having on board despatches from Sir J. Pakington, announcing that Her Majesty's Government had determined to place at the disposal of the Governor and Legislature of New South Wales (and also of Victoria) the fund arising from license fees and royalty on gold, with the power of framing the necessary regulations. Thus this long-contested point was satisfactorily adjusted, and the Executive and Legislative Councils were enabled to proceed together in harmony.

To other important features in the administration of Sir Charles Fitz Roy, we will now briefly refer. It was during this period that the uniform twopenny postage rate was introduced into the colony; a system which it must be admitted conferred great benefits on the public, and it is a source of just pride to say that New South Wales was the first British colony which introduced this system, and also that which admitted books, parcels, and magazines for publication at a moderate rate of postage; and then followed the introduction of ocean steam communication with India and Europe.

We must next refer to the incorporation, endowment, and inauguration of the University of Sydney, with its affiliated Colleges and Grammar School. The turning the first sod of the Great Southern Railway, the laying the first stone of the site of the FitzRoy Dry Dock, the first stone of the Sydney Exchange, and the establishment of the Sydney branch of the Royal Mint.

The great act of Sir Charles Fitz Roy's reign, however, was the passing of the Constitution Act of New South Wales, by which the great political principle of responsible government was conceded to the colonists. The royal assent to this measure did not arrive here until after the departure of Sir Charles, who retired amidst the approving plaudits of the people. His Excellency died in London, on the 19th of February 1858.

The political features in the administration of his successor, Sir William Denison, have, as yet, been those necessarily attending the establishment and inauguration of the new form of government, which renders necessary the entire revision of the existing electoral system. The inauguration of the new Act was celebrated on the 17th July, 1856, by a national banquet, to which the Governor-General, the Judges, the former Ministers, and those of the day, the Foreign Consuls, and Mr. James Macarthur were invited to attend. The Hon. Dr. Bland, the earliest champion in the cause of Responsible Government, presided. In other departments, religious, educational, scientific, literary, and social, the administration of Sir William Denison has been one of marked progress; new churches, colleges, schools, and scientific institutions and societies have arisen and are rapidly advancing. His Excellency's lectures before the Philosophical, the Agricultural, and the Horticultural Societies of New South Wales, and the Young Men's Christian Association, together with his visit to Norfolk Island to inquire into the condition of the Pitcairn Islanders (recently transplanted from their less genial home) and confer on them a political constitution, give ample promise, that so soon as present political difficulties are adjusted, the administration of Sir William Denison will be one in every way illustrative of the "poetry of progress."

We are indebted for this succinct account of the past progress of the colony to *Fairfax's Handbook to Australia*, published in Melbourne, and except that it attaches a vast deal more importance to Victoria than to New South Wales, Queensland or any other colony, a very admirable guide-book to the new continent.

Another writer—the anonymous author of *The Rise and Progress of Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand*, &c.—corroborates the statement with regard to the recent financial difficulties, against which the colonists have had to contend, in the following words:

Owing to the extensive and extravagant commercial speculations of the last two years, occasioned by the great gold discoveries in Victoria, and those of less importance in New South Wales, very heavy losses have been sustained by a large number of the Sydney merchants, and those in England by whom many of the colonial houses were assisted or supported, although the panic has neither been so general nor so serious in its character as that which has just taken place in Melbourne, where two-thirds of the speculators were composed of unsubstantial adventurers, and professional and unprincipled gamblers. Still, the commercial failures in Sydney, during 1854-5, have been greater than any that have taken place in the same space of time within the preceding ten years, prior to which

the disaster that befel the colony through the vast alterations of property was greater than that which has recently occured.

During the three years, 1842-3-4, when the population of New South Wales was only 162,000—owing to the wild spirit of speculation and ruinous facility of credit—there were 1,638 cases of sequestration of estates, the collective debts of which amounted to three and a-half million sterling.

We have given a picture of Sydney as it was in olden times in our previous pages. Shortly after the arrival of Governor Macquarie in 1809, a survey of the locality was made and the plan formed of the present town, which stands partly on a small promontory, and partly in a narrow valley, about seven miles from the heads of Port Jackson. The formation on which it rests is a freestone rock, which passes inland in undulating and nearly parallel ridges, and affords a beautiful and durable building material. The greater part of the city is inclosed on three sides by those portions of the harbour known as the Stream on the north, Woolloomooloo Bay on the east, and Darling Harbour on the west. At the entrance to Sydney Cove, on the eastern side, is Fort Macquarie; and on the west, Dawes' Battery. There has also been a battery lately constructed on the point at the western entrance to Wooloomooloo Bay, known as Lady Macquarie's Chair; and a splendid fort and martello tower on Pinchgut Island; together with a battery on Kirabili Point, on the north shore. The ranges from these batteries will completely command that part of the harbour by which the city is approached. The views from the higher part of the city are bold, varied and picturesque. To seaward the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson—capacious, convenient and equal to any in the world—with its numerous and romantic inlets, or coves, presents one of the grandest and most interesting features of natural beauty in Australasia. Inland, the diversity of hill and dale, of rock and woodland, of grassy slopes and brilliant parterres, with their orange groves and vineyards, interspersed with stately mansions, substantial homes, and neat cottages, combine in forming many interesting and pleasing prospects.

The harbour, which in some places is three miles broad, is completely land-locked; it possesses excellent anchorage, and is well sheltered from storms. Extensive and well-arranged docks, for repairing ships and steamers of the largest tonnage, have been constructed. The Royal Mail steamers are placed in the dry dock, Waterview Bay, on their arrival. Along the waterside are wharves, stores, ship-yards, patent slips, mills, manufactories, &c.; behind these, terrace-like, rise the numerous public and private buildings of the metropolis. The streets are mostly laid out at right angles, are long and wide, well macadamized, and are lit with gas. George and Pitt Streets have a width of sixty feet for carriage way and a pathway of twelve feet. Lofty stone or brick edifices, with handsome shops, range along the principal streets.

Sydney has several extensive public parks, the principal of which are Hyde Park (between the city and the suburb of Woolloomooloo) and the Outer Domain—the Inner Domain being the inclosed ground around Government House. In the vicinity of the latter, and bounded on one side by the picturesque inlet known as Farm Cove, are situated the Botanical Gardens, in which there are specimens of almost every tropical plant.

The public buildings of Sydney are numerous, and may fairly vie with those of a European capital. The Government House, situated in a demesne overlooking the harbour, is built of white freestone, in the Elizabethan style. The Legislative and Executive Council Chambers form an extensive range of buildings. The Australian Mint is a noble structure. The public banks are substantial and ornamental, almost unequalled for architectural beauty. The Exchange, Benevolent Asylum, hospitals, theatres, Temperance Hall, Court House, Custom House, Public Library, School of Arts, Post Office, the markets, &c., are edifices well adapted to their several purposes.

Sydney is an episcopal see, and the residence of the metropolitan of Australasia. The present boundaries of the city were defined by the first municipal act passed in 1842, and it is divided into eight wards.

The ecclesiastical edifices comprise many large and commodious churches: episcopalian, independent or congregational, presbyterian, baptist, Roman catholic, Wesleyan, unitarian, a friends' meeting house and a Jewish synagogue.

There are many educational establishments, the most important being the University of Sydney. It was founded in 1830, with a fund of £10,000, subscribed in shares of £50 each. The building is commodious, the education unsectarian, and, by the Queen's letters patent, the degrees conferred by this university are recognised in all similar institutions in the British empire. The College of St. Paul, founded by members of the church of England, under the Colleges Act of 1854, was opened in 1857, and several students of the University are resident there. An act of incorporation was passed for the College of St. John, founded by the members of the Roman church, and vigorous movements have been made by the presbyterians and Wesleyan methodists towards the establishment of colleges within the University for the members of their respective creeds. The Roman catholics subscribed about £20,000 towards their college: the subscriptions of other denominations being equally munificent. The Australian College is intended for preparatory training of youth for the higher course of instruction. A normal school, for secular education only, and many excellent seminaries for both sexes, including the national and denominational schools and Sydney grammar school, are well attended.

The Australian Museum was established in 1838, and incorporated in 1853. Specimens of various minerals and valuable collections of natural and artificial products are in abundance. A new building, equal to the demands of the accumulated treasures, is in course of erection, adapted for the purposes of this institution.

The magnificent episcopalian cathedral of St. Andrew is nearly completed. Its dimensions are as follows:—external length, east to west, 178 feet; length transept, north to south, 116 feet; internally, length of nave, from western door to entrance of choir, 106 feet; from the latter to its eastern wall, 53 feet; breadth of nave and adjoining aisles, 62 feet; and of the choir within the screens, 37 feet; height of the two western towers, 116 feet; the eastern tower, 84 feet; and the roof, 64 feet.

The new Town Hall, in the course of erection, is intended to accommodate five or six thousand persons, on occasions of public meetings, balls, concerts, &c. The offices connected with the business of the corporation

will be on the basement story, and the whole arrangements of the building are very complete. The sewerage of the city has been well provided for.

The Great Southern Railway connects Sydney with Newtown, Petersham, Ashfield, Burwood, Homebush, Paramatta, Fairfield, Liverpool, and Campbelltown—thirty-four miles. The line of the Great Northern Railway extends from Newcastle to Honeysuckle Point, Waratah, Hexham, East and West Maitland—twenty miles.

A line of electric telegraph is now nearly completed between Sydney and Albury, a border-town of New South Wales and Victoria. Albury is about 360 miles from Sydney, and when the telegraph is finished the communication will be complete between Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide, the capitals of the three colonies.

The observatory is a great ornament to the town. The position is excellent, and it is situated so that a full view can be obtained of the harbour and the city. There are already ten meteorological observatories in full work, stationed severally at Cape Moreton, Armidale, Ettrick (Richmond River), Maitland, Bathurst, Paramatta, Deniliquin, Albury, and Cooma.

The Destitute Children's Asylum, at Randwick (near Coogee), is as far completed as it is intended to be at present, and occupied by 150 children, the old establishment at Paddington having been abandoned.

The great function that Sydney performs for the colony, is that of being the entrepôt of its commerce. It is also the political metropolis, and the resort of hundreds who, having made their fortunes, choose to reside where the conveniences of living are most multiplied, and who prefer the society and amusements of a city to rural pleasures. Commerce, however, is the great feature of Sydney. Extensive operations are carried on in connection with the South Sea whaling, and hither come the foreign imports and the island produce of the Pacific, for redistribution over the whole territory. Hither, too, comes the colonial produce that is ready for exportation.

Sydney has many populous suburbs, including Wooloomooloo, Surrey Hills, Paddington, the Glebe, Newtown, Redfern, Balmain, Pyrmont, St. Leonard's, North Shore, South Head Road, &c., all of which may be regarded as portions of the city, in consequence of the extensive building operations of the last few years.

There are now fifteen central counties, thirty northern counties, and seventeen southern and western counties in New South Wales, with seventy-five townships.

About 1,100 vessels entered the ports during 1857, with a gross burden of 351,413 tons, and with a marine population of 18,728 persons

The destination of the majority of the ships was Port Jackson, the great focus of the marine trade of the colony, a pre-eminence it owes to its unrivalled facilities for shipping, both coastwise and by inland transit: nearly all the foreign trade converges to Sydney. The outports of New South Wales certainly have rather a limited foreign trade.

Port Stephens, the second best harbour in New South Wales, makes no figure as a commercial *entrepôt;* its comparative desolation is in strange contrast with its capabilities. Newcastle, though far inferior as a port, has run away with the trade of the Hunter River, as well as that of the pastoral country beyond, and the railway will tend to confirm and consolidate that supremacy.

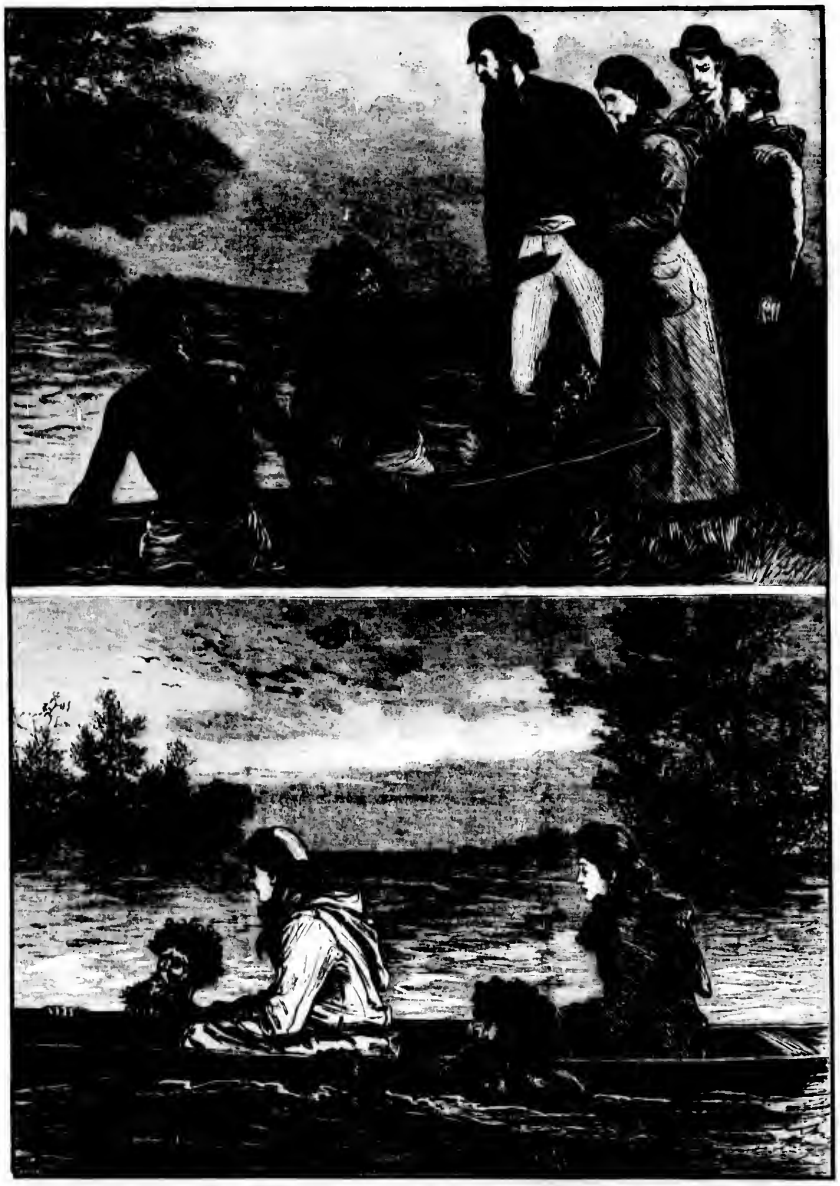
The limited maritime business of Moreton Bay is very remarkable, considering the quantity of pastoral produce raised in the northern districts; only twelve vessels were entered at that port in the course of the year, being at the rate of one a month: the main cause of this is, doubtless, the very inferior accommodation that exists there for vessels of a large class.

The amount of shipping, taken as a whole, represents pretty nearly the extent of the inward and outward commerce of the colony; but some of it is independent, and is the consequence of the maritime facilities offered by the port of Sydney: thus, thirty vessels from the South Sea whale fisheries during the year put into Port Jackson. Compared with the number of vessels cruising about in these seas, this cannot be considered a large number, seeing that no port in this hemisphere can offer such advantages for refitting as Port Jackson. During the past year the convenience afforded by this harbour to whalers has been illustrated in several instances, and its advantages only require to be more widely known to be more generally used. Thirty-nine vessels from various islands in the South Seas also entered the port during the year, a proof of its superiority as a commercial *entrepôt* for the scattered traffic of the South Pacific.

The number of vessels registered for the year ending 31st December, 1857, including steamers, was 500, the gross tonnage being 52,661 tons, employing about 3,757 men and boys.

The value of imports have increased from £1,182,874 in 1848 to £6,729,408 in 1857; of exports, from £1,155,009 in 1848, to £4,011,592 in 1857. The chief exports have been wool, tallow, oils, hides and leather, butter and cheese, live stock and grain. The export of gold has varied exceedingly, from £2,660,946, the highest find, in 1852, to £187,249, in 1857. Previous to the year 1845, one coal-pit and one coal-shoot, at Newcastle, were sufficient for the supply of Sydney, and the few coasting-steamers then running from Port Jackson. In 1849, 48,516¼ tons, of the value of £14,647, were obtained; in 1857, 210,434 tons, of the value of £148,158. 5*s.* 6*d.*, were procured. The progress in iron produce has, comparatively speaking, been almost as satisfactory. In 1858 there were 185,007 acres in crop. The produce consisted of wheat, maize, barley, oats, rye, millet, potatoes, tobacco and sown grasses. The number of acres of land planted with the vine, and of the quantity of wine and brandy made from the produce thereof, in the colony of New South Wales, during the year ended March 31st, 1858, within the settled districts, were 1,072 acres, 103,216 gallons of wine, and 1,414 gallons of brandy. To this it is estimated 35,000 gallons must be added from the vineyards beyond the settled districts. The number of sheep slaughtered annually was estimated, at last returns, at 280,000; of horned cattle, at 50,000; tallow produced 100,000 cwt.; pigs slaughtered, 1,000; lard produced 35,000 lbs.

The population was at last census, 31st December, 1857:—male, 171,673; female, 133,814; total, 305,487. Sir John Young, on opening the second session of the fourth parliament of New South Wales, on the 22nd September, 1861, said that the result of a census which had just been completed showed that, notwithstanding the severance of Queensland, there had been, during the last five years, an increase of nearly 100,000 in the population, which now amounts to 350,000. It is an encouraging fact that this large increase is substantially in the suburban and county districts.

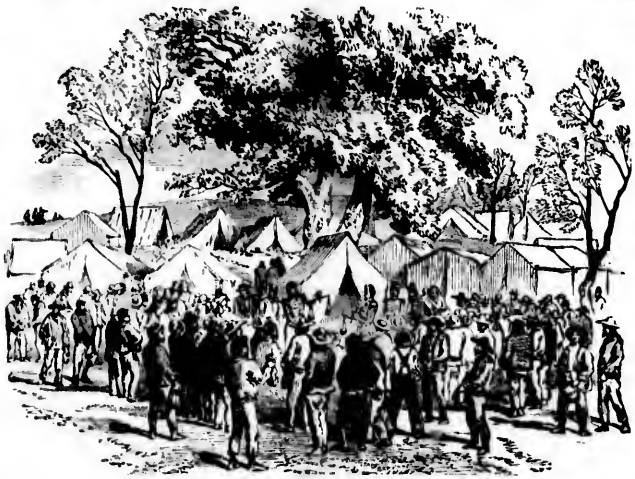


LIFE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

It would fill a volume to follow the history of the New South Wales Gold Fields, with all the curious attendant anecdotes.

The first locality which claims attention is Ophir, the parent diggings of the colony. Ophir may be regarded as belonging to what may be termed the Canobolas gold-field. This mountain, which is nearly a mile in height above the level of the sea, and is composed chiefly of trap rock, is the centre whence a considerable number of streams, including the Summerhill Creek, take their rise, and, flowing through a country composed chiefly of schists and quartzites, are more or less auriferous. Gold has been found throughout the length of the Summerhill Creek, from its source at the Canobolas to its junction with the Macquarie, but most abundantly at Ophir and Frederick's Valley, where the Wentworth diggings are situated. The gold is chiefly of a nuggety description, and has been found in lumps of three or four pounds in weight. At the Wentworth diggings very fine gold has been obtained in considerable quantities. The country about Ophir is very broken and rugged, and the deposit of gold lies, for the most part, in the bed of the creek, as the banks are too steep to allow of extensive dry or bank diggings. Towards the Macquarie the banks of the creek become still more rocky and abrupt, and there is not much likelihood of any extensive deposit of gold having been formed. The bed of the Creek at Ophir has never been sufficiently dry to allow of its being profitably worked since the first rains after the opening up of the diggings on Fitzroy Bar. The whole of the region surrounding this mountain, which is situated some forty or fifty miles to the westward of Bathurst, may be regarded as a gold-field comparatively unexplored, which, when the return wave of population and enterprise shall have set in to the gold-fields of this colony, will occupy no insignificant position.

The Turon still claims the first position among the gold-fields of the colony in point of richness and extent.



ISSUING LICENSES.

Sofala, the township which has been formed at the richest locality on the Turon, is distant about twenty-five miles north from Bathurst. Fifteen miles above Sofala remunerative diggings were opened at what is called the Gulf, and thence to the junction of the river with the Macquarie, a distance of nearly forty miles, digging operations having been carried on with more or less success. The geological formation of the country is of schist, intersected by quartz veins of various thickness, but there are many other rocks present at different portions of the river. The mountains are lofty, but with rounded summits and gently sloping bases, and the river flows for the greater part through a narrow valley between the ranges. The banks and slopes on the river side are seldom abrupt, and dry diggings consequently abound. The gold procured on the river itself is chiefly dust, generally of a very fine description, but coarse gold has been obtained in various places, and is abundant in the creeks and ravines opening into the river. Lumps weighing as much as seven pounds have been found. The yield of gold on the Turon has been in many instances most extraordinary. In several cases, from eighty to a hundred ounces a day have been obtained by parties of three or four for days together; in numerous instances from twenty to fifty ounces a day have been procured, and from five to fifteen ounces were at one time a common yield. The gold has been obtained in equal quantities in the bed of the river, and on the banks and slopes in its vicinity. In the former case the greatest depth to which it is necessary to go for the gold is from four to ten or twelve feet, but the continual presence of water has rendered it generally a matter of difficulty, and often of impossibility, to get at the auriferous deposits. In the dry diggings the depth of the claims varies from the surface to forty or fifty feet, and the largest deposits of gold are got in the pockets and crevices of the bed rock. In the river diggings the useless surface soil is wholly removed, but in the dry diggings, when a shaft has been sunk, the ground on the level of the gold deposit is tunnelled. The dry diggings on the banks of the Turon are

considered by many to be comparatively exhausted, but this is by no means the case in the opinion of more competent judges. Recently rich dry diggings have been discovered on the slope of the hill leading to the township of Sofala, and not more than a pistol shot distance from the town. This ground has been constantly traversed by eager miners for many months, and is proved to abound in deposits of precious metal, which hundreds have left its vicinity to seek for at distant localities. The mining population of the Turon numbered at one time certainly not less than 10,000, but in September, 1852, the number of persons engaged in digging on the Turon and its tributaries did not exceed 1,200. The average yield at these diggings is from 15*s.* to £3 or £4 a day, but the instances are numerous in which large sums are earned in a very short period. The labour required is great, whether in the bed or the dry diggings, as in the former the water has constantly to be contended with, and in the latter, the conglomerate soil which has to be wrought through is almost as hard as rock. Many of these tributaries, Big Oakey and Little Oakey Creek especially, have yielded a large amount of gold. On the tableland, where their source is, parties have been at work for months, making large earnings; and more extensive research would, undoubtedly, develope many rich deposits at this place. Along the Bathurst road gold has been found, and at Wyagden Hill, midway between that town and the Turon, operations on a large scale have been begun.

The Braidwood diggings next claim attention They are confined chiefly to Major's and Bell's Creeks, which flow over the table-land, above the valley of Araluen. They are not more than ten or twelve miles distant from the town of Braidwood. What is peculiar in these diggings is the fact that they are situated to the eastwards of the dividing range of mountains. These creeks before named join the River Moruya, which flows into the sea at Short Maven, on the east coast, between Bateman's Bay and Twofold Bay. Major's Creek and its tributary Bell's Creek have amply repaid those engaged in mining operations on them. The country is not of so mountainous a description as at the Turon. Slate and quartz abound in the vicinity, but the bed-rock is granite, and the gold has been found chiefly in what is regarded as decomposed granite. The prosperity of these diggings has been seriously retarded by incessant rains, and the population has almost deserted them. At one time there must have been nearly 2,000 persons on Major's and Bell's Creeks and at Araluen; but at present there are not, at most, more than 500. The average earnings at these diggings approximate to those at the Turon, and, as at the latter place, many instances of surprising good fortune have occurred. At Mungarlow, some fifteen or twenty miles from Major's Creek, remunerative diggings have been opened, and several nuggets have been found weighing up to eight or ten ounces. At the Braidwood diggings the gold is generally fine, and it is reckoned to be very pure. Dry diggings have been opened on Major's Creek, in which many parties are procuring four or five ounces of gold a day.

About thirty miles north of the Turon are the Meroo diggings. The Meroo is a river somewhat resembling the Turon in its general features, and in its banks and bars large deposits of gold have been found. The geological character of the country is similar to that of the Turon. The diggings opened here extend several miles along the river. The yield of gold is generally large, and the gold itself coarse, with occasional large nuggets. Several points on the Meroo have turned out uncommonly rich. The golden reputation of the Meroo itself, however, is small in comparison to that of one of its tributary creeks, the Louisa, on whose banks such extraordinary masses of the precious metal have been found, and where the great nugget vein lies. The country about the Louisa is generally of a flat description, and the declivities of the creeks are mild. Mr. Green, assistant-commissioner, in a report on the Western Gold Fields, has expressed his opinion that the auriferous ground available for dry diggings at this creek extends for several miles to Campbell's Creek, and that on the table-land, of which this forms a portion, 40,000 or 50,000 miners could find profitable employment. Considering that this table-land includes the rich diggings at the Long Creek, the Dirt Holes, the Tambaroura and other creeks, we do not think that it is any exaggeration of the truth. At the Louisa beautiful specimens of gold in the matrix are constantly procured, and nearly all the gold obtained here is coarse and not waterworn. Nuggets of large size have been discovered. The hundred-weight every one is familiar with. Brenan's twenty-seven pound lump was found at the Louisa, as was also the largest waterworn nugget yet obtained, weighing 157 ounces, besides numerous other nuggets of less size, which it would be tedious to enumerate. The heavy rains have greatly interfered with all the diggings from the Meroo to the Turon, putting a stop to further operations, and compelling the miners to seek other places. This has been the case at Long Creek, the Devil's Hole, Pyramul Creek, Nuggetty Gully, Married Man's Creek, the Dirt Holes, &c. The gold at these places is coarse, and the earnings are in many cases very large. Generally speaking a man may make certain of securing 20*s.* a day if the weather is favourable and he sticks to his work. The number of diggers on the Meroo, the Louisa, and the other places just named, may be put down at 1,500.

Between the Turon and the Pyramul, and parallel to both, lies the Tambaroura Creek, which disembogues itself into the Macquarie several miles below the junction of the Turon. This place has lately taken an important position among the diggings for richness and extent, and bids fair to retain it. At Galden Gully, and at the Bald Hill also, the diggings are very prolific, and to all appearance an extensive region teeming with golden wealth lies around. The number of miners at work at the Tambaroura and the vicinity is probably about 1,000.

The Hanging Rock may be regarded as among the number of those gold fields whose richness has been established. It is situated at the River Peel in New England. The Oakenville, Hurdle, and Oakey Creeks, flowing into the Peel, have been found to be rich in auriferous deposits, and a large tract of country in the vicinity presents the same indications.

These northern diggings are fifty miles from the Page River; the nearest road by Aberdeen, between Muswell Brook and Scone. From Goonoo Goonoo, the head station of the Australian Agricultural Company is about twenty-seven miles. The whole of the country is extremely hilly, and in wet weather the numerous creeks present an impassable barrier to the traveller.

The Peel River diggings are divided into two classes. The field on the western side of the river belongs to the Australian Agricultural Company, whose stations extend seventy or eighty miles along the banks of this stream. The gold-field is situated about five miles from Hanging Rock, and was discovered in March, 1853. The gold is found on the banks of the river in thick ferruginous clay; in some instances nuggets are found clinging to the roots of the grass. The greatest wealth is supposed to exist in the quartz ridges. The reporter found several lumps the size of a duck's egg, thickly speckled with gold.

The river diggings on the crown side are principally three spots:—Golden Point, Blackfellow's Gully, and Bold Ridge.

On the remaining gold-fields, which are so only by anticipation, their riches not having been developed, and but little being known of their extent, the Abercrombie is one of the longest known, and probably one of the most important. Gold has been found in considerable quantities, not only in the river itself at the Sounding Rock, or Tarshish diggings, but also on its tributary creeks, the Tuena, Mulgunnia, Copperhannia, and Mountain Run. The Abercrombie lies some forty miles to the southward of Bathurst, and forms the upper portion of the Lachlan River. Dry diggings abound on some of the creeks—the Tuena especially—and large earnings have been made here. The gold is coarse. The field may be regarded as unexplored, as there are not more than two hundred persons at work on it.

North of the Abercrombie lie the diggings at Campbell's River called Havilah, and those on the Gilmandyke and Davis Creeks, its tributaries. Gold was found at Havilah shortly after the discovery of the Turon diggings; but as the yield was small, the latter soon drew away the enterprising pioneers at Campbell's River. On the Gilmandyke and Davis Creeks coarse gold is obtained, and there are promising indications of future richness

There is about the same number of persons engaged in digging on Winburndale Creek, which rises on the table-land a few miles to the northward of Bathurst, and, flowing in a north west direction, falls into the Macquarie several miles above the junction of the Turon. It is far otherwise, however, with the regions adjacent to the Macquarie River. Gold has for a long time been found on this river, but the diggings hitherto opened have been isolated. Late researches, however, have brought to light auriferous deposits, where the depth of washing-soil is ten and even fifteen feet, and these extend for miles along the banks of the river. The capabilities of such a gold-field may be guessed at where the supply promises to be almost inexhaustible. Only in dry weather, however, can these be turned to account, as the river is a large and important stream during the greater part of the year, and from the prevalence of water the claims cannot be worked. The Macquarie receives the tributary waters of the Winburndale, the Turon, Summerhill, Tambaroura, Pyramul, &c., all auriferous streams.

An extensive gold-field has been discovered at the Billabong Range, which lies nearly a hundred miles to the west of Bathurst, between the waters of the Lachlan and Bogan. Schists and quartz are the constituent rocks, and specimens of gold in the matrix have been found. At the Snowy Mountains, to the southward, where many of the great streams of the colony, the Morrumbidgee, Murray, Snowy River, &c., take their rise, the researches of the Rev. W. B. Clarke, who was specially appointed by the government to survey this district, have disclosed an extensive tract of auriferous country, and several localities which promise to be highly productive.

The last-discovered diggings in this colony, which have excited the most sanguine expectations of their future productions, are Bingara, situated on the Courangoura Creek, which joins the Gwydir, seventy miles to the north-west of Tamworth. The diggers who first discovered the treasures of this locality made extraordinary gains in a short time, and the gold appeared to lie in such abundance on all sides, as to be inexhaustible. The gold obtained has consisted chiefly of nuggets and coarse grain, very little worn. Nuggets weighing fourteen and sixteen ounces have been obtained. The country is very level, resembling the gold-fields of Victoria, and the samples of precious metal obtained resemble those of Mount Alexander in the coarseness of the grains and their rich appearance. At various places, between the Hanging Rock and Bingara, gold has been found—in some instances lying on the surface of the ground. The distance of this gold-field from Maitland is upwards of two hundred miles in a north by west direction. A considerable quantity of gold has been received from it, and at present there is a large quantity in the hands of the miners.

Hitherto a pick and shovel and a cradle, with probably the addition of a crowbar and pump, have constituted a miner's outfit. At the diggings of Victoria, indeed, thousands of the more successful miners never use a cradle, the richness of their claims in large gold preventing the necessity; but at the Turon and other places, the fineness of the gold dust, and the manner in which it is diffused throughout the soil, have necessitated the utmost skill and care in cradling. Lately, however, companies have been formed in this colony for the more effectual development of the wealth of the gold-fields. About half-a-dozen of these companies have commenced operations. The Great Nugget Vein Company are setting up expensive machinery on the banks of the Louisa for crushing the auriferous quartz of their claim at that locality. The Turon Golden Ridge Quartz Crushing Company are making active preparations for developing the richness of an auriferous quartz vein on the lower Turon, which promises the most splendid results. The Messrs. Samuel are proceeding with their exertions to drain the water-hole at Ophir. The Australian Mutual and the British Australian Gold Mining Companies have combined operations, for the purpose of working the alluvial claims on the Turon. They have secured ground at Lucky Point, and have made considerable progress towards developing the golden deposits of an island in the bed of the Turon contiguous to Erskine Point.

Gold has been found throughout more than eight degrees of latitude, from Bingara at the north to the ranges near Cape Otway, in Victoria. There is good reason for believing that it exists throughout twelve degrees, as samples of the precious metal were found by the late Mr. Roderick Mitchell, son of the surveyor-general, as far north as Mount Abundance at the Fitzroy Downs. The easternmost diggings in Australia yet discovered are those at the Hanging Rock, about

the 151° of east longitude. A gold field has been discovered in South Australia, in about the 139° longitude, twelve degrees to the westward; but whether gold will be found throughout the intervening country it is impossible to say. It has certainly been found as far westward, in Victoria, as the 143rd meridian, and at Mount Cole and Mount William.

On Thursday, 2nd Sept., says our author, I joined a gentleman of Murrurundi, whose business required his attention here, and travelled over the most trackless ranges to the Isis, one of the rivulets which runs into the Hunter. Towards evening we reached the hospitable abode of a venerable Highlander, who here, high above all other human habitations, at the foot of the Liverpool range, aided by his stalwart sons, tends his numerous and thriving flocks.

The next morning they directed our steps to a remarkable cave, the front apartment of which is adorned with stalactites, in the form of pillars and curtains. The entrance being turned upwards, is altogether hidden from most passers by; but when a descent has been accomplished over the broken rocks, the main arch of the cavern has a fine appearance. To this cave the worthy and patriotic Highlander has given the name "Uamh Garrie," Garry's Cave, from its resemblance to a cave of that name in the Highlands of Scotland.

On leaving the Isis, we ascended the Liverpool Range—crossing, at various elevations, on both sides of the range, table-lands of the most promising soil; where several thousands of agriculturists are likely to find a highly remunerative field for their industry and skill as soon as markets for the gold-finding population of the neighbourhood, and means of transit to distant towns, make their settlement practicable. In the afternoon, soon after crossing the Peel, we came in sight of the perpendicular facing of rock which gives a peculiar appearance and a name to this mountain. The ascent to this flat, near the summit, is a steep one of at least three miles; did we not see the tracks, we could not believe it possible for drays to be brought up it by any means. As the golden creek runs in all directions from the top, and the precious metal is found at all heights, there is no regular camp of tents here as at the Toron and other places; the people are thinly scattered over a wide space, and hidden from one another by the ridges. Never, perhaps, did men pursue their daily toil in such delightful and beautiful workshops as these ravines, where the dark foliage of the oak, the rugged and fantastic piles of rock, and the numerous cascades, combine to form pleasant pictures. Among the diggers it is easy to discover many a thorough gentleman, and many a worthy farmer, artisan, and sailor.

II.

VICTORIA.

First Settlement at Port Philip—Batman's Station on Yarra-Yarra—Foundation of Melbourne—Political Movements—The Colony in Difficulties—Opposition to the Convict System—Rising up of Parties—Separation of Victoria from New South Wales—Discovery of Gold—Ballarat Riots—Chinese Immigrants—The New Constitution.

Port Philip was first discovered in February, 1802, by Lieutenant Murray, R.N., of the brig *Lady Nelson*, and after a cursory survey, he named the point at the entrance "Nepean," and the hill seen from the Heads "Arthur's Seat," names which they still bear.

On the 27th of April, 1802, Lieutenant Flinders, having entered Port Philip Bay, and supposing he was the first to have discovered it, made an accurate survey of its waters. Visiting the hills near Geelong, he named them Station Peaks, and the peninsula, Indented Head. Early in 1803, the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, Philip Gidleigh King, Captain R.N., despatched the Surveyor-General, Mr. Grimes, to examine and report on the capabilies of the bay, when he found the river at its head, now called the Yarra. Thirty-two years afterwards, in 1835, Mr. J. P. Fawkner found, near the falls, part of an iron pot, buried some eight inches in the soil, which had probably been left by the party of Flinders or Grimes. This splendid bay was first called Port Philip in honour of the Governor, Captain Philip G. King.

In 1802, Lord Hobart, Secretary of the Colonies, acting on the advice of Mr. Capper, one of the clerks in his office, projected the formation of a new settlement at Port Philip, Bass's Straits, the chief town of which colony should transmit his name to posterity. In the latter part of the same year, the *Calcutta*, a vessel of war of 50 guns, was commissioned, and commenced taking in convicts at the Nore, from Woolwich, and after proceeding to Spithead, completed her complement of about 360 male convicts from the Portsmouth hulks. The merchant ship *Ocean*, of 600 tons, Capt. Mathews, was chartered to assist in the carriage of stores, settlers, and civil officers; the two vessels were to take out provisions to last three years, including the voyage. In addition to the convicts there were between forty and fifty marines, some few free settlers, and about twenty-five women, wives of the marines, settlers, or convicts, together with about ten children. These, with a few Government officers, were the first settlers at Port Philip. The *Calcutta* arrived at Port Philip Heads on the 9th or 10th of October, 1803, the *Ocean* a few days prior. The Governor, Lieutenant Colonel Collins, R.M., commenced landing the people a few days after, having cleared a plot of ground for the camp, tents being erected to lodge all, whether free or bond. The landing was completed on the 19th of October. The site of the settlement was on Point Nepean, about five or six miles from the Heads. There was no fresh water at that spot, but it was discovered under Arthur's Seat, when the *Calcutta* took in water there and proceeded to Sydney. The River Yarra was discovered and reported to Governor Collins by a runaway convict, who returned almost starved to death. A number of the convicts took to the woods, and only one returned. On the 24th December, Wm. Buckley and three others ran from the New Settlement; one of them, Charles Short, a butcher, was shot at, wounded, and retaken; the others effected their escape. Buckley joined Batman's men on Indented Head in August, 1835, nearly thirty-two years after. He was of a stupid nature, and had not learned anything of the country except the mere coast-line of the bay.

It was provided by Lord Hobart that if the Lieutenant Governor was compelled to remove from his first landing-place to any distance, he should receive five hundred guineas. This bait, and the absconding of some twenty convicts, determined the removal of the whole population to Van Dieman's Land. The Sydney government, having previously surveyed the River Derwent, despatched, in August, 1803, Lieut. Bowen,

with some few marines, settlers, and convicts, to that port. On their recommendation, Governor Collins proceeded thither, but not approving of Risdon, the place selected by Lieut. Bowen, he fixed on Sullivan's Cove, where the landing of the people took place, February 16th, 1804. The *Ocean* transport was the vessel employed, in which the whole of the people, stores, &c., were removed in two trips, the last of which took place in June, 1804.

In June, 1824, Messrs. Hume and Hovell, squatters residing near Lake George, resolved to explore the southern part of New Holland. Pursuing their course, they kept on the western side, clear of the Australian Alps, discovered a fine river which they named Hume now called the Murray, crossed several smaller rivers and eventually reached Port Philip Bay, at the river Exe or Werribee, in December, 1824. Returning to Sydney, they reported having found a fine grazing country and an overland route to Western Port. Subsequently it was discovered to be Port Philip Bay, and not Western Port, they had touched upon. Their flattering account stimulated the Sydney government to despatch Captain Wright, with troops, convicts, &c., to form a settlement at Western Port; but as colonial governors and military men were not the best judges where to settle, or how to form a colony profitably in a new country, this also was given up, and the whole party removed to Sydney.

In 1834, the Messrs. Henty, of Launceston, sent over vessels, boats, and many able seamen, to form a whaling establishment at Portland Bay. This was clearly the first permanent settlement of British subjects in this province. The Hentys have maintained their hold continuously from 1834 to the present day, their flocks and herds having increased surprisingly.

To Mr. John Batman, a gentleman who must rank with the Hentys as a pioneer, Victoria is exceedingly indebted. He had been for a long time endeavouring to obtain assistance to pass over and colonise Port Philip, and in 1835 he succeeded in drawing the attention of persons in authority to his scheme. Governor Arthur suggested the organisation of a company to pass over and make some sort of bargain with the aborigines for the purchase of these lands, to form mighty squattages; and Mr. Joseph Tice Gellibrand, a barrister, ex-attorney-general of Van Dieman's Land, one of the copartners, drew up a deed to be signed by the aborigines. The company, consisting of fourteen persons, subscribed funds to fit out a small schooner of about 15 tons (*Rebecca*) in which to send over Mr Henry Batman, some Sydney aborigines, and a few European servants, with looking-glasses, beads, and a few bags of flour for barter. Fawkner and his party tried to obtain a passage over before Batman started, and failed. Captain Cain disappointed them, and they missed the *Sally Ann* which was chartered for Portland Bay by the Messrs. Henty, so that eventually Mr. Batman and his party left in the *Rebecca*, Capt. Harwood, May the 12th, but were wind-bound at Port Soroll until the 26th or 28th May; then they ran over in thirty hours, and landed at Indented Head, near Queenscliffe. Batman selected a spot near that for the company's settlement, and sent the *Rebecca* to Hobson's Bay; thence he travelled over land by Geelong until he made the Saltwater River, crossed it, passed over the Moonee Ponds, and finally made the Merri Creek, near where the Yan Yean waterpipes are placed. At that place Batman fell in with the brothers Jagga Jagga and some more aborigines, where, about the 5th or 6th June, 1835, he produced his deed prepared by the ex-attorney-general, J. T. Gellibrand, and induced the poor ignorant men to make some marks upon it as signatures. Batman stated that he had taken with him some Sydney blacks, whom he employed to read over and translate this document to the Port Philip aborigines. The deed professed that the aborigines had marked in Batman's presence the whole boundaries set out therein—viz.: "All that tract of country situate and being at Port Philip, running from the branch of the river at the top of the port, about seven miles from the mouth of the river, forty miles north-east, and from thence forty miles across Iramoo Downs or Plains, and from thence south-west across Mount Villamanata to Geelong Harbour at the head of the same, and containing 500,000 acres, more or less." This being all traversed over, the trees were marked, &c., in part of two days and one night, besides other forty miles from Geelong to the vessel at Gellibrand's Point. Mr. J. Batman was then labouring under the disease that cut short his career. He subsequently produced another deed signed by the Jagga Jagga brothers and others, selling to him and the copartners the whole of Indented Head, called 100,000 acres. This deed states that the aborigines and Batman's men marked the trees due south from the head of Geelong Bay, a distance of ten miles, omitting to account for the Barwon River, which was subsequently found to cross this track, forming a wide sheet of water. Moreover, the Jagga Jagga brothers were men of the western hill tribes, and could have no pretensions to these lands, but would, most likely, have suffered death had they presumed to intrude thereon without previous notice and permission.

In July, 1835, a project to colonise Port Philip entered the mind of Mr. J. P. Fawkner, who had been led to believe that fine grazing lands existed in the interior. He formed a party, consisting of Messrs. William and Samuel Jackson, Robert Hay Marr, George Evans, and Captain Lancy, who were willing to accompany him. He purchased the *Enterprise* from Mr. John Anderson Brown, and as soon as she could be got ready, embarked the party at Launceston. Fawkner and his party left Launceston about the middle of July. He was taken ill during the first few days of the voyage, and a foul wind driving the vessel back to George Town, he there landed with one of his horses, leaving two on board, having previously filled up a code of directions for the guidance of Capt. Lancy, as his agent, in charge of his servants and goods, with full directions how to proceed with the survey, and on no account to settle except upon a permanent running stream of good water. The party searched the whole range of Western Port, and then commenced on the eastern side of Port Phillip, until they found the Yarra, where they fixed on what is now known as Batman's Hill, marking out ten acres for each of the party, and drew lots for the plots. Having pitched their tents they proceeded to form a garden, and plant out a large quantity of fruit trees, &c., shipped by Mr. Fawkner, and within one week from the landing, August 25, 1835, a garden was formed, trees planted, seeds sown, and five acres of ground ploughed, harrowed, and sown with wheat. Subsequently, Mr. Fawkner removed his establishment, and fixed his tent at the rear of the site of the present custom-house (where he opened the first public-house), in order to be near the fresh water, and contiguous to the place where he moored his vessel,

exactly opposite the present Yarra Hotel, in William-street. Shortly after Messrs. Lancy, Marr, Evans, and William Jackson had settled, as directed, on the Yarra, Mr. J. H. Wedge came to them from Batman's station at Indented Head, the Sydney blacks having reported the arrival of the *Enterprise*. He went back to the station, and immediately, accompanied by Henry Batman, with men and stores, returned to the new settlement, and ordered Fawkner's party off his land. The Messrs. Lancy and Co. would not acknowledge his right to interfere, and treated the threat with contempt.

The first cattle and sheep were landed from the *Norval* on November 10th, 1835, consisting of fifty pure Hereford cows, belonging to Dr. Thomson, and five hundred sheep, the property of Mr. Connolly, of Belfast. Messrs. Cowie, Stead, Steiglitz, Estcourt, and Ferguson came by this trip.

About March, 1836, Major Mitchell proceeded in his exploration of the interior of the country, passing from Sydney out to Portland Bay. He named the interior Australia Felix.

When Mr. Fawkner and his family, with the Lancy party, arrived at Port Philip on October 9th, 1835, thirty-two years after his first arrival, he found the herbage so rich, and the country altogether so attractive, that he determined upon making it his home. Birds abounded on the water; ducks, teal, geese, swans, &c., were in thousands. The new colonists lived on board the *Enterprise* for a month, whilst a wooden house was being erected, with the materials brought over from Launceston. Batman's people lived in sod huts or tents. In November, Mr. John Batman came over to examine his vast squattage, and repeated his order, through his brother Henry, to Mr. Fawkner, to remove off his land, he laying claim to all the lands on the north side of the Yarra. Upon refusal, he sent one of the Sydney aborigines to inform Fawkner that if he did not leave instantly, he would drive him off by force of arms. This threat was treated very lightly. Whilst, however, Fawkner was building his house, Buckley, who had joined Batman's party at Indented Head, and now resided with them, sent out messengers and collected some two or three hundred blacks—men women, and children; and about the same time the Goulburn, Barrabool, and Western Port blacks laid a plan to murder all the white people. One of the Melbourne aborigines, who had been kindly treated by Fawkner's party, and had received presents from them, came privately and gave information. Recourse was had to Wm Buckley to learn the real nature of this communication, and it was found that the men were all armed and painted for war. Fawkner and Batman, in this emergency, entered into a treaty with these foes, on the condition that they should all quit the township, and cross to the south side of the Yarra. The boats of the colonists put them over the river, the rest of the men standing as guards with loaded firearms.

The *Enterprise* was the first vessel, larger than a whale-boat, that ever reached the basin at Melbourn, and it took the crew and passengers some days to gather and fix tea-tree stakes, as water or river marks, by which to keep clear of the shoals.

Very few settlers and not much stock came over to Port Philip during the remainder of the year 1835. In March, 1836, Dr. Thomson (now Mayor of Geelong) arrived with his family, and acted as arbitrator by general consent. His tent was, in fact, the first police office in Melbourne. On June 1st, 1846, a council of the people was held, to frame regulations for their guidance; and the proposal of Messrs. Gellibrand and Swanston, to the Port Philipians, to submit their property and personal liberty to the control of members of the Batman co-partnery, was rejected, on the motion of Mr. Fawkner. Dr. Thomson contemplating a removal to Geelong, Mr. James Simpson was appointed general arbitrator, and was to call in two assistants if he thought proper. A Mr. Stewart, a Sydney magistrate, was present at this time, and was authorised to report upon the conduct of the colonists. Advantage was taken of his presence, and a petition forwarded through him to Governor Bourke, asking for the appointment of magistrates and police to maintain order, pointing out that the cost could be defrayed by levying duties on imported goods. Settlers and stock poured over as soon as it became known that Governor Sir Richard Bourke had disallowed the scheme of wresting the lands from the aborigines for a few looking-glasses. Batman and his family came over in June, a house having been built for him at the first landing-place. Constant employment, in bringing over sheep, was found for the *Adelaide* schooner the *Henry* brig, the *Champion*, the *Enterprise*, and others; and huts rose on all parts of the present town. The sheep were generally landed at Gellibrand's Point, and then driven to their destination. Early in that year, Mr. Franks, one of the first emigrants in 1803, and his shepherd, were killed by some of the Goulburn tribe of blacks. Their station was near Cotterill's Sugar-loaf, near the River Exe or Werribee. They were both killed at one moment by two men, who, pretending friendship, smote them down, by driving their tomahawks into the back of their heads. A party was soon sent out after them, led by four of the Melbourne blacks, who recovered part of the property stolen, and took vengeance on some of the tribe to which the murderers belonged. The Flagstaff Hill was selected for a burial ground. The child of a man of the name of Goodman was the first who was buried by the Europeans at Melbourne. Mr. Franks and his man were interred there, attended by all the residents. In September, 1836, Sir Richard Bourke sent Captain Lonsdale, as police magistrate, with a party of soldiers and convicts, and with them Messrs. Webb, customs officer; Mr. Craig, commissariat; D'Arcey, Russell, and Darke, surveyors. The settlement was thus placed under legal British rule.

The extraordinary progress of the settlement was evidenced in 1837, when it was estimated that there was a population of 500, with 140,000 sheep, 2,500 cattle, and 150 horses. Sir Richard Bourke, therefore, resolved on a tour of inspection, and in April of that year entered the bay on board the *Rattlesnake*, commanded by Captain Hobson, whose name, as a mark of honour, was given to the inlet. His Excellency also gave the name Williamstown, in honour of the reigning sovereign, to the proposed township at Hobson's Bay. Melbourne, the proposed metropolis of the district, was named by him after Lord Melbourne; and Geelong, the proposed township at the head of Corio Bay. The settlers waited on His Excellency, and every possible mark of respect was exhibited. Arrangements were made to put up portions of the surveyed allotments to public sale; and after having seen something of the interior, the Governor returned to Sydney. The first land sale was held on June 1st, 1837, and realised from £18 to £78 per allotment.

VIEW OF MELBOURNE.

In this year the colony had to mourn the loss of Joseph Tice Gellibrand, an able lawyer of some notoriety in Van Diemen's Land, who had been amongst the most energetic of those that promoted the colonisation of Port Philip. In company with another lawyer, Mr. Hesse, under the guidance of a shepherd, he started from Geelong for the interior. The party lost their way, and these two gentlemen, separated from their guide, and having wandered in the bush, were never more seen.

From the earliest period Port Philip became noted for the lively and bustling spirit that characterised the colonists. This tone of enterprise and go-a-headism soon made it apparent to the Sydney authorities that a mere police establishment was insufficient to the requirements of the province, and measures were taken to establish a local administration. C. J. LaTrobe was gazetted on 30th July, 1839, as superintendent, and on the 30th September he initiated, by his own arrival in Port Philip, the political history of the colony.

The first movement of importance was a public meeting held on the 30th of December, 1840, to take measures for the separation of Port Philip from the government of New South Wales, and this was followed by a second meeting, March 1st, 1841. The discovery of Gipp's Land about this time, the details of which we have previously noticed, was another fact in the progress of the colony. The wreck of the steamer *Clonmel*, at Corner Inlet, led to the commencement of a communication by water with this part of the province. The land communication was opened by the exploring efforts of Mr. MacMillan. This part of the colony, with its fertile soil, its numerous rivers and its salubrious climate, sheltered by the Australian Alps from the hot winds, and by ranges eastward of it from extremes of cold, is destined to take a leading position as the resort of colonists desirous of settling permanently with their families.

The first resident judge was appointed the same year; and among other circumstances having an influence on the progress of the colony was the sale of special surveys, in accordance with the system prevalent in South Australia. The publication of Sir Thomas Mitchell's narrative of his expedition to Port Philip had in the meantime told with remarkable effect on the aspiring minds of multitudes in Britain, who allured by the enticing prospects opened up in Australia Felix, as the distinguished explorer had denominated this rich country, commenced a tide of emigration in 1839 which continued to increase till 1842. The eager competition of the new colonists, however, brought about, with high prices, depression and difficulties, and towards the close of 1842 the condition of the colony was one of wide-spread bankruptcy.

In the crisis of these depressions, new life was poured into the civic and political status of the colony by an Imperial Act, which provided for a partially representative government and for the incorporation of towns. In accordance with the provisions of this Act, Melbourne, was erected into a corporation on the 1st of December 1842, and the town was divided into four wards. A legislative council of 36 members, of whom 12 were to be nominees of the crown, and the remaining 24 to be elected by the colonists, was also called into existence.

Throughout the whole of 1843 the aspect presented by the city and its inhabitants was most cheerless. The appearance of the town was scattered, the throughfares were unformed and studded with stumps of trees, and traversed by ravines, even in Collins-street, from which bullock drays had to be dug; and in one instance two children were drowned in the waters at the end of Elizabeth-street. The faces of the citizens as they met in the streets seemed devoid of hope, a funereal gloom overspread them—no jolly, rollicking squatters now appeared among them; their sheep were worth at the most 4*s* each; the stations did not pay expenses even to those who had not absolutely lost all title to them, of whom there were not a few; wool was so low that it would hardly pay the expenses of shearing. Land and houses did not realise a tenth of their former value. Public confidence was destroyed. This lowest depth reached, the tide began to turn. Wool, the previous staple of the colony was now to be supplemented by tallow as the next great article of colonial export. The corporation began to busy themselves in their municipal duties; streets were formed and macadamized, pathways were kerbed, public buildings, churches and schools, were erected, and the place first began to give notice that it intended to be a CITY.

New regulations affecting the tenure of squatters, published on the 2nd April, 1844, had an untoward effect, and was one of the primary causes of the movement for separation from New South Wales. Another cause of discontent arose the same year in the arrival of a first batch of men drafted from the penitentiaries of Britain, and landed as free exiles. Mr. LaTrobe, on his own responsibility, and at the request of the citizens, ordered the next vessel freighted with these objectionable emigrants to proceed to Sydney, and after some more vessels being refused, the attempt was abandoned. In the following year, when immigration of the right stamp was resumed, the wreck of the first vessel, the *Cataraqui*, involving a loss of 414 persons, checked the tide of emigration, as well as being a most serious and immediate loss to the colony.

With the progress of time, the conflicting views which result in the formation of parties in a state began to concentrate themselves into spheres of action. The Catholic interest, as a politico-religious party, first gave open manifestations of wilfulness, and it was soon opposed by an Orange institution. This element of party strife became particularly active in elections, and at times of change of ministry, and led to riots and disorder. The so called "Orders of Council" issued by the Imperial Government on 9th March, 1847, were, in the meantime, hailed with enthusiasm by the squatters. The advent of the Rev. Charles Perry, D.D., in the commencement of 1848, and his installation as first Bishop of Melbourne, converted the town henceforth into a city. The question of voluntaryism became however the motto, at the same time, of a political party still at work.

Geelong had at this epoch (1848) risen to be a sort of centre of squatting interest, and hence an active spirit of rivalry had also sprung up between the governmental and squatting metropolises. The inequality of the sexes in the colony led to the sending 2,219 Irish female orphans into it during the 18 months, terminating 1st of July, 1849. But the class of emigrants was bettered by the efforts of Dr. Lang, who inaugurated a self-paying system of emigration of such capitalists, who should form a yeomanry in the land.

The German emigration, which began in 1849, served also to strengthen the framework of society, as did also the efforts of the Society for the Promotion of Emigration. Among the events of the year were, the resumption of coal mining, the incorporation of Geelong, its promotion to the rank of a free warehousing port, and the establishment in it of a circuit court of justice. Great improvements were also being effected in the city through the operation of the building societies.

In 1850 a Horticultural Society was formed, a Benevolent Asylum founded, the use of gas was introduced; and had it not been for the still open and vexed question of transportation, the year would have closed in peace.

1851 saw the Australian Colonies Bill, by which Port Philip was separated from New South Wales, and Her Majesty had been pleased to confer the high distinction of her name, Victoria, on the then youngest of her colonies brought into operation. The rejoicings were universal, and extended over three days.

The discovery of gold at Bathurst, New South Wales, had acted as a counteractive to the Californian emigration, but operated to the prejudice of Port Philip, in drawing off a multitude to that locality. This stimulated the desire of finding a gold-field in the latter province, and in June the first reliable report of a discovery in the Plenty Ranges produced great excitement.

The success of the Ballarat diggings soon filled the minds of all with astonishment and expectation. Geelong and Melbourne were deserted of their male population—all handicraft had ceased, and in a few weeks 10,000 swarmed at Golden Point. While the Council was first assembling, Mount Alexander diggings were reported as far surpassing Ballarat. The report of these rich gold-fields spreading far and wide immediately pronced that vast immigration from all quarters, which may be estimated by the fact, that when at its height, 10,000 emigrants were actually, in one week, landed at Melbourne. The quinquennial census, which had come off in March of this year, showed that the population of Port Philip was 80,000, of which 23,000 were in Melbourne and 8,000 in Geelong; but a year sufficed to nearly double this number.

PORT OF MELBOURNE.

The social changes wrought by the gold discovery were extensive and thorough, so much so that Port Philip is a phase of society as widely different from Victoria as can be conceived. *Bouleversement* is the only word that will adequately describe the change. The employed were of greater importance than the employers. The excesses and extravagance of the diggers are indescribable. Life became a riot, and its courtesies were in a great measure disregarded. The immense immigration swallowed up the old residents, the most respectable and wealthy of whom, as stated, became absentees. The offscourings of the adjoining colonies were poured into our midst. In 1855 there were twelve gold-fields; four, viz., Anderson's Creek, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, and Bendigo, were discovered in 1851; the Ovens in 1852; the M'Ivor and Goulbourn in 1853; and the remainder in 1854: over these the immigrants spread. But the great evil was the influx of the Van Dieman's Land expirees, who were liberated by the policy of Sir W. Denison. Bush-ranging and every species of villany were resorted to by them, which was carried on in every part of the country, and even in the cities, where "sticking-up" became a common occurrence. Five of these desperadoes took possession of the St. Kilda road, within a few miles of the central part of the city, and within an hour captured and plundered twenty persons. A well-concerted attack was made on the "Private Escort," by a gang near the Black Forest, who succeeded in plundering that armed force. In consequence of these and other enormities proved to have been

committed mainly by convicts, a bill called the "Convicts' Prevention Bill," passed the Legislature, which, while reprobated by the other colonies, and especially Tasmania, was a means, in some slight degree, of repressing the intolerable nuisance. There were numerous diggers from almost all nations, Germans, French, Italians, Chinese, Americans, and old Californians, who brought their distinctive notions of rights and freedom to bear on their avocations of digging; and in the wretched condition of our social constitution in those days, the *émeute* at Ballarat, December 3d, 1854, seemed an inevitable consequence. The government arrangements were that each digger paid a license fee of 30s. per month for a claim of twelve feet square. The commissioners were empowered to make daily visits, accompanied by the police, and compel the diggers to show their licenses. As disaffection to the government was spreading among such a mixed population, the police force had to be increased, and to meet this additional expense, the license fee was rigidly collected, and this impost was laid on every one connected with gold operations, whether digging or not. An additional law made it imperative on the diggers to act as special constables, under the penalty of being treated as rogues and vagabonds. Meetings were held on the various gold-fields, and the miners resolved to resist the fee altogether, and committees were formed to protect the interest of the miners. The vexatious "license hunting" followed, and the irritation became excessive towards the government and its officials, the commissioners and police. The Eureka Hotel was the resort of the worst characters at Ballarat, and its proprietor was generally detested, but the local authorities did not interfere for its suppression. A murder was committed in this house, and Bentley, the landlord, escaped justice on his first trial. The people, persuaded

GOLD-WASHING AT BALLARAT

of the guilt of him and his mob, attacked and burnt down the hotel, in October, and would not permit the authorities to interfere. When Bentley and his accomplices were again tried, they were found guilty of manslaughter; but the effect of this on the public mind was to inflame the people against the government, and stump orators urged them on to acts of rebellion, and they commenced to enrol bands to resist the authorities by armed force. Meantime, the ringleaders of the Eureka Hotel riot were captured, tried, condemned, and had lenient sentences passed on them, as the juries censured the Ballarat authorities. The consequence was, that the diggers began to drill, and made all preparation for a struggle. On 28th November, 1854, the first attack was made on a detachment of the 12th regiment, and a second shortly after, on another detachment of the 40th regiment. On the 3d December, an attack was made by the military on the entrenchment of the insurgents, in which a number were killed on both sides. The rebels were scattered, martial law proclaimed, and a royal commission appointed to proceed to the spot, and examine into the condition of the gold-field. These gentlemen found the grievances of the miners to be truly heavy, and recommended a complete change in the administration of their affairs—that a duty be laid upon gold instead of the license fee, a co-partnery system, franchise to the miner, and disputes to be arbitrated by a locally-elected body, with an efficient chairman. These recommendations were adopted, and the mining districts were restored to quiet.

The royal commission was the first to call the attention of the government to the serious considerations arising from the tide of Chinese immigration. It had set in about the commencement of 1854, and already there were 10,000 Chinamen on the various gold-fields. A social difficulty was thus originated, which continued to increase, as the numbers were reported in succeeding years to be 30,000 and even 50,000, and some of these people asserted that their countrymen were "all coming." As a restrictive measure, a poll-tax of £10

was levied on every Chinaman entering the port, and the vessels were limited to one for every ten tons of their register. But South Australia offered facilities by overland to evade the law; and the legislature, in consequence, removed the tonnage restriction, retaining the £10 fine. Protectors and interpreters were provided by the government. There is great antipathy manifested to them on the gold-fields, and assaults and maltreatment are frequent. At Ballarat, a newspaper in Chinese was established in May, 1856, and in September they erected a joss house on Emerald Hill, Melbourne. But few females accompany them; they, however, in some instances, succeed in obtaining wives, chiefly from among Irish girls. A mission has been established for their benefit, of which the Rev. Mr. Young and a few Chinese Christians are the agents. The success of this effort is not great, and the paucity of the funds for the mission does not attest its popularity.

The railway projects started into being in 1852. The first line, from Melbourne to Sandridge, was commenced in January, 1853, and opened in September, 1854, a result of private enterprise; and, subsequently, a branch of this line was extended to St. Kilda. The Melbourne and Williamstown line was commenced shortly after, and was designed to be carried out to Mount Alexander and the Murray River, but was ultimately sold to the Government. The Geelong and Melbourne line was commenced in 1853, and was opened on 25th June, 1857.

The proclamation of a new constitution by Sir Charles Hotham, in the House of Legislature, on the 23rd November, 1855, effected at the same epoch a great change, by introducing a really responsible government. The new elections in 1856, showed the prevalence of democratic sentiments in the community. The tests of the candidates were, manhood suffrage, equal elections, anti-state aid to religion, and national education, telegraphs, railways, and posts. Major General Macarthur, the acting Lieutenant-Governor, promised reforms, which embraced almost all that was asked for. Sir Henry Barkly arrived by the *Oneida*, the first ship belonging to the European and Australian Steam Navigation Company that had visited this port, in December, 1856.

The rapid advance made by the city and colony generally is the wonder of all visitors. The noble structures that have been erected in Melbourne, the Parliament Houses, the Treasury, the Public Library, the Hospital, the Benevolent Asylum, the City Court, the County Court, the Gaols and Police Barracks, the Military Barracks, the Exhibition Building, the richly ornamented Banks, the Custom House, the Churches, in a pure style of ecclesiastical architecture, the Chamber of Commerce, together with the massive stores and offices of the merchants, all fascinate the eyes of strangers, though from familiarity the resident passes them without notice. These attest the wealth and importance of the colony, while the townships rapidly progressing where there are centres of population, and the extension of the agricultural enterprise of the colony, begin to give a fixity to colonial life that was before unknown. Improvements in the condition of society will result from settled habits; and such improvements become daily more visible. Some of the worst evils, we may hope, have passed away; and if the future of Victoria shall exhibit less of the hurry and excitement of the last few years the advantages thus conferred will be the means of a permanent and glorious onward progress.

III.

A City Stroll—Melbourne Costume in 1853—Melbourne Streets and Trottoirs in 1853—Public Houses—Canvas Town—Emerald Hill.

The facts connected with the foundation and progress of a recent colony are few in number, and tolerably distinct in detail. The narrative need not be made to occupy many pages.

In the impossibility of embracing so much detail in our summary, we shall limit ourselves to the first impressions of William Kelly, the spirited author of *Life in Victoria, or Victoria in 1853 and Victoria in 1858*. After parting, he relates, with my old chum friend and getting the bearings of the post-office, I bent my steps thither in expectation of finding some letters that should have come forward by a mail which left England subsequent to our departure. I found this important public building represented by a wretched wooden hovel, awkwardly propped up in a filthy quagmire, and surmounted with a clock-tower the exact counterpart of the louvre of a corn-kiln. The clock, in external appearance, was respectable enough, but the frequent and considerable changes made on its dial-plate in the course of each day warranted the idea that the hands required something beyond mechanical agency to keep them in their proper places. There were two approaches for inquiry, railed off at the immediate vicinity to the delivering apertures: but as the letters of the alphabet were impartially divided in twain and assigned to each, it followed, as a matter of course, that the aperture to which such unpopular letters as Q, U, V, X, Y, and Z were allotted would be comparatively idle, while the other would be crowded with a column of unintermitting applicants. I belonged to the popular aperture, and found that the transit of a couple of hours only brought me within the railings, when, weary and disgusted, I would have raised the siege, only that I was unwilling to subject myself to the ordeal of the jeering laugh to which every tired-out "lime-juicer," as we new chums were called, was treated on his abdication. In order to while away the remainder of the time, I modestly opened a conversation with the man next me, who was a hirsute giant, attired in a rough, travel-stained drayman's garb. "Yes," he replied, in a mellifluous tone, "this post-office nuisance is a dreadful bore," which convinced me at once he was bred up to a very different occupation. He gave me much useful information, and when it came to his turn, after a considerable lapse, in reply to an injunction from the interior, he said, "Oh, I must sign my name, must I?" when, sticking the cart whip into the breast of his jumper in a most professional manner, he wrote his name in a fine Roman hand, with hacked fingers which must have been strangers for some weeks to soap and water. This aboriginal post-office was, in 1854, encased in a specious corrugated iron edifice, which, though of a plain, simple exterior, possessed almost all the modern improvements and advantages of similar establishments. But even this commodious edifice is now (1857) doomed to demolition, and a splendid pile is about being erected on the same site, which is the most convenient position that could be chosen.

Leaving the Post-office, I went to make a call on an old-country friend and schoolfellow, but not finding

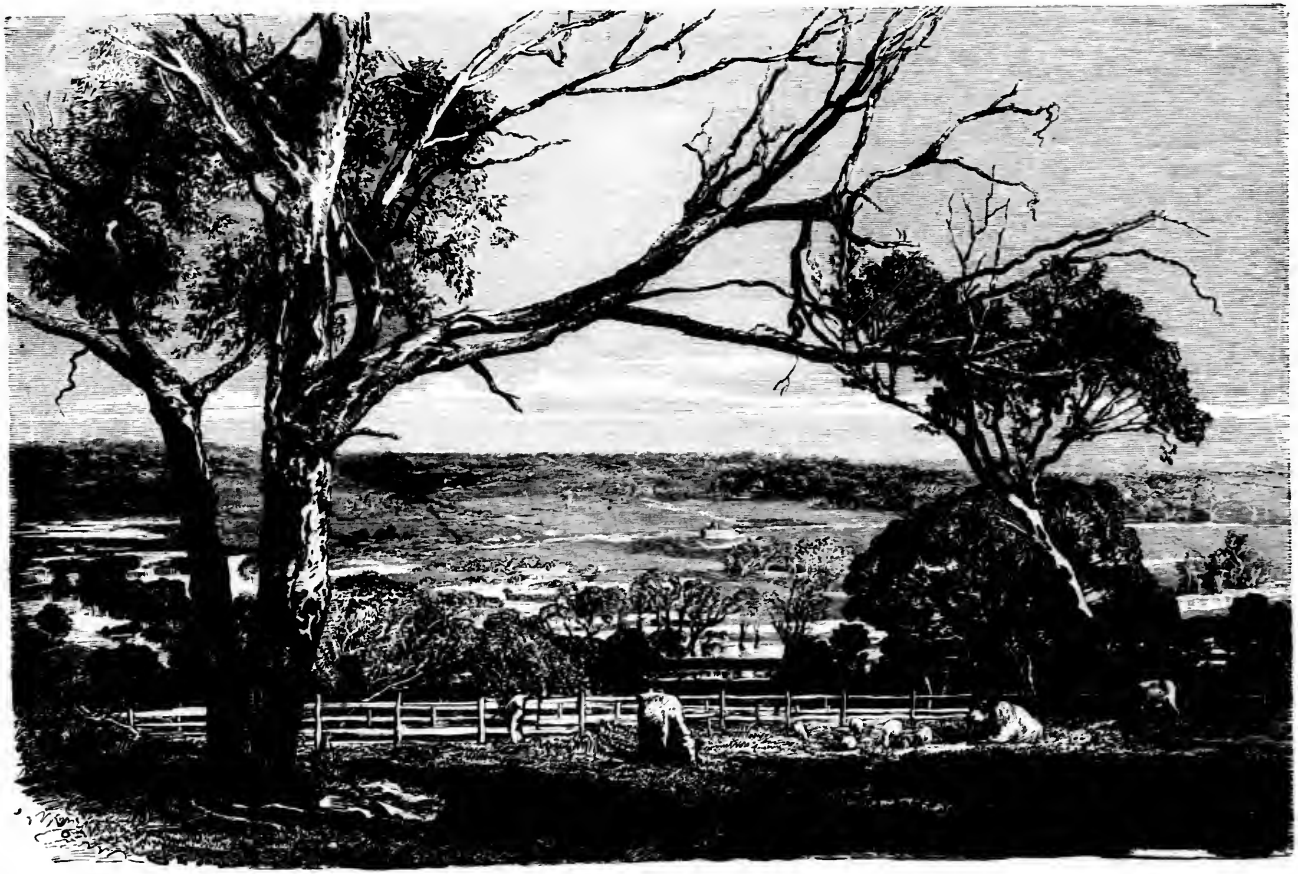
him at home, I went with my fellow-passenger for a stroll of observation. From my Californian experience, I was prepared for many of the strange sights and appearances; not so my companion, who, though what may be called a citizen of the world, could ill suppress his amazement at the scenes he witnessed. To begin at the top: there was not one per cent. of the olden species of hat called bell-toppers. Wideawakes of sundry shapes, and cabbage-trees of every tint of dirtiness, were the order of the day. Neckties and bare necks were about on a par. Coloured shirts had banished their fair brethren. Coats were nowhere to be seen, shooting-jackets and jumpers monopolising the fashion. Trousers alone held their own, but they were as frequently stuffed inside long jack-boots, or suspended over laced-up water-tights. I only on that day observed one pair of gloves, which were worn by a little purse-proud old chum, but from the way in which he kept his thumb and fingers distended—like a section of wheel-spokes—it was evident he felt as uncomfortable as an aboriginal in tight boots, using his hands when in motion as if he were paddling through the air. The more respectable of the fair sex in these days did not often appear in public, as a sentiment synonymous with the motto, "Liberté, Egalité, et Fraternité," was in the ascendant, which in the infancy of police organisation and the prevalence of lucky diggerism, was frequently evinced in an over-affectionate manner, particularly to the gentler portion of the community. Thus the females we almost invariably encountered were either of that strong-minded class who had caught their diggers *in vinculo matrimonii*, or were anxious to encourage diggers' attentions without the bother or conventional ceremony of forging the chain. It happened, however, that a heavy shower of rain had fallen, and not being shod in a suitable manner, we found it both difficult and disagreeable to get along. For in those days the small patches of flagged side-paths in the whole city might have been counted without getting into the teens, and the fine loam with which they were coated soon got from mortar into positive puddle never less than three inches, and very frequently deep enough to reach the top of an ankle-boot; so that, seeing there was no use in mincing or picking our steps, we rolled up the bottoms of our trousers about as high as a Highlander's gaiter, and went straight through it. The streets were in perfect keeping with the trottoirs, being only passable on the central ridge, where a narrow line of thoroughfare was established, partly from the drainage caused by the depression on each side, and partly by a process of macadamisation, which consisted in peppering it over with boulders of rock, that seemed to be precious stones, from the stepmother niggardliness with which they were distributed. But bad as the track was, woe betide the cart or waggon forced to give way to either side during the wet season, for they immediately became engulphed to the axles, rarely getting extricated without some additional horse or ox power to drag them bodily out of the sludge. Even saddle-horses only managed to get through the margins with extreme difficulty, straggling along like flies over a plate of treacle. I have seen hundreds of instances—five per cent. of them at the door of the great Bank of Australasia—where riders, alighting and hanging up[1] their horses while transacting business, found the poor animals on their return sunk to their chests in the mire, with their chins patiently resting on the kerbstones. Bullock teams alone seemed capable of pulling through with any degree of steadiness or regularity, and their wild appearance, as well as great preponderance in the main streets of a metropolis, certainly struck the eye of a stranger as a curious novelty.

As we trudged along, the extremely irregular aspect of the city was very noticeable; no two houses in juxtaposition were of the same height or of the same material. Most of the original ones were well built of brick or stone; many of the next crop were composed of weatherboards; and several of the later ones of canvas or corrugated iron. Corner houses were almost invariably selected for licensing, their doors standing directly in the angle, so as to offer an impartial invitation to each street; but, as it appeared to me, there was no need for studying convenience or affording facilities, for customers were so plentiful and so eager they would have mounted on scaling-ladders for nobblers, or gone down in buckets for them to the deepest cellars. The bars were always full, the tap-rooms always crowded, and in those resorts, at least, there was no disproportion of the sexes. The women were as numerous as the men, and asserted the equality of their gentler genders by as deep potations, and as blasphemous and obscene vociferations, as their rougher associates. No wonder this trade should prosper in Victoria, as candidates for licenses generally commence business under the patronage of some tutelary saint, and, instead of resorting to unnatural history for red lions and blue boars, or to the farm-yard for black bulls and white horses, they reverently and religiously take up the calendar, con it carefully over, and pick out some canonised patron distinguished in life for his jollifications as a "holy friar," and under the light of his congenial countenance they court the smiles of Fortune. I remarked one instance where it must have been that the publican, forestalled in all the male saints, placed a kit-cat of a lady saint over his portal, and under it a hand significantly pointing round the corner to a sly-looking door headed "Saint Elizabeth's Tap," as if it was the pet place of resort of that holy lady. While re-reading this original signboard, it struck me that while in Britain saints associated with sublunary pursuits are invariably shorn of their fair proportions, and abbreviated to Sts., they are awarded their full meed of orthography in Victoria. In passing those corners we remarked groups of new-comers, who, like us, were indulging their curiosity; but while they were thus innocently and harmlessly occupied, I could see they were regarded by the old chums with looks of scowling jealousy, as interloping intruders come without invitation to diminish their colonial income.

Endeavouring to kill two birds with one stone by combining business with amusement, we turned our steps towards Canvas Town on the south side of the Yarra, with the intention of selecting a site for a temporary habitation, for, judging from my Californian experience that lodgings would be our earliest and most urgent difficulty, I came provided with an excellent tent and camp apparatus. On going along Swanston-street, gazing at everything internal as well as

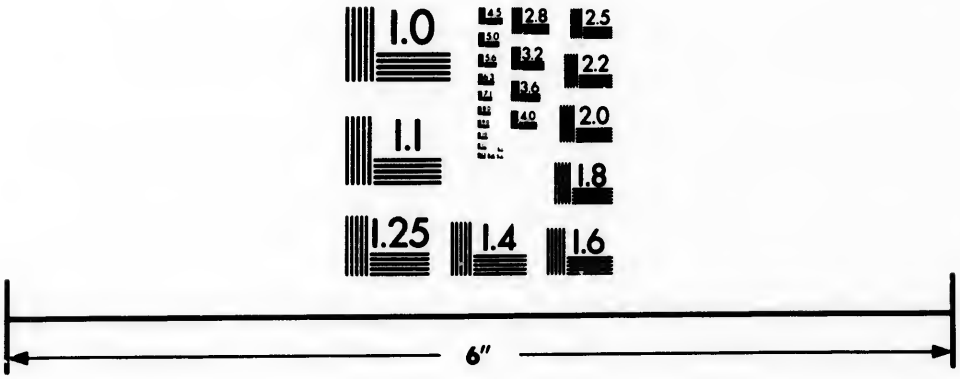
[1] In Melbourne there are posts sunk in the ground almost opposite every door, with rings and latches for affixing the bridles to them; for in early times the Bedouins of the streets were scarce, and latterly they are too expensive to employ. Fastening your horse to one of these posts is termed "hanging him up."

out of doors, I missed my friend H. from my side, and observing him glancing furtively into a ham and sandwich refectory, I returned a few steps to take a peep at the curiosity, which proved to be a waiter, with an unclean towel astride his arm, hurrying to and fro amongst a mob of clamorous customers. I looked again without being able to detect anything particularly strange, and while I kept looking, my friend kept shaking his head, half in doubt, half in abstraction. At length he informed me that the ministering angel inside was an old acquaintance of his, of excellent family, with whom he parted in Paris the previous October, "being then, as he said, on his way to winter in Rome or Naples, bored to death with London fogs and English society." This was rather a strong dose for a person like H., roughing it himself for the first time in his life. We then jogged along silently across Princess Bridge, absorbed in reverie, until we entered the precincts of the once celebrated but now defunct Canvas Town. Here we were considerably surprised at finding something approaching to regularity in the disposition of the gossamer tenements, for, overlooking it from the high ground on the opposite side of the river, it appeared to be a confused swarm of tents, pitched at random on a hill-side, like a flock of pigeons after a long flight. On the contrary, however, there was a series of streets, not, to be sure, laid out in straight lines, or running parallel to each other, or intersecting at right angles, but yet streets to all intents and purposes, with central thoroughfares, and stores, and habitations on each side; and if fame constituted of wide-spread notoriety contributes to gladden the human heart, Benjamin Edgington, of Duke-street, London, would have been rendered about the happiest of mortals by a stroll through this overgrown hamlet, for nine-tenths of the tents bore the oval mark framing the impress of his name, and a large majority of the tarpaulins used in covering the out-door chattels were likewise distinguished by that stamp. Benjamin Edgington had, however, a few local competitors, and amongst them a slick, go ahead Yankee, who announced, on a long and deep stripe of calico, that "he was the inventor and sole proprietor of the patent self-erecting tent." We looked in to see the invention, which, though ingenious, and, to a certain extent, self-erecting, afforded no guarantee of stability, for when expanded by inflation it appeared rather disposed to become "a castle in the air" than remain a mundane fixture. After all the trouble of erection and explanation, I deemed it incumbent on me to ask the price, and retreat on the usual plea; however, the demand was so outrageously exorbitant, it relieved me of all feelings of embarrassment. So, ironically complimenting him, foreigner as he was, on his proficiency in opening his mouth as wide as an old colonist, I was about departing, but he detained me, in order to explain "that the idey came into his head at church-time, and being a conscientious man he asked a tall price, and gave half the proceeds to charity." The chief peculiarity in this novel aggregation of human dwellings was that all were devoted to business of one kind or another, some mechanical, some professional, and some menial; and the signs or notifications over the various booths were regular curiosities of literature in their way, both as regards spelling and composition. One occupant was a "sale (sail) maker;" another intimated that "boots were sold (soled) here;" a general merchant supplied "coffee reading, and refreshment;" while the person over the way confined himself to "coffee threepence the half pint, bread-and-butter to shuit." An aspirant in the hotel line "had beds to let," but directed inquirers "to the back of the premises;" while a *chef de cuisine* professed his anxiety to "take in joints for baking." "A lady, in her leisure hours," would make dresses, French fashion, or instruct youth; and Mr. Scott, hairdresser, in a discharged ship galley, "set razors, drew teeth, and bled.—N.B. Mrs. S. made up medicines in his absence." In addition to which, barbers' poles bristled at every salient point; butchers' shops abounded; and if there were no licensed publics in this Rag Fair, the hecatombs of bottles, flasks, and gin jars strewed about, proved to a demonstration that there was a most unlimited, unlicensed consumption of ardent spirits. A presumption otherwise materially strengthened by strong flavoured personal indications, of which I had unmistakable proof in a masculine countrywoman in the *deshabille* of a sailor's pea-jacket who waded across the street to inquire "if it's washin' we wanted." "No ma'am," I replied, "we must first find a lodging." "Oh, bedad," says she, "if that's what yer afhter, I can fit your knuckle to a T. Look," she continued, pointing to a barrel raised upon sods, "at that fine chimbly; well, thuther side o' that I've a stretcher 'll hould yes both at three shillins a night." I managed to decline the proposed accommodation in as gracious a manner as I could put on; but, determined on business of some description, she fell back on the washing. "Ah, thin, surely," says she, "daycent gentlemen likes yes must have a deal o' washin' afther the voyage, and can't yes give it to an industris woman like me, who only charges ten shillins the dozen?"—"or about four shillings above the usual price," I remarked, in an audible soliloquy; upon which, putting her hands in jacket pockets, approaching the attitude to which all voluble women incline in energetic declamation, she apostrophised us in the following vernacular terms: "Sweet bad luck to the pair of yes, ye lousy lime-juicers. It's dirty linen that's too good for the likes of yes. I would'nt give you a squeeze o' me blue-bag for the money. Maybe yes think I wash for divarshun, and that me wood is laid down to me for thankee, or that I git me wathur for the whistlin'. May the devil purshue yes out o' the daycent colony, you spalpeens ye." The dulcet tones in which she addressed us evidently penetrated through the neighbourhood, for an audience was converging towards us in different directions clad in a hybrid mongrel attire, which suggested the idea that the antipodes, amongst its other natural curiosities, contained human hermaphrodites; but they all proved to be of the gentler sex, the men being out at work for the day. The first on the field was a gaunt lady, standing five feet ten inches, in a pair of big broken Napoleon boots, and crowned with a towering greasy wideawake, which gave her quite the air of a disgraced bandit. "Mrs. Molony, dear," she affectionately exclaimed, "What are these saucy scamps a doin' of, aggravatin' of you in this ways? Who sent for the mane bounds," she promiscuously inquired, "to insult decent women, an their husbans away an earnin' of their livin'? for three strars I would treat each on 'em to a mug of hot water." 'And sarve 'em cussed well right," exclaimed a livid-looking dame, who wore a porous shawl mantilla-wise, to screen a pair of eyes, which, if not boasting dark pupils, moved in the blackest of spheres. During the delivery



VALLEY OF THE YARRA-YARRA.

IMAGE EVALUATION
TEST TARGET (MT-3)



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of these spirited observations, the circle around us became perceptibly diminished, and Mrs. Molony, melting under the influence of the sympathy which her distresses evoked, squeezed a few drops of gin-and-water through her eyelids, receiving them at their confluence under her nose on the cuff of her pea-jacket. This affecting piece of pantomime precipitated the crisis, and only that we were enabled to burst through a weak place in the enceinte, we would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, and Heaven only knows what would have been our fate. Our retreat was the signal for an outburst of yells and screams that would have done credit to a Crow Indian war-whoop, and though there was no pursuit, a cloud of old boots, bottles, stones, and bottomless tin cans was discharged after us, but fell short of the mark. We charged straight across a swamp to the rising ground beyond it, and only ventured to glance round when we placed the morass betwixt us and the Amazons, who were still concentred in a formidable group, regarding their lost prey.

This rising ground was none other than Emerald Hill, christened from the rich verdure with which it is perpetually clothed. At that time it was very sparsely sprinkled with tents, with only one house on its eastern slope. This was a public-house called the Emerald Hotel, fronted with a deep verandah, under which a row of men, in digging costume, were taking their after-dinner smoke. I found, on inquiry, that it was principally the resort of the more respectable and quietly-disposed class of diggers, who, instead of spending their vacation amidst the scenes of riotous, drunken debauchery of Melbourne, came over to board in this quiet, cleanly suburb. I ascertained, moreover, that close by there was a little street of weatherboard houses—the first erected there—and that probably they were not all let, as they were not all thoroughly finished. From the character of the neighbourhood I was desirous of securing a temporary resting-place in it, so I hurried across to the new buildings, where I was fortunate enough to find the landlord, and closed, without cavil, for one of the tenements, at the current rate of £4 per week, or £1 per week per room, such as they were. These houses, greedily snapped up at a rent equivalent to £208 per annum, were wretched hovels, rooted with rough shingles, which, although they led off the rain, allowed the wind and light to stream in through their interstices. The same description will suit the sides, on which the boards only overlapped enough to carry down the drip, though it frequently bubbled up in high winds, finding its way into the interior. The partitions were simply constructed of sized long-cloth, which admitted the convenience of conversing with your neighbour without the trouble of leaving your own apartment. The arrangement, however, admitted of this indelicate drawback, that if your candle at bedtime happened to be extinguished first, you might probably be startled by the shadowy phantom of Mrs. or Miss A B C, next door, in her night-dress, preparing for the stretcher. The floors, whether intentionally or not I can't say, were laid somewhat on the hencoop principle, so that all garbage or offal might fall through. I know that some of our knives, forks, and I think a blacking-brush, disappeared through these slender slits, which also admitted such copious currents of wind, that a long-six stearine rarely saw out our evening's repast. In fact, taking them for all and all, it would be considered at home cruelty to animals to use them as dog-kennels, and it would certainly vitiate a policy to force a person whose life you had insured to sleep in one of them for a single night. However, we were as proud and as happy as possible in having even a shed in the colony that we could call our own, and we returned to the Emerald Hotel to thank the host for his information, and drink our first nobblers to the glory and greatness of the "new and happy land." By the directions of the landlord we took a new route to the city, across a watery flat leading to a ferry, where we paid sixpence for a passage or about the rate of a halfpenny per boat's length. It was now getting duskish, and the day's work gave us a good appetite, which we went to appease in an eating house in Great Collins-street East, a little below the level of the street. I thought I heard my friend—who was a member of the Windham—heave a gentle sigh as, surveying the rough-and-ready dinner apartment, he endeavoured to sidle into a seat opposite me, where we were obliged to dovetail as in an omnibus, the table betwixt us being barely broad enough to sustain the pair of half-wiped plates. We ordered steak and potatoes as the safest dish, and, while waiting for it—as we were not allowed any bread to pick at—we endeavoured to derive edification from the general conversation. One good-natured, communicative man in a jumper, who saw that our attention was directed to his box—moreover perhaps moved by the destitute appearance of our table, which was simply decorated with a single salt and an egg-cup of mustard jumped up with a bottle and glass, and insisted on our joining him in nobblers. As there might have been danger in declining the intuitive hospitality, we made a virtue of necessity, and swallowed the potions in so clean, off-hand a manner, as to charm the heart of our unknown entertainer, who smiled affectionately, shook our hands vehemently, exclaiming, in guttural ecstasy, "X-cuse me, gemmen—you're town folk—I don't make me money like as you do; I makes mine by fair hard diggin'." Saying which, he gave the bottle a flourish over his head that sent a shower of brandy about the room.

Our dinner arriving at this juncture, he retired, with a propriety of demeanour scarcely to be expected. But how shall I attempt to describe the meal I have designated a dinner? Each plate contained a calcined lump of meat, which might have been flat in its raw state, but was now shrivelled up into a black ball about the size of the cold potato beside it. Gravy there was none; and so far from their being any succulence about the unsightly cinder, the fork went into it as if it was entering a rusk, causing a shedding of sooty scales about. There was no butter, and there was no use in complaint; we, however, got a bit of gritty bread, and a glass of saccharine ale as extras, the whole repast costing the small sum of 8*s.* 6*d.* As it was now late, and there was no possibility of getting aboard of the ship, even if we escaped being stuck up in the way to Sandridge, we set out in quest of beds. We first went to the "Prince of Wales," where, with all the persuasiveness I could call up, I urged our outcast position: "Anything in the shape of a bed would be sufficient;" but the landlord assured me there was neither bed nor sofa, nor any article of furniture that would stand in lieu thereof. He pointed, in proof of his inability to accommodate us, to the preparation then in progress in the little room behind the bar, where the children were being put on chairs in

one corner, and a rude bed prepared for himself and his mistress in the other. Such, he declared, were the shifts to which they had been driven for some months, as respectable people could not venture into the second-class houses, in consequence of the scenes which were enacted there. No very hopeful prospect for us. He finally advised us to try the "Port Philip Club Hotel," warning us to keep a sharp look-out, as sticking up was frequent even in the principal streets. To the "Port Philip" we went, without better fortune, for the proprietor protested solemnly that every hearth-rug in the establishment was engaged. He recommended some other hotel, which we were unable to find, as the night was dark and rainy, and the miserable lamps barely afforded sufficient light to guard one from running against the posts on which they were perched. In this extremity we resolved, at all risks, to go into some public-house, get some drink, and manage to eke out the time on chairs or benches until morning. But this resolution was more easily made than carried out. We called at one or two, and found them so crammed with crowds of cut-throat-looking ruffians, evidently acting in concert with parties of abandoned women of still more repulsive appearance who hung about the portals, that any extremity was preferable to such dangerous association. The third house we called at being less crowded, we went forward to the counter, and ventured to order a couple of tumblers of hot toddy into the parlour. "No room inside; so manage to toss it off where you are," said the landlord impudently. We naturally declined, and were about going away, when the fellow jumped over the counter, got betwixt us and the door in a fighting attitude, and flanked by two of his barmen, commenced a tirade of abuse: "You'll not come that game over me, you pair of duffers. Come, pay your money, and then go if you like." The row brought a mob of drunken men and women from the room, all of whom individually and collectively expressed their anxiety to adopt the host's quarrel, and "lamb us," without inquiry, while at the same time an out-door reinforcement assembled, as the Crimean correspondent would say, "with the light of battle in their faces," for the landlords of public-houses could then always rely on a loyal muster of rowdy scoundrels against any foe, but particularly a "lime-juicer." Matters looking threatening, and it appeared we were about assuming colonial livery—black eyes and bloody noses. But as the saying is, "the darkest hour is that before dawn," so at the moment when our doom looked most imminent, our deliverance was at hand. "Robbery! Murder! Robbery!" roared a man outside, which led to a rush and a street-scuffle that quite emptied the bar. At this juncture, a voice in tones of friendliness called softly, "This way, as you value your lives!" On looking round, we discovered an interesting young woman standing inside the counter, with the hinged part raised, beckoning us to come hurriedly through. She then led us to a side-door, and bade us follow the narrow street to the right, until we got to the wide one at the end. This proved to be Elizabeth-street, at its junction with the west end of Flinder's-lane, and close by the corner stood another public, with a quiet air, filled by a group of new comers inside, nodding little bundles or bags in their hands. We joined them, in the hopeful anticipation that they had secured quarters; but we were met on the threshold by the verdict of disappointment: "No room nor no accommodation at no price." "Be so good," entreated a delicate young man, "to permit me to leave my carpet-bag until morning?" "No room, I tell you, for either baggage or passengers, if you paid a guinea an inch for it," replied the antipodean Boniface. Hotel-keepers, in those days, made no secret of their contempt for mere night-lodgers, or new chums who came to pile up money; they courted the custom of old chum diggers, who delighted in knocking it down, and that class then not only abounded in numbers, but abounded in gold. Townships had not as yet been established on the different diggings, and licensed houses were few. Digging theatres or concert-rooms had not been started, nor any other species of local entertainment or amusement; so that lucky diggers, "up for a spree," as they called it, intent on making oblations to propitious Fortune, came down to the capital, many of them making those vampire publicans their bankers, and remaining in town until their accounts came to be overdrawn—a consummation which arrived with bewildering rapidity under the system of double entry practised by these licensed worthies, who then turned out the digger with the same indignity they would a "lime-juicer." No wonder, then, that we could not find quarters; and under the suggestion of one of the strangers, we were about adjourning in a body to the police-station, and asking permission to remain in the guard-house till morning, when a member of that force appeared, to give warning that the closing hour had arrived. We stated our case to this functionary, who was good enough to say "he thought he could find us accommodation in a public lately opened, and not yet in brisk business," and he accordingly conducted us a considerable distance, through mud and dangerous water-holes, up the eastern end of Flinders-street, to the "Duke of Wellington," where at length we found shelter, but no softer bed than the dining-room table, on which we had our maiden dreams in the veritable El Dorado.

IV.

Over the Bay to Geelong—Theatre on the Plains—Warrambeen—Mount Mercer—Through the Forest—First Diggings—Camp—Bunningtong—Valley of Ballarat—The Town.

Mrs. Meredith's experiences at Geelong, and the diggings at a much later period, may be fairly brought in contrast to the racketty, rollicking, and even dangerous epoch when Mr. Kelly travelled. Quitting Melbourne: "Once more upon the Yarra!" she exclaims. Yes, once more, but not for long. The same thick, scummy water, continues for another mile or so; the same low shores of black, oozy mud; the same narrow tortuous channel, just wide enough to allow of our passing the dirty vessels, moored beside the dirtier banks; till, at last a dioramic change came gradually over the scene. The river's breadth increased—widened yet more and more—and, lo! we are in Hobson's Bay. The brothy fluid around us is still of the Yarra, Yarra ish; but beyond is the bright green water, ribboned over with the blue shades of clouds, and with scores of ships and steamers, sitting like flocks of ducks upon it, or panting busily along, or, with white wings outspread, sailing here and there.

Geelong is very pleasantly situated at the head of the bay, on slightly rising ground, and looks pretty from the water, with its fresh, new buildings and open

streets, by no means closely packed, as yet; and green lawny terraced land rising from the beach on either side; but the general scarcity of wood, or even of single trees, is a deficiency in its claims for admiration; still it looks fresher and cleaner than Melbourne, with less pretension to city greatness, and less defacement from city dirt.

The sea-baths, of which there are several, are conspicuous objects in a sea-approach; nondescript white erections in the water, like tea-garden summer-houses gone astray, and connected with the beach by long platforms, and encircled by large cages of strong wire netting or palisades, reaching from the bottom, above the surface of the water; within there swimmers may disport in safety, and not unfrequently see hungry sharks gliding round, gazing from without the barrier, at the unreachable temptations within.

On landing at a broad wooden jetty, slippery with incessant traffic, and crowded by arrivals and departures, we drove to the hotel where rooms were engaged for us, and where every creature comfort is well cared for. After dinner we inquired what amusements were to be found? Mine host knew only of the theatre, and thither we drove; for though only a short distance, the profound scale of mud which pervaded Geelong precluded the possibility of walking after dark. The silence and almost solitude at the box-office augured but ill for the fulness of the house, and accordingly we found ourselves comprising the entire box company for the first two acts of *Charles the Second;* after which a few more persons came in, and the pit and gallery were three-fourths filled. The theatre was by no means small, but very long for its width, as if it had been made a good shape originally, and then squeezed to fit a particular place. Bare bricks, and bare rough boards, painted over, were abundantly visible; the fronts of the boxes and the proscenium monopolising what finish had been bestowed. Some of the scenery and dresses were tolerably good, and the acting not bad.

The next day was Sunday, and many of the shops were shut, and all the churches, chapels, and meetings were open. But at many inn-doors a perfect concourse of drays was assembled, with their drivers and hangers-on, preparing to start on their up-country journeys, with teams of weary, half-famished oxen standing knee-deep in mud and water, receiving their accustomed award of cruel blows. We, however, took our way to the beach, with the sea and the sky for our temple, and our own earnest hearts for books.

Bright and calm shone the bay, with some small vessels and boats near the wharf, and a few large merchantmen lying outside the bar. Green undulating banks, nearly devoid of trees, except where artificial plantations have been made round a few residences, rise behind the sandy shore. This, north of the town, is grievously disfigured by ranges of slaughter-houses—dirty, ricketty, old sheds—and other appurtenances, ugly enough at a distance, but thrice horrible on a near approach, when the manifold abominations of their callings become palpable to other sense than sight.

Another ramble in the evening led us southward of the town, with a glorious, calm sunset spreading its gorgeous hues along the sky, and the quiet sea shining placidly below. Shallow little ripples—they were hardly waves—came up with a soft splash among the rocks; and snow-white sea-gulls, soaring gently by, scarce moved their wide-spread pinions as they flew. Calm, bright, and beautiful was all the scene.

Just above high-water mark, a very limp and collapsed-looking attempt at a tent was the residence of an oyster-merchant and his wife, who seemed to be doing no trifling amount of business, combining a ginger-beer and cake shop with oyster selling. Further on was another abode, which would have been a prize to a marine-painter as a delicious bit of foreground, so oddly put together of old sails (one was brick-red colour), scraps of old boats, bits of wood, bags, matting, and other waifs and strays of the most heterogeneous description, that it was quite a study, a perfect sparrow's nest of a hut, all odds and ends; and the way in which its slanting angles and slopes were brought in to suit an old patched-up door, was something marvellous, the whole being tied up and lashed round with rope-ends, in the most curiously-complicated manner that ever was devised. The door stood open, and, without going near, I could see a queer little table and stool, with shelves stuck in and hung up in all sorts of odd corners, filled with crockery, bottles, and other matters; and near the entrance—guardian and presiding genii of the place—hung a pair of orthodox fisherman's boots.

Up next morning long before dawn, breaking fast by candle-light, and waiting for the coach, which, running to Wady-Yallak, would drop us at a point very near our destination, about fifty miles from Geelong. Presently a clatter and lumber is heard approaching; waiter says, "Coach just here, sir! I'll carry these down, ma'am," as he swiftly decamps with our brace of carpet bags and sundry spare wraps. Not the most pleasant things in the world to climb into, by the way, those American coaches! especially in the dark, or darkness made visible by a lamp or two—as they are one undistinguishable mass of mud, with no steps to speak of. But we are in—if one may call that being "in" which is all "out"—and off we go—bounding, bumping, knocking about—jolting every instant as if a dozen bones were broken at each concussion, and every tooth in one's head jarred and splitting.

"Hold on, or you'll pitch out," cries my husband, as I suddenly made an involuntary plunge to leeward. "Hold yourself down to the seat with both hands."

I try to do as I am bid, but am continually shot up like a tethered shuttlecock notwithstanding, and at length, at the risk of biting my tongue off in the effort, ejaculate in spasms, with jolts between—

"Will—the—road—go—get—any smoother?"

"Not the least probability of it," replies M——; "and this is the easiest coach I have been in yet."

I groan in my despair—grip a skirt of Charlie's coat under one hand, by way of an anchor, and the dreadful process of fracture and dislocation, as it seems, continues without intermission; the only variety being that some concussions are worse than others.

As the morning gradually brightened into day, it showed us only a flat monotonous country, the greater portion being open tracts of land, with neither tree, house, nor hovel in sight; only the wide bare plain, in some places stony, in all others boggy; with innumerable tracts of wheels spread in every direction, circling, crossing, and intersecting each other, over spaces one, two, or three miles wide, where the various drivers had wandered round and about in search of ground less trodden and poached by feet and wheels.

In some few spots we passed through a more wooded and pleasant country, and the valley of the Leigh

seemed positively beautiful, with its broad grassy uplands, dipping down to the winding river, and fringed with handsome native trees; besides the young orchards, and gardens, and diversely fashioned abodes of the straggling village. The grass was now abundant everywhere, and the flocks of sheep we saw looked in good condition.

A small white speck, which had been visible for some miles as we traversed another dreary plain, and was pointed out by our driver as the end of our journey, at last began to assume the shape of a tent—one of those American tents with walls, roofs, and gables, like a cottage, made of a wooden frame covered with calico; and on nearing it we found it to be a rather large specimen of its genus, and performing the part of post-office as well as wayside inn. A buxom damsel, in gorgeous array, so far as brilliancy and diversity of colours were concerned, and with a brooch and earrings of dazzling splendour, graciously received our baggage, engaging to take charge of it until sent for; and as the house whither we were bound was distinctly visible, and as it seemed within a quarter of a mile, we set out to walk thither, delighted to exchange the jolting and noises of the "coach" for a quiet saunter. Walking on these monotonous, markless plains is certainly a most paradoxical sort of proceeding. It seems at the time as if you were under a spell from some spiteful enchanter; for to all appearance you can neither get away from the place you leave, nor approach that to which you would go; each appears to preserve the same distance, whilst you are putting forth all your energies, and walking miles. At length we reached the little rocky rise where the house stood, and our host met us with his face and voice of heartiest welcome.

During the first of the few pleasant days we stayed at Warrambeem, I wondered in my own mind why the French windows of the house, which opened on a

GOLD DIGGERS AT DINNER.

verandah gay with fuchsias and roses, should be so closely draped with their snowy muslin blinds, which were tightly drawn on rods at the top and bottom of each side of the windows, and when these were shut, entirely veiled the outside view. But I soon solved the enigma. The utter flatness and wearisome monotony of those eternal plains made the power of thus escaping their perpetual contemplation absolutely desirable. The clouds were all that one could continue to look at with pleasure. Not a tree, beyond the garden—not a hill—not one single object to attract or interest the eye, did I detect in that view—some thirty miles in extent—during our sojourn.

The garden had a belt of native bushes planted round its fence, and a few taller young gum trees stood within. All these were the resort of legions of the beautiful warbling magpies. All day the poor birds were absent, probably distributed far and wide over the plains, foraging for grubs and insects, but in the evening they returned in squadrons, flocking in from all quarters like rooks, only much more musical; and then, for an hour or two, every bush and bough seemed alive with their glancing shapes of jet and silver, as they met in pleasant little parties to have a gossip and a song before going to roost; sometimes they had a dance, too, hopping and jumping about the garden in the drollest and gracefullest way, to the chorus of their own merry voices. When fairly settled for the night, the trees were all as full of birds as a loaded apple-tree of fruit; indeed, sometimes the boughs broke with their weight. They sat in close ranks on every branch and along the fence. I never saw such a congregation of birds since I was at Puffin Island in Anglesea. In the morning also, considerable stir and commotion accompanied their dispersion for the day, but it was different in character, and gave one the idea of a more grave and business-like discussion, a debate upon ways and means, and a settling of plans for

providing for the day's necessities. Although they were far in advance of my morning movements, being very early birds indeed, I generally awoke and looked out at them, and enjoyed the charming morning concert, till the choir thinned off, and the few last voices served me as a lullaby back into the land of dreams. In the utter treelessness of the plains, the shelter and perches afforded by the little inclosure of Warrambeen had evidently become a resort for the whole magpie population of the neighbourhood; and certainly the merry notes and bright handsome forms of my old favourites formed the most cheering feature of out-door life there.

Our purpose of visiting Ballarat was not only furthered and assisted by the loan of our friend's excellent dog-cart, but the expedition rendered much pleasanter by his accompanying us himself on horse-back. The dreary, weary, sleepy plains were again traversed for eight or ten miles, and then, to our relief, a few scattered bushes and stunted gum-trees, and the oaks appeared very sparsely distributed. By degrees these became grouped more thickly together, and of larger and healthier growth. Then, traversing a country more resembling the Tasmanian bush than any we had before seen, we reached our midday halt at our companion's property at Mount Mercer, a conical volcanic elevation, with a deep well-marked crater, now a lagoon, the wall-like sides of which, and their outward slopes, are strewn with masses of dark-coloured scoriæ, as porous and very nearly as light as empty honeycomb. From the summit of the mount (which in such a level country is an object of importance, though I should think not more than 150 or 200 feet high) a wide uninterrupted view extends eastward over the woody foreground, and the even plains, to the horizon, the level line of which is only broken by the distant hump of Mr. Elephant (which is truly not ill-named, "methinks it is backed like an elephant"); the conical peaks of the "Sisters"—and further north the scarcely noticeable undulation denoting Mount Moriac.

In the middle distance, or nearer, rises Lawaloop (or "green hill"), another volcanic mound, grassy and wooded, but plainly showing a singular band or dyke, of, I imagine, basaltic rock, which traverses it diagonally, and has almost the aspect of a wall of masonry. Looking to the west and north, the more mountain-like Buningyong and Warraneep crown the vast undulating extent of intervening forest. We were now in a region of richer land altogether, and accordingly our road became more boggy and more abounding in "soft places," as unmitigated quagmires are delicately termed here. Soon, ascending the hill, we found ourselves in as genuine a piece of forest as need be desired, with so narrow a track between the ranks of straight tall trees that it needed a skilful pilot to steer amongst them; and here, at a sudden turn in the forest, amidst a chaos of standing and fallen timber, we found a string of seven bullock-drays, with from ten to fourteen oxen in each. As there was not space on either side for us to pass them, the only alternative was to edge off sufficiently for them to pass us; and this the drivers were not ready to do, as they were busy cutting whip-sticks from the lithe young saplings. There was nothing for it but to wait patiently as we might, and in pouring rain too, the pleasure of the obstructive party. Their business in the forest was what the Americans call "lumbering," that is, getting out logs for the construction of bridges, railways, or other heavy work; and the poor, thin, galled cattle, over-laden, over-driven cruelly flogged, and nearly starved, were mute but piteous pleaders for some powerful intervention on their behalf.

When the long train of timber carts had filed past, and we again pursued our way, we found the road even worse, more narrow, tortuous, and full of deep holes, unseen, in the general sea of slop, until horses or wheels plunged into them. Beneath us all was mud, differing only in depth; above, the sky was dark, and the rain poured steadily down; our poor horses were getting tired, and ourselves too thoroughly damped in body and spirits, for any very keen observation of aught beyond the probability of obtaining shelter, warmth, and food. We crossed one or two ugly creeks, truly meriting the unflattering title bestowed on them, which was only intended to describe their danger, and the difficulty of driving through them, but was even more applicable to their aspect in the landscape, as with their banks scooped and burrowed all along, turned inside out in heaps of gravel-coloured clay, and their once bright waters, now thick and puddled, they were literally as "ugly" as poor ill-used brooks could well be made. Another drive through a boggy forest, and then more diggings; diggings beside and upon the muddy road; diggings among the distant trees; deserted claims everywhere; some deep, some shallow, some half full of water, some quite full; the opposite hill-side covered with diggings, indiscriminately mixed up with a rag and calico camp; the boggy flat covered also, with tents, shanties, and low hovels made of bark, like bad dog-kennels, all sitting in the mud. Night was now falling fast, and we were in a perfect network of diggings; all round us, and on both sides of the road—if road there were—even across the track, and under our horses' feet, gaped the trap-like holes, barely distinguishable amidst the universal spread of mud and water. At last a red light shone in the distance; then others glimmered out and twinkled in the wide tract of mud and water we were navigating, and with a last plump and flounder, we drew up to the inn-door in Buningyong, wet, cold, weary, and hungry. "Ha! rather a pleasant change!" quoth M——, as we took our dazzled way into a snug parlour, where a bright fire, lights, and the abundant dinner-tea meal, which usually concludes a day in the bush, were most comforting to us all.

Early next morning, a mud-covered American coach dashed up to our inn to change horses, and M—— inquired from the driver what sort of road was before us. The report was, "One bad creek; and its pretty baddish going into Ballarat."

Buningyong, in the bright cheering light of a sunny morning, was calculated to make a very different impression to that of Buningyong on a dark and rainy night. The hill, perhaps we ought to say mountain, which bestows its name on the little settlement, and rises grandly behind it, clothed in wood, with a foreground of cleared land and cottages, was a most welcome picture to our plain-weary eyes. Again we were *en route* for Ballarat. A few hundred yards of perfectly macadamised road gave us a most novel sensation at starting, but the smooth decoy abandoned us to our fate ere we reached the "bad creek," through which, notwithstanding my terrors, the good horses floundered in safety, and soon scrambled up the slippery hill beyond. Then succeeded the old programme of forest and bog, the track being one wide undulating sea of

mud for mile after mile. The carts and drays we met were all plastered with mud, even to the tarpaulin; horsemen in mighty boots were all mud too, and so were their horses; whilst such travellers as were on foot, might have waded through mud, shoulders deep, and been no worse. The trees in this forest wore a singularly odd aspect. They had been so completely burned, in some great bush-fire, that all the lesser branches were gone; and in fact, very little remained except the great tall trunks, which were entirely black; huge pieces of jetty charcoal; but the tenacious vitality of the brave old giants was not extinguished, and now they were putting forth a new growth all the way up. Short young twigs, with broad, fresh, glossy, green leaves, were sprouting from the blackened trunks, looking rather like artificially-arranged decorations, than as if the offspring of such half-perished parents. The usual undergrowth of shrubs was wholly wanting; only a little fern and a few short grass trees made a melancholy attempt to fill up the vacant space; and the occasional figures, in the dreary wayside landscape, were mostly drays "camped," and their oxen, each with a bell, feeding round them.

After passing through a number of scattered diggings, the outskirts of the great settlement, we entered the valley of Ballarat. The whole face of a country that has taken to digging becomes so entirely altered, that it is difficult, if not impossible, to picture or divine what this valley was originally. Now, it is more irredeemably hideous than the blackest mining village in any English coal or iron district—Staffordshire, for instance. From the summit to the base, the sloping hill-sides are literally turned inside out, and show their lining to be of a darkish-nankeen colour. The little river at the foot is turned aside and dammed up, and ditched in and walled out, and twisted, tortured, obstructed, and defiled in a persecuting way lamentable to behold. Machines for deep-sinking were in active operation in many places, with wretched horses turning the huge teetotums round and round, pumping out water or drawing up earth; and the whole bed of the valley was occupied by great heaps of yellow soil, and yellow puddle lagoons, mixed with tents, huts, and kennels, swarmed over by a population hardly distinguishable, at a short distance, from the beloved earth they were manipulating; so accurately have they imitated the provision of nature for some of the insect world, in adopting for themselves the tint of their habitation. The universally-displayed shirt-sleeves varied from a deep burnt-umber hue, through every gradation of shade down to light yellow ochre; but white was no more to be observed in Ballarat linen than in Rembrandt's pictures.

Where to cross the river was the question; and watching some carts ahead of us, and how they navigated this yellow sea, we followed and did not upset; then through a trough full of excellent birdlime, or something closely akin to it, interspersed with rocks and tree-roots; and so on for another mile or two, tracing our way through a labyrinth of tracks over bogs, "creeks," and lagoons, the diggings spreading on our left and in front as far as we could see. Dingy-looking flags fluttered from poles, on or before many of the tents, denoting stores or "publics," and the near vicinity of these more especially abounded in the heaps of empty glass-bottles, tins, cases, and, above all, sardine-boxes, which lie about everywhere in Victoria, in the most extraordinary quantities. I think it would have been impossible to stop in any part of the track we had followed for thirty miles, without having some empty sardine cases and broken bottles in the foreground.

When nearly in the town, we came to one "creek" so much more "ugly" in the features of its ford than most obstacles of its class, that we paused to reconnoitre, near the cleanest tent we had seen; and a decent-looking man and boy coming out to ask if they could assist us, we resolved to leave the dog-cart near the tent, and send the horses to an inn close by, or as its sign-board entitled it, "The Royal Hotel," and after a hasty luncheon there ourselves, set forth to see the town.

Only one thoroughfare was preserved from being honeycombed with holes, and to reach that, we had to thread our way through a labyrinth of them, all more or less full of water, and with the cast-out earth making irregular banks and hummocks between, all very narrow and very slippery. Deep sinking engines were at work here too, flanked by hills of excavated earth; and wretched horses working knee-deep in clay, tramped round and round.

Arrived in the main street, we looked in vain for a house—that is, for any permanent-looking edifice of brick or stone. Stores and shops of all kinds were plentiful, but all put together in a rough, scrambling way, like booths for a three day's fair; the majority were the cottage-shaped tents of calico; others were wholly or in part built of split paling; some had a tall front wall of paling, covered with grandiloquent titles and announcements, whilst the whole habitable tenement consisted of a little low tent, crouching behind, as if one were to set up the door of a large mansion, in front of a doll's house. Empty cases and crates seemed an important part of the stock-in-trade everywhere, piled up in ostentatious display. Not an attempt had been made at paving or draining; but as the middle of the road was considerably lower than the footways, every household seemed to accept, as a right, the facility it afforded for the disposal of all domestic superfluities; and each domicile had its own open ditch crossing the footway, and pouring down into the horse-road its stream of abominations, there to collect in putrescent reservoirs, or to evaporate in foul pestilential vapours—a more pressing invitation to cholera and fever it were hardly possible to invent. So far as it went, the impression left on my mind regarding Ballarat was, that all my preconceived opinions and expectations of the misery, brutality, filth, and degradation, known to prevail in the digging settlements, were outdone by the transient experience we suffered of the reality.

V.

Ballarat of 1857 compared with 1853—Steam Engine Domesticated—New Digging Rules—How Melbourne improved in Fifteen Months—Inauguration of Railways—The Rival Ocean Routes—Effect of the Gold Discoveries in British Columbia and Otago on Australia—The Future of New Holland.

I deem it a duty, says Mr. Kelly, on the occasion of his returning to the gold diggings at Ballarat, to advert shortly to the rapid strides made by the citizens and diggers between the August of 1853 and that of 1857. In the townships the chaos of ragged tents and tawdry stores vanished before the wand of the modern enchanter, giving place to streets and squares,

A SQUATTER'S HEAD-QUARTERS.

and splendid thoroughfares, marked by unbroken lines of grand, substantial edifices, finished often in the most elaborate, but always in most attractive style of architecture. A stranger, seeing the magnificence of the shop-fronts adorned with a profligate expenditure of plate-glass and gilding, would suppose there were crystal-flag quarries on the spot, and that goldbeaters' leaf was an ordinary efflorescence of the soil. Ballarat now boasts of containing two distinct and independent municipalities. It has obtained an Act of Parliament for the formation of a gas company. It contemplates an immediate construction of an illimitable water supply, and will soon be brought within three hours of the seaboard by its line of railroad.

A parallel progress has been achieved in the diggings through the instrumentality of the steam-engine and the operation of an improved code of mining regulations. Ground which in the early days was incapable of being worked from the influx of water, is now quite easily managed by the aid of this powerful mechanical ally, while the disheartening expenditure of utterly profitless labour in the sinking of random shafts is in a great measure counteracted by the sensible legislation of the local court. I have already described the old system, let me now glance at the new. Now-a-days, when a prospector discovers a new lead, he gets a double-sized claim as his reward, and all other subsequent parties rank in rotation. The warden, as soon as the discovery is duly notified, comes and formally proclaims the new lead, after which a surveyor, elected by the suffrage of the claimants, surveys the ground, and registers the names of the various parties according to priority, compelling them to erect pegs or posts at the extremities of their claims with the names of their associates. The surveyor is paid at the rate of £1 per claim, and in all cases of dispute about encroachment or otherwise he is called upon to go down, examine, and report upon the disagreement. A committee is then chosen, who manage the affairs of all the registered claimants along the lead. The area of claims in proclaimed leads is fifty-eight feet along the gutter, and forty-six feet across, and six-foot walls dividing each claim. Forty-six feet may appear an extraordinary width across, where gutters rarely exceed four feet, but late experience has shown that considerable deposits are frequently found in the pockets or crevices of the reefs on either side the gutter, which are supposed to have been surged up from time to time by the current or water-wave.

The rock working is another new and stupendous feature in Ballarat mining, in which the time, money, and labour necessary is excessive, for the sinking is of the most difficult kind that can well be imagined, the rock being of the hardest nature, without any of those seams or fissures common to sandstone or calcareous rock, so that every inch of it requires to be blasted or broken, and this difficulty is immensely enhanced from the necessity of going down in a shaft, being thus, as it were, bound in all round, instead of having what is termed a face to the work, as in an open quarry. The depth of rock claims varies from 250 to 320 feet, penetrating through three distinct layers of the most flinty igneous rock, with strata of dark tough clay between each, totally barren of any auriferous deposit, which circumstance would tend to establish the inference, that if the gold were generated by volcanic agency, the whole mineral material was exhausted in the earliest eruptions. In rock claims, ten parties of eight each generally amalgamate, and take up all their stuff through a single shaft, whereby a great economy of time and labour is obtained. In deep sinking the space awarded to each individual is 22 feet 9 inches, which is curtailed in shallow ground proportionately. The size of the shaft is about 7 feet by 3½ feet.

In agricultural and horticultural pursuits, Ballarat has also held its own in the race of competition. Vast breadths of land have been brought under the subjugation of the plough, not in the rude or fitful way which would betoken a fleeting emergency, but with all the best appliances of careful culture and all the most approved accessories of modern science practised in Norfolk husbandry or East Lothian farming; and, as a natural consequence, hay has subsided from its fabulous price of £100 per ton to something about our ordinary London rates; corn has shrunk from its allegorical resemblance to Caligula's horse provender, and cabbages, carrots, and cauliflowers have ceased to rank as delicacies of the season only within the reach of the lucky digger.

Fifteen months' absence from Melbourne prepared me for a great change in the city both in its expansion and its embellishment, and my expectations, though surrounded with a wide margin for undefined contingencies, were most amply satisfied. Most of the early eyesores had been removed, and the disagreeabilities abated. The whole city proper was under the bonds of Macadam; flagging, kerbing, and channelling, I found ramified into minor streets and sequestered alleys. The clear, bright flame of the gas-light at wide intervals, proving its superior brilliancy by contrast, gave promise of its proximate ascendancy. The gaps in the magnificent street lines were being fast filled up with stately buildings of the most chaste and beautiful character, many of the mercantile stores rivalling some of our West-end club-houses in the ornate elegance of their finish; the banks figuring conspicuously in the architectural rivalry, bent on outstripping each other in their grand or florid imitations, as if their dividends depended on their decorations. The University, in a more sober but becoming style, appeared beautifully conspicuous on its magnificent site, elevated above the common level like a fount destined to irrigate the metropolis with wisdom, learning, and science. The Public Library, too, another new institution, finely situated, challenged my admiration; but here the attractions consisted in its liberal and excellent internal arrangements and regulations, for as yet it is externally a naked, unadorned stem, waiting for its sculptured wings and arms. The same remark may be applied to the Parliament Houses, which I found bristling all round with scaffolding-poles, thronged inside and out with busy workmen, toiling to have the Legislative Chambers ready for the august assemblages to be eliminated from the popular chaff by the winnowing operation of the new constitution.

The Williamstown railway was progressing rapidly to completion, and a new line had been commenced to St. Kilda; St. Kilda, Windsor, Brighton, Gardiner's Creek, and South Yarra in the south; Richmond, Hawthorn, Stordly Park, Kew, and Heidelberg in the north-east; Brunswick, Essington, and Moonee Ponds in the north, all more or less beautifully situated, had grown up into large suburban settlements, covered with splendid residences or charming villas, each surrounded with shrub-grown grounds, laid out in a lively style of land-

scape gardening, and forming the most exquisite retreats for the citizens after their daily toil. After four o'clock each afternoon the thoroughfares in these various directions seemed lined as if by processions, from the unbroken lines of omnibuses, private gigs, and carriages carrying the crowds of Mammon-hunters to their little rural paradises; and often as I gazed on those sights and reflected on the fact that twenty years before the country was a savage wilderness sparsely peopled with squalid savages, I could not help thinking that the old adage which counsels folks "to walk before they run" may be put on the superannuated list, at least so far as Victorian progress is concerned.

A few words, before concluding with so important and interesting a topic as the past and future condition and prospects of Victoria, upon internal and external transport and communication. Two important steps had been taken in promoting internal communication in Mr. Kelly's time (June 1858), by the commencement of active operations on the two grand trunk lines of railway, connecting the capital with the great northern and western gold-fields. These lines are contracted for under stringent terms for completion in 1861, so that the contractors will be necessitated to commence simultaneously at different points, whereby vast fields of employment will be opened up, capable not only of absorbing all the spare labour in the colony, but all that can find its way there from this country. The amount to be expended in three years on these two lines is somewhere about six millions, and striking a mean between the wages rates advertised by the British agents of the contractors—14*s.* per day for masons, carpenters, &c., and 8*s.* a day for unskilled labourers—it gives 11*s.* for each person employed, at which rate it would suffice to pay 600,000 workmen—nearly as much, and one-third over, as the entire population of the colony. And it has been said that all those who can find means to emigrate to Victoria, as tradesmen or navvies, that they can board and lodge in any part of the colony, in a most comfortable and bountiful manner, at £1 per week, which would leave a weekly surplus to the tradesman of £3. 4*s.*, and to the navvy of £1. 4*s.*, for incidental expenses, out of which, with moderate frugality, they might save and fund more than they could possibly earn in the aggregate in this country.

In connection with Victorian railways, it is an unparalleled fact, and one that must challenge the admiration and astonishment of the world, to see a stripling colony commencing so ambitious a system of iron roads on her own pecuniary resources, without any aid from European capitalists, while her elder sisters, and even grey-headed nations, most generally require the sanction of the London Stock Exchange before they can attempt great projects of internal improvement. This in itself proves the extent and stability of her resources, the thorough soundness of her financial position, as well as the wise and careful manner in which her government has been administered. The whole amount contemplated to be expended in the two trunk lines is within two years' revenue at the present standard; but it should be borne in mind that this standard might be largely augmented, and a considerable portion of the increased income applied to the liquidation of the railway liabilities, which demonstrates triumphantly the sound basis of the scheme, affording at the same time a guarantee to the British capitalists for investment, should any of the debentures come at second-hand upon the home market.

Tasmania is, we have seen, now connected by the great mechanical artery—the electric wire—with Victoria. South Australia has been for some time in enjoyment of this marvellous means of communication. A line is also in active progress to New South Wales, and no doubt, as settlement and colonisation spread, it will girdle the whole continent of New Holland, through Moreton Bay, round by the Gulf of Carpentaria to Port Essington, and thence down to Swan River and King George's Sound to South Australia. And already the project of connecting Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide with a kindred link of railways is in contemplation. Melbourne is sending out shoots in both directions. The grand trunk line to Sandhurst, and thence to the Murray, will touch on the boundary of New South Wales, while the main line out of Sydney stretches in the direction of the contemplated Victorian terminus. On the other hand, the trunk line to Ballarat will certainly be extended to the great gold-field of Ararat, and the illimitable auriferous district adjoining, which borders and abuts on the South Australian territory; and notwithstanding the advantages of the great water highway of the River Murray, Mr. Kelly declares himself to be satisfied that enterprising citizens of Adelaide will only rest content with such a direct and speedy means of communication as a railroad alone can supply. Thus, then, there will be an unbroken line of iron road from Sydney to Adelaide, extending over twelve hundred miles, and intersecting some of the finest country in the world. When this consummation is arrived at, Sydney will be the port of arrival and departure for the European and American mails; and the certainty that these lines of railway will be carried out within a few years should have its weight in determining the choice of the Panama in preference to the Suez route.

We are not, however, without hopes of seeing the line of communication between Great Britain and China, India, and Australasia yet established *vid* Canada and British Columbia; that is to say, through our own territories—the line of communication carrying colonisation and civilisation with it.

VI.

QUEENSLAND.

Progress of Discovery—Three Unfortunate Castaways—The Convict System—Separation from New South Wales—Physical Features—Moreton and Brisbane—Darling Downs—Maranoa—Leichhardt—Port Curtis District—The Burnett—Kennedy.

It is a remarkable fact in connection with Australian discovery, that almost all the rivers, even the greatest of all yet known, the Murray, have been found by land explorers, and have, in many cases, been overlooked in maritime surveys. The fact is of the utmost importance in regard to the hasty decisions arrived at by some, that the interior must be, from want of known outlets, either a vast desert, or a lacustrine or marshy expanse, a kind of Australian Caspian. Mac Douall Stuart's explorations have taught us better, and there are not wanting those who believe that a greater draining artery even than the Murray on the south-

east coast will yet be met with on the north west coast. Whether this may be the case or not, Leichhardt's exploration of the Gulf of Carpentaria has shown that drainage from the interior is not wanting there, and although Eyre's exploration of the south-west coast was less satisfactory, there still remains every reason to believe, from the manner in which, owing to the peculiarities before noticed of the Australian rivers themselves, their outlets have so often remained long unknown to navigators, that Australia will be ultimately found to be pretty nearly similarly circumstanced in those respects as other countries are. The same mistaken views of the interior of Africa were entertained till the discovery of the Zambesi and other rivers of long course.

In the middle of May, 1770, Captain Cook cast anchor in the bay, into which debouches the River Brisbane and several others of smaller dimensions. Our great navigator called it Moreton Bay, after the then noble president of the Royal Society, but he failed to detect even indications of fresh water outlets, still less to discover a river that pours a body of water, a quarter of a mile broad, into the very centre of the bay. The next maritime expedition was sent under another distinguished navigator, Captain Flinders, with the especial view of ascertaining whether there were any rivers, in this most fertile and most salubrious portion of all the continent, of sufficient magnitude and draught to permit the ascent of small craft into the interior of this unknown land, that the way might be opened to British enterprise. But Captain Flinders was so little successful that he reported it as an ascertained fact that no river of importance intersects the east coast between the 24th and 29th degrees of south latitude There are, at least, a dozen navigable rivers in this space, among which are the Clarence, the Brisbane, the Mary, and the Burnett.

In other respects the results of this expedition were much more satisfactory. The exact position of many dangerous rocks and coral-reefs was fixed, and the bearings of many points were accurately given, and on a subsequent expedition, undertaken early in the present century, Captain Flinders discovered Port Curtis, a bay that skirts a fine pastoral country, and a country, too, where the cotton plant flourishes luxuriantly. The town of Gladstone, named after the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, stands on a small river that empties itself into Port Curtis.

In the year 1824, Moreton Bay was constituted a penal settlement, and the commencement was made at a place called Redcliff Point, on the main land, near the north end of the bay; but this soon appeared to be an unsuitable locality for such an establishment, and another spot was chosen on the banks of the Brisbane, ten miles from the bay in a direct line, and nearly fifteen miles by water. A more suitable place could not have been found in all these parts, and it now constitutes the site of the city of Brisbane.

Moreton Bay continued for eighteen years to be a receptacle for convicts—mostly of the most incorrigible class—and painful traditions of hardships and persecutions attach themselves to the place; but in 1842, the place was declared free, and ready for the reception of a free population. Some writers, more especially such as have resided in the country, as Dr. Lang,[1] Mr. George Wight,[2] speak in terms of deepest indignation of so fair a soil ever having been polluted by the presence of such persons. It is the fashion to do so now a-days, and there is much in the prevailing sentiment of the day. But under Providence the system of transportation has been the primary cause of settlement in New South Wales and Queensland, has given birth to what may one day be two of the most powerful and prosperous states on the face of the earth; and we have seen in West Australia, where land was plentiful and fertile, but labour dear and almost unprocurable, the transports have been invited to the colony. Then again, as a contrast, take the graphic description, penned by an independent foreign navigator—Peron—and transferred to our pages, of the benefits conferred by the system at its earliest epoch in New South Wales itself—of the reformation of criminals, of the misled put in the pathway of honesty and industry, of the sinful reclaimed, and of abandoned women becoming under new circumstances the happy and respected mothers of families, and enough will appear on the other side to show that the system has, with many evils, been the source also of very great good. We are quite willing to concede to Mr. Wight, to whose excellent little book we shall at the onset express our obligations for his admirable description of the characteristics and resources of the country in question, that "the 37,000 Queenslanders of this day are as free of the taint of conviction as the inhabitants of any of Her Majesty's Australian dominions, and it may be freer." That is a question of degree, but we feel grieved at this susceptibility of a taint, and would fain believe that there is no such thing. Even if it did exist, we would rather ignore it, and should be the last to taunt a great and rising nation with it. The susceptibility is purely local. Just as the blast of slavery carrying with it its own punishment associates the idea of a taint with the admixture of dark blood, so do the prosperous and justly proud Australians of the present day wish to eradicate even the memory of the origin of their colonial wealth and power.

In the autumn of 1837, the first steamer, appropriately called the *James Watt*, passed across the bay; now the river steamers ply daily between Brisbane and Ipswich, a flourishing town on the Bremer, the chief tributary of the Brisbane river, and in convict times the "cattle station" to the settlement; once a week a large-sized steamer runs to and from Sydney, and once a fortnight from Brisbane to the ports on the north-east.

The country was now being explored, and important discoveries were being made, and the great Squatting Interest began to introduce its flocks and its herds to the extensive and well-grassed downs and plains that lie beyond the mountain ranges that form the backbone of the colony.

In 1843 Moreton Bay may be said to have commenced its political existence, as it was in that year that the country to the north of the 30th degree of south latitude returned one member to the House of Assembly in Sydney.

On the 10th of December, 1859, Moreton Bay, with all to the north of Point Danger in latitude 28° 8′ south, was proclaimed as the new colony of Queensland.

[1] Queensland, Australia, the Future Cotton-field of Great Britain, &c. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D., A.M. Edward Stanford.

[2] Queensland, the Field for British Labour and Enterprise, and the Source of England's Cotton Supply. By George Wight. G. Street.

The arrival of the first Governor, Sir George Ferguson Bowen, and the proclamation of the independence of Queensland, occurred on the same day. The reception given to His Excellency was most loyal, and could scarcely be surpassed for genuine cordiality. All Brisbane, and a large portion of Ipswich, and many of the lieges from great distances, turned out in holiday attire, and as the steamer that bore the first representative of royalty from the bay, whither he had come from Sydney in H. M. S. *Cordelia*, neared the landing-place in the heart of the city, the sight from the deck was very imposing. The day was magnificent, the river was swarming with gaily bedecked craft, and on the green banks there stood thousands to welcome the august stranger. The first favourable impressions produced by the open, manly, and cordial manner of Sir George F. Bowen, after a twelvemonth's political campaign, are said to have lost but little of their vividness.

Queensland is at least nine times the area of England and Wales, and if we are to believe Mr. Wight, who admits that he has great faith in the country, and that the terms in which he speaks of it are of the style generally called enthusiastic, there are countries where the rivers are broader and longer, where the mountains are higher and grander, than in Queensland; but there are few countries where the rocks are more auriferous, the plains better suited for pasture, the soil more varied and productive, and the climate more salubrious. Queensland is divided into seven large districts, and we shall follow our author, in the common enumeration of these, in giving a brief survey of the physical features of the country.

Moreton is the first district met with, and first in importance. It skirts the bay of the same name, and stretches inland to the dividing range. It occupies the south-east portion of the colony. Along the coast it is flat and unpicturesque, but inland it assumes a more hilly and broken appearance. By far the greater part of the inhabitants are scattered over this district, and about the centre of it stand the two principal towns in the colony—Brisbane and Ipswich. Large portions of the soil are black alluvial deposits, and rich plateaux of a deep red colour; while the major part is light and well adapted to the growth of cotton, sugar, and fruits of various kinds. Portions are fitted only for grazing, but all is useful. It is well-watered, having, within a coast-line of one hundred miles, six rivers, five admitting the passage of small craft a number of miles up the country, and one,—the Brisbane—navigable, with its tributary, the Bremer, for fifty miles When the dredging-machine has done its work at the mouth of the river, the largest ships that sail from London or Liverpool may cast anchor within the boundary of the city of Brisbane.

The district of Moreton is better adapted, we are told, for the depasturing of cattle and horses than sheep; and the portions of it that border the coast and skirt the rivers are capable of producing cotton, sugar, and fruits of the finest quality, and at highly remunerative rates.

Darling Downs constitute the second district, immediately to the west of Moreton, and divided from the latter by the great mountain range, about 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, and 75 miles from Brisbane. This district is double the size of Moreton, and, with the exception of some patches of land on its eastern margin, is entirely devoted to pastoral purposes. As a sheep country, it is famed all over the colonies, and wherever wool is used as a staple. It is one magnificent sheep-run, with small nuclei of population at wide intervals. The country is composed chiefly of plains and downs of dry black soil, with flats in some parts, that become flooded in wet weather, and mountain ridges, that mark its boundary, and divide its plains. The downs are covered with herbage admirably adapted to sheep and which is luxuriant even in winter. The hills are heavily timbered with gum-tree, stringy-bark, pine, &c., but, notwithstanding, produce, among the trees, even to their summits, a rich grass. The entire district is well watered, and possessed of every attraction to the breeder of sheep and the producer of wool. This fine district was discovered, as we have before seen, by the late Mr. Allen Cunningham, in 1827, and the one practicable defile by which the downs are reached from the east bears the name of "Cunningham's Gap."

Maranoa, the third district, lies due west from the Darling Downs. Its eastern boundary is near 142° east longitude, and it may be supposed to stretch to the parallel of 141°. Only a small portion of this immense country has been explored, and a smaller portion still taken up by the adventurous squatter. It returns one member to the Queensland Assembly, and the Darling Downs returns two. Little, therefore, is known of the Maranoa; we know, however, that it too is a good pasture country, rewarding the squatter for his labour and expense in driving his flocks so far inland. The country is partly hilly and broken; but vast tracts are level, and covered with vegetation of a rich character. Along both banks of the Malonne, and many miles off, there are scrubs of great extent, great beauty, and impenetrable denseness. These dark and dense thickets become the home of wild cattle, and form an impregnable stronghold for unfriendly blacks. As yet the Maranoa is destitute of anything in the shape of an agricultural or town population, and, for a long time to come, it will remain the "squatter's own" in undisturbed possession.

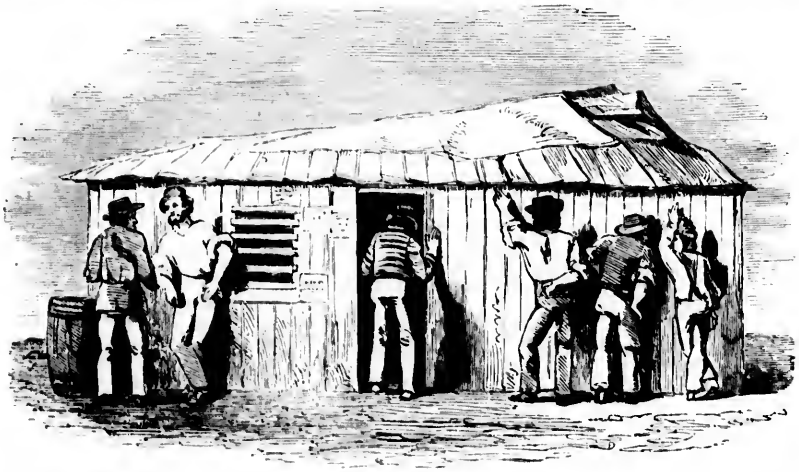
The district of Leichhardt joins the Maranoa on the north, and also the portion of the Darling Downs beyond the Condamine, the boundary between being the Main Range, and, in a north-westerly direction, the mountains known by the name of Denham Range. The district takes its name from the great Australian explorer, of whose travels and doubtful fate we have before spoken. Much of this country is high land, with extensive and well-conditioned plains and valleys. The drainage falls into the centre of the district, and finds its way through the mountains to the east coast. The river-system of the Leichhardt is on a large and complicated scale.

Port Curtis district lies under the tropic of Capricorn, and it is admitted that the heat of the sun is powerful, though "moderated by the constant breeze from the Pacific." Kepple Bay is the principal seaport, but the town, Rockhampton, is some way up the river Fitzroy. Gladstone is also a sea-port, and although favoured and fostered in old times, seems to succumb to its rival under the new state of things. The district is hilly, if it cannot be called mountainous, but contains a large quantity of fine agricultural land. It is watered by various streams, the principal rivers being the Boyne, the Caliope, and the Fitzroy. The gold field, to which thousands flocked from all the southern colonies two or three years ago, and where

so many met with biting disappointment, lies on the Fitzroy, forty miles from Rockhampton.

Two districts remain to be described, the one to the north and the other to the south of Port Curtis. The southern district, the Burnett, or Wide Bay, lies geographically between Port Curtis and Moreton, and is surpassed in some respects by neither. Inland, its physical character is decidedly hilly, sometimes mountainous, but abounding in fine pasture. Along the coast the country is equal to any in the colony for agricultural purposes, especially for cotton and sugar. The principal rivers are the Mary, on which the thriving town of Maryborough, the port of the district, is being built, and the Burnett, which waters by its innumerable tributaries the whole of the high lands. It falls into Harvey's Bay at a bare and exposed part of the coast.

The most recently explored and defined district of Queensland is that of Kennedy. Leichhardt traversed the inner portion of this district on his way to Port Essington, sixteen years ago, but the coast line was involved in so much uncertainty, that not till the detailed examination of Dalrymple and others, and the discovery of the mouth of the Burdekin, was it proclaimed a district fit for the reception of emigrants. This was done by the governor of Queensland, in council; and it received the name of an unfortunate explorer who was speared to death by the unfriendly aborigines. The documents that have been published regarding the Kennedy show that it is a country admirably adapted to pastoral purposes. It is of immense extent, and is watered by the Burdekin, a huge body of running water, with some half-dozen outlets. The mouths of the river are not navigable for large ships. Port Denison is the harbour, in Edgecombe Bay, in the 20th degree of north latitude. The seaboard of this district alone is upwards of 300 miles, and its width upwards of 200 miles. Many of the



POST-OFFICE, SOFALA, TURON RIVER.

tributaries of the Burdekin are themselves large rivers, and much fresh water from the Kennedy, as well as from all the districts, must disappear by absorption, and the constant process of evaporation.

The concise description of the country here given lends countenance, to a certain extent, and always keeping in view the intertropical climate, with sundry reminiscences of mangroves, to Mr. Wight's eulogy when he says that little of the land of Queensland, so far as yet known, is barren and useless; that the entire colony is adapted to the uses of the sheep and cattle farmer; that millions of acres on the sea-coast, by the banks of rivers and creeks innumerable, are of the highest agricultural value; that excellent timber for all purposes everywhere abounds, but not in such quantities where agriculture will be most extensively followed as to operate against that department of labour; that everywhere rivers and navigable creeks intersect the agricultural lands, thus forming ready-made highways for the removing of all kinds of produce to the coast, or to the centres of population.

VII.

Sir George Bowen's Testimony—Exploration of the Coast by the "Spitfire"—Discovery of a new Harbour—Mr. Crawford's Criticisms—Mr. Baker on Central Australia as a Cotton Country—Climate of Queensland—Medical Testimonies—The Squatter—Of Squatting in General—How to secure a "Run"—Desiderata—Amount of Labour Expected—Alpacas—Ups and Downs of Squatting Life.

The Duke of Newcastle communicated some memoranda furnished by Mr. A. C. Gregory, the Surveyor-General of Queensland, in which he describes in detail the capabilities and present condition of the chief positions in that colony, together with despatches from Sir G. Bowen, governor of Queensland, to the Royal Geographical Society, on the 8th of April, 1861. His Excellency, speaking of Maryborough, said:—

On the banks of the River Mary, as of all the other rivers of central and northern Queensland, there are vast tracts of country admirably adapted for the growth of cotton, of sugar, and of all other tropical and semi-tropical productions.

Port Curtis is the best harbour, after that of Sydney, on the eastern coast of Australia. It was here that Mr. Gladstone, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1846, founded a new colony, which was abandoned in the following year by Earl Grey, on succeeding to office. However, in 1854, the Government of New South Wales again formed on the shores of Port Curtis a township which has been named Gladstone, and which is the outlet of the adjacent pastoral countries of Pelham and Clinton. The excellence of the harbour, the salubrity of the climate, and the beauty of the surrounding scenery combine to render Gladstone an eligible site for a flourishing city; but the river Fitzroy, farther north, affords a more ready access to the interior of the colony, and consequently the settlement of Rockhampton, on its banks, has advanced more rapidly up to the present time. The town of Rockhampton was founded in 1858, and was then the extreme point of European settlement in this part of Australia. As the outlet of the vast regions watered by the Fitzroy and its tributaries, it is even now a flourishing place, and pastoral occupation has already extended to the Peak Downs and to the shores of Broad Sound, fully two hundred miles farther inland and northward. The Queensland Government is about to found a new settlement at Port Denison, as the outlet of the recently proclaimed district of Kennedy, which will reach to within about three hundred miles of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Though Rockhampton is within the tropics, the climate of the neighbouring districts, especially on the upland downs and beautiful prairies of the interior, is in a high degree healthy and invigorating. Fresh settlers are fast arriving from New South Wales and Victoria, and bring their flocks and herds with them. Nor is the value of the wool of the merino sheep deteriorated to any sensible extent in these warm latitudes. What the fleece loses in weight it gains in softness and delicacy.

It will afford some idea of the great space already

REMOVING GOODS.

covered by the settlements of this colony to mention that, on my official tours during the last twelve months, I have myself visited two flourishing towns in Queensland (Warwick and Rockhampton), which are distant from each other by the nearest road at least five hundred miles—that is, much farther than Galway and Kirkwall respectively are distant from London. There is something almost sublime in the steady, silent flow of pastoral occupation over north-eastern Australia. It resembles the rise of the tide, or some other operation of nature, rather than the work of man.

Although it is difficult to ascertain exactly what progress may have been made at the end of each week and month, still at the close of the year we find that the margin of Christianity and civilization has been pushed forward by some two hundred miles.

The *Spitfire* was despatched by Governor Sir George Bowen last August to examine the north-eastern coast of Australia, and to search for the mouth of the River Burdekin. She was placed under the command of Mr. J. W. Smith, who was accompanied by Mr. Dalrymple, commissioner of Crown lands; Mr. Stone, surveyor; and Mr. Fitzallan, botanical collector. She sailed in August, 1860, and passed through the group of Northumberland Islands, which are described as presenting a most pleasing appearance. Their summits rise to six hundred or eight hundred feet, and were clothed with acacias, gum trees, cypress, laurel, and groups of a very beautiful and useful pine. The adjacent "Pine Islands" of Capt. King formed unbroken forests of straight pines of large dimensions, and afforded an excellent harbour. These islands are visited by natives of the neighbouring continent, but are not permanently inhabited. The *Spitfire* next sailed to Port Molle, a very good harbour, but unfortunately shut in by a semicircle of mountains, so unbroken and covered with dense scrub as to cut off all apparent means of communication with the interior, and make it useless for commercial purposes. Port Denison, the newly-discovered harbour, was then sought and easily found. "Nothing could be more gratifying than the appearance of this splendid little port," sheltered from all winds

starting from here, the coast of Australia was carefully examined for the mouth of the Burdekin. First, Cape Upstart was reached, where the anchorage was found open and useless, and the "Station Hill" of Captain Stokes was ascended, whence a clear view was obtained of a network of salt-water creeks, none of which could by any possibility be the outlet of the Burdekin. Hence the party sailed to the roadstead of Cape Cleveland, where the natives made such hostile demonstrations against them that they went on to Magnetical Island, opposite which a long unbroken ridge, running from the S.S.E., meets the coast, and affords no gap for the passage of any river. Again they returned to Cape Cleveland, and on searching its "inner western corner" found large entrances tending in the direction where, in the previous year, Mr. Dalrymple had left the Burdekin a broad running stream. These entrances were carefully examined. They were found to form a delta extending over sixty miles, and to present flood-marks at a height of twenty feet. None of them were accessible from the sea, except with great difficulty; their exploration was the more dangerous owing to the attitude of the natives. Nevertheless, they were all traced, and found to converge in one point close to Dalrymple's furthest in 1859. No doubt, therefore, remained with the explorers that they were the outlets of the River Burdekin, and, at the same time, that they were utterly useless for the purposes of navigation.

A new harbour has been recently discovered to the north of Keppel Bay in Queensland by a party consisting of Captain Sinclair, master of the schooner *Santa Barbara*, of nine tons, in which the cruise was made; W. H. Thomas, seaman; and Messrs. James Gordon and Benjamin Poole, passengers; and the expedition had been fitted out mainly in the expectation that the Government would give a handsome reward for the discovery of a good and secure harbour to the north of Port Curtis.

The journal says with regard to this discovery:—We discovered a most splendid harbour, which would contain nearly all the ships in the world, all of which could reach there in perfect safety. It is formed partly by islands and partly by sandbanks. On the day after the discovery all hands went ashore and commenced the survey of the island, which the Captain has named Station Island, and which is about five or six miles in circumference. We saw a great many native tracks, also several acres of ground resembling a garden, completely dug over by the natives,—a greater piece of industry than I was inclined to give these darkies credit for. The ground had been dug up with shells, the spot having been used as a *cache*, in which the natives had stored certain nuts which, at particular seasons, form their food. As regards the climate, it is not hotter than at Rockhampton, there being generally either a sea or a land breeze blowing; but when there happens to be a calm for a time, we are soon reminded of the fact that we are within the tropics. The country along the coast is generally b. l, but at several places we saw indications of good country in the distance, and it is matter of regret to us that we have not been able to examine it more minutely, owing to the smallness of our party, and the persevering enmity of the blacks. The islands have a much more inviting appearance than the mainland itself, there being less scrub, whilst the soil also is apparently of a better description. The natives, as may be gathered from the foregoing remarks, are numerous on the islands and on the main, and are exceeding treacherous and vindictive.

The harbour has, it appears, been designated as Port Denison, and a Sydney paper furnishes the following further particulars regarding it, derived from the same source—the writer of the journal above quoted. The harbour is of an oval form, being probably some ten miles in extreme length, and some four miles across from Garden Island to the main, and is formed partly by an indentation in the bay, and partly by two islands running across it. At the head of the harbour there are two small rivers or creeks, and near those there is an excellent situation for a township, as the shore is slightly elevated and bluffy; but in fact the landing is good all round the harbour, and quite free from mangrove. The country is poor, and sandy near the shore, being lightly covered with scrub, but seems to improve further back, and there is a succession of ridges of no great elevation at a few miles' distance from the harbour. From the appearance of the two small rivers or creeks, and the nature of the country at the back, I have little doubt but fresh water will be found at no great distance from the shore. The island adjoining the shore is small, also rocky and barren; but the other is five to six miles in circumference, and on it there is a portion of good soil quite fit for cultivation. This island completely commands the harbour, as the only entrances are on each side of it.

Mr. Crawford expressed it as his opinion that Queensland was of itself capable of producing sufficient cotton to meet the demands of Manchester. Queensland, he remarked, really seemed to be adapted for the production of cotton; but unfortunately the climate was also adapted for the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and that might be a serious rival. As to the production of cotton, it was one of the plants that required but a small quantity of water; it was, in fact, what was called a dry-land product, and he had no doubt that the country would be found well adapted to its growth. He thought they had now sufficient evidence to show that the great mass of Australia was a mere desert, and he did not see how it could be otherwise. Different exploring parties had penetrated so far from the south and from the north, that one or other of those parties must have seen a range of mountains in the interior, if any such existed, of 7,000 or 8,000 feet in height, and as they had not, it must be concluded that mountains of that character did not exist. Yet without them there could be no water, and without water there could be nothing but sterility. Such was the case in every part of the world. Wherever such ranges existed water was always found, and water in the tropics meant fertility. India, for instance, would be a desert if it were not for its range of mountains. With respect to Queensland, he could not believe that it was as good a place for sheep as had been represented, as he thought the climate would be too hot. Queensland was in the latitude of Canton, and Canton was much too hot for sheep. However, of all the places he knew, he believed it was the most eminently adapted for the production of cotton. He had himself seen samples from there both raw and manufactured, and he had scarcely seen better specimens of either. What it would produce to the greatest advantage would most probably be that which was called sea-island; and a very considerable quantity of that fine kind of cotton from Georgia and South Carolina was used by our manufacturers

He considered that the samples from Queensland were quite equal to any he had seen.

J. Baker, Esq., a member of the Legislative Council of Australia, said he differed entirely from Mr. Crawford, as he thought it was proved, by the late explorations of Mr. Stuart, that such was not the fact; and he should not be doing his duty to the country which he claimed as his home, if he listened to the statement without attempting to refute it. It appeared to him that the paper from Sir Richard M'Donnell had been the immediate cause of Mr. Crawford making his observations, recounting as it did the hardships Sir Richard M'Donnell had to endure, and the difficulties with which he had to contend. But Sir Richard M'Donnell was not a practised explorer. He started with Mr. Stuart's maps in his pocket, but he lost his way, and travelling round the wrong side of Lake Tibbs, missed the Hermit range, for which he was aiming. Being disappointed in the water which was represented as existing in that neighbourhood, he examined Mr. Stuart's chart, and found the Hermit range with abundance of water by it. He (Mr. Baker) therefore thought it was not right to condemn the whole country as a desert, merely because Sir Richard M'Donnell had lost his way and had difficulties. There was no doubt that Sir Richard M'Donnell was entitled to great praise, and also to their sympathy for the hardships which it was represented he had had to endure; but what Sir Richard M'Donnell called fatigue and privation would very likely not be noticed at all by a man like Mr. Stuart, to whose labours he thought this society could not award too high a meed of commendation. Mr. Stuart had himself said that much of the interior of Australia was quite equal in fertility and in rich picturesque beauty to the O'Halloran Hills, which were as lovely a part of country as could be seen. A great portion was under cultivation, producing all the cereals in the most luxuriant manner; and he thought the safety with which the exploring parties had made and returned from their expeditions to the interior proved that the country was not a desert. He, however, by no means meant to say that the whole of the vast interior would ever be profitable to work or hold. The banks of the river Darling, and much of the splendid tract of country through which it passed, were also as well adapted as the fertile plains of Queensland for the production of cotton. He considered that a few thousand pounds expended on the river, in the erection of four or five lock-gates, would not be thrown away, as it would render navigable upwards of 1,000 miles of water, along the course of which there was a deposit of soil equal in rich abundance and luxuriance to that of the valley of the Nile, and capable of producing an immense quantity of cotton.

Lord Alfred Churchill said he did not think his friend Mr. Baker had at all overstated the advantages of Australia as a fertile and good cotton-growing country, but these were especially great in respect to the new district of Queensland. With regard to the immediate products of Australia, which were so necessary for the manufacturers of this country, he scarcely knew any of them that were capable of being obtained more readily, and in larger quantities, than in the colony of Queensland. Australia now supplied 50,000,000 lbs. of wool a-year, and he had not the least doubt that, if the colonists took up the question of cotton-growing, they would do equally well with it. He certainly did not think, from what he had heard, that Queensland was at all too hot for sheep. The alpaca or llama of South America had now been introduced, and the animals appeared to thrive very well indeed. There was every reason to believe that important experiment would be successful; and if it should be so, flocks of those animals would add another and most profitable branch to colonial industry. There could be no doubt, from all the evidence they had heard, that immense tracts of country were pre-eminently fitted for the cultivation of cotton; and, in fact, there were few parts of Australia in which it could not be cultivated. The explorations of Mr. F. Gregory, on the northern and western side of Australia, were likely to be very beneficial in opening out new country whence more cotton could be obtained, and where coolie labour might be introduced for its cultivation

Mr. B. W. Gee said he had been some eight or nine years in Australia, and he could fully support the statements made by Mr. Baker. He had been both in Calcutta and Queensland, so that he could judge of the relative merits of the two climates, and the advantages were incomparably in favour of the latter. The climate was unusually healthy, and the vegetation luxuriant beyond description. He had himself received honourable mention from the Commissioners of the Paris Exhibition for his samples of Australian cotton grown at Queensland, and he therefore knew what the young colony could do in respect to that cultivation. However, cotton required labour; and though he was an advocate for free, he was obliged to admit that convicts would do much more work in cotton plantations than any labourers whom the settlers could now obtain in the colony. He believed that if, under proper regulations and arrangements, convicts were sent to Queensland for ten years, there would be cotton enough coming from that district alone to supply all Manchester.

With respect to the climate of Queensland, Mr. Wight naturally, as in all points, sees everything *couleur de rose*. Of what avail, he pertinently asks, would be all this pasture-land, all this mineral-bearing rock, all this fertile soil, if there is not a climate to correspond—if the penalty the white man must pay for the treasures of the country be certain disease and speedy death, or a prolonged life of physical prostration and misery? If the treasures of Queensland are not to be gathered except at such a price, better far that they should lie there for ever; and we, at least, would not write a line to induce any of Britain's sons to loosen their hold of the land of their birth for the purpose of going thither. But the climate of Queensland is the very opposite of this. In the southern portion of the colony it is one of the finest in the world. For upwards of two years in succession, in all states of the weather, in all ways—riding, working on the farm, studying under cover, speaking, boating, climbing hills, and crossing plains, felling trees, and burning timber, house-building, and fruit-planting—I have tested it, and I am free to say that my measure of health during that period was equal to that enjoyed at home.

We have also the testimony of medical men as to the excellence of the climate. Dr. Robertson, who has resided several years in the colony, writes thus to the *Queensland Guardian*, June, 1860:—

"Sir,—I was very much surprised to find, in your issue of the 7th April, a letter signed 'Cotton,' wherein

he states that a friend of his, who had recently returned overland from this place, describes the heat to be perfectly terrific, and that he was told by medical men that it would be quite impossible for Europeans to stand manual labour there in the mid-day heat; and that the origin of the prevalent diseases there could generally be traced to exposure to the sun, and that these were developing themselves in the offspring of these men, which was fast degenerating. The heat certainly was rather great during the summer months, but not so great as I have felt it either in South America or California, in which latter country persons from all parts of the world work during the heat; and in the course of four years' residence there, I only remember having seen one case of *coup de soleil*, and no disease brought on by exposure to the heat. I have been residing in this district for the last five years, and have not had (although the only medical practitioner, except at the time of the rush) any cases from exposure to the sun. I also can bear testimony that the offspring of the men who are so exposed, instead of degenerating, are as fine and healthy children as can be found in any portion of the continent of Australia, or even the whole world. If 'Cotton' would only pay us a visit just now, he would find the weather perfectly delicious, and quite cold enough. I have always found this district particularly healthy, the only epidemic being a mild form of influenza."

Dr. Hobbs, the health officer at Brisbane, also gives his testimony to the same effect: "The discovery of such an agent within our own territory has long been considered a desideratum by the profession; and it does appear to be a remarkable as well as a felicitous arrangement of nature, that, in a locality possessing, probably, one of the finest climates in the world—combining both the soft humid atmosphere of Torquay and Madeira in the summer, with the dry, bracing air of Nice and Pau in the winter—the resort too, of valetudinarians from all parts of the world—a remedy should be so potent in the treatment of chronic disorders."

Dr. Barton, Meteorological Observer to the Government of Queensland, speaks even more decisively. "The climate of this colony" (Queensland), he says, "as well as of New South Wales, is salubrious, and very favourable to the European constitution: persons, particularly, who have arrived at, or passed, the middle age, in the more inhospitable climate of Britain, often have their health and vigour surprisingly renewed in this genial climate. Instances of persons arriving at great age are common—persons nearly or quite one hundred years old being not unfrequently met with, and these generally retaining an amount of strength and activity to the last From returns, extending over many years, of the disease of troops in foreign stations, I find, that while the rate of mortality in the Windward and Leeward Islands has been 92¼ per 1000 per annum, and in Jamaica 143 per 1000 per annum, in Australia and the Cape of Good Hope the mean annual mortality has been at the minimum, or only 15 per 1000." And he adds afterwards, "Perhaps in no warm country in the world can the European constitution stand a greater amount of heat with impunity than in this Extremes are not so great, or not so sensibly felt, transitions are not so rapid, or not so injurious, as in most other warm climes; and hence Queensland is the resort of invalids from New Zealand, Tasmania, Victoria, New South Wales, and India. I have known gentlemen from all these countries, and from Scotland and England too, come to Queensland in search of health; and whilst many had been too late in coming, others found the precious boon, and returned to their respective posts again. Speaking of consumptive cases, Dr. Hobbs writes 'Many persons afflicted with this fatal malady have derived great benefit from a short residence in Queensland; and several persons who have arrived in what appeared to be a dying state have lived here for years in comparative health and comfort.'"

If these testimonies are worth anything, they fully bear out Mr. Wight's view of the subject, that the climate of Queensland, though warm, is remarkably healthy; and in the case of those Europeans who combine care with industry, and sobriety with high wages, it is productive of a fair share of physical enjoyment, and is not inimical to longevity.

There is, indeed, sufficient in what we have stated to show further, as the same colonial advocate justly argues, that Queensland is a fine pastoral country, and the climate, upon the whole, is so genial and so healthy, that pastoral pursuits may be carried on there with maximum advantages and minimum drawbacks. In certain portions of the colony, cattle and horses are the most suitable stock; in other and larger portions, sheep constitute the stock most valuable to the grazing farmer; but in all parts, with the exception of here and there a patch of sandy plain, or occasionally flooded ground, or rough, scraggy, quartzy ridges, such as those to the north-west of Brisbane, the vegetation, suited to the support of the finest herds and flocks, exists in the greatest abundance. Rarely is there a continuous drought in Queensland, although, of course, some seasons the feed is not so good as it is in others. The seasons vary there as elsewhere, but the variations are neither so marked, nor so damaging, as in many other countries. It is not necessary that the land should be all rich, that the climate should be faultless, that neither sheep nor men should become diseased, in order that the claims of such a country should be established. The man of common sense and observation will see at a glance, that in balancing the claims of countries, as regards their pastoral capabilities, Queensland will not stand at the bottom of the list. Millions of sheep, and thousands of cattle and horses, are, at this moment, depasturing in that country, in the finest condition, and with highly satisfactory results to the proprietors. The conditions of success are within the reach of every man who gives himself to that department of colonial enterprise, and who brings to it a reasonable capital, and ordinary attention and management. These are, that he select a good run, fairly grassed and watered, and put on it stock young and healthy.

Squatting is a colonial term equivalent to the English term pastoral, only the scale on which pastoral operations are carried on in the Australian colonies is very large. The runs of the Australian squatters are vast in comparison with the largest sheep-farms in Britain; and though their flocks may not be proportionably large, yet they far outnumber those of their home compeers. The profits too, far exceed those of the home sheep-farmer. The one may be counted in thousands, while the other rarely rises above hundreds.

Squatter was at one time a term of reproach, but now it designates a peculiar class, held in honourable estimation by the body of colonists. It is representative of a class of men without whom the Australian colonies could not prosper. This term is in use in America as

well as in Australia, but with a different signification. In the former country it generally designates the sturdy and daring backwoodsman, who selects, at will, a portion of wild bush, on which he "squats," that is, settles himself and his family in an easy way, which he improves after his own notions, and which he has the opportunity of securing as his own, when the land comes to be disposed of by Government. In Australia it always designates a class of men who hold, many of them, hundreds of thousands of acres of land at a nominal rent; possess immense flocks and herds; draw large revenues from their stations or runs; have a tendency to become non-resident; and who constitute the peculiar aristocracy of the colonies.

The aristocracy of the southern hemisphere is not pure or select, and it has not a "long pedigree," but neither is it "penniless." It is rather a heterogeneous mass of recent conglomeration, and yet a mass in which there is much vitality. In it you will find the younger sons of noble families, adventurous members of commercial houses, cautious Scotch and English farmers, members of the bar, sons of the church, and men who have risen from nearly all the classes of honourable industry. Varied though their tastes may be, diverse though their characters are, gathered from all grades of society though they have been, yet the squatting fraternity have many important interests in common, and constitute a very powerful party in the country.

Farming, it is to be observed, is still in its infancy in Queensland, and of the 37,000 inhabitants which it is estimated are scattered over the southern portion of the colony, a small proportion only are engaged in agricultural pursuits. This, although there is a boundless field for the successful application of British labour, skill, and capital. But in the early stages of colonising a favoured land, squatting is naturally looked upon as the first and easiest mode of obtaining property and raising capital, as well as, also, in some cases, investing it. Mr. Wight takes up the subject in at once a serious and yet an amusing point of view. Squatting, he says, is an ancient and honourable occupation, and in ordinary circumstances is not one of the least lucrative. The nomade life of the Arab, and that of the Jewish patriarchs of the old time, are alike developments of this primeval mode of providing for one's family, and accumulating wealth. Nothing could be more natural; it is the development of a great law —the law of increase. The head of the family is in possession of a few goats, or camels, or sheep, or oxen, or asses, and these go on increasing, thus providing the household with milk, and meat, and clothing, and labour, and adding annually to the wealth, and position, and importance of the patriarch. In a few years Abraham and Jacob, from being shepherds with slender means, and of little social importance, grew up, under the blessing of Heaven, to be squatters with enormous flocks and herds, whose proximity disturbed large tribes, and whose wealth raised envy in the breast of kings.

There are, however, points of difference as well as points of coincidence. The patriarch of old moved from district to district, according to the condition of the grass, the water, and the season; the colonial squatter has his run, always ample enough for his flocks, fixed by the rules that regulate civilised communities, and he must take his chance of the seasons. The patriarch grazed his flocks free over the rich valleys and well-watered plains, included within the bounds of his uncontrolled wanderings; our squatter must pay a sum to the Government in the shape of rent and assessment—small, indeed, in comparison with his annual profits, for the opportunity of depasturing his cattle and sheep on certain defined lands, and for the protection to himself and property, which the Government affords. The patriarch reckoned the increase of his stock the great source of profit, the wool, and hides, and tallow, and horns, and bones, going for little; the modern squatter manages to make the "clip" of his flocks pay the expenses of the station, and these are considerably heavier, we may suppose, than those of an ancient patriarchal household, while his profits are derived from the increase (minimum 50 per cent.) with the addition of other items that advanced civilisation has rendered of some value. The patriarchs seem to have had, sometimes at least, town or village houses, but when on their wandering and grazing expeditions, they lived in tents with their servants; your full-blown squatter has his town house in Melbourne, Sydney, or Brisbane, perhaps some snug little estate in old England to boot; and on the run itself a substantial hard-wood dwelling and offices, of ample dimensions, and supplied with comforts and even luxuries that you would scarcely expect to meet with in the wild bush. Favourable as were the circumstances in which many of the patriarchs were placed, and rapid as was the growth of their flocks and herds, the position and the profits of the modern squatter, with a well-selected, well-stocked run, are greatly to be preferred.

Like the heads of households in ancient times, the squatter is hospitable, generous, and frequently entertains strangers. His house is sometimes, indeed, the only place where a traveller can find shelter for himself within a circuit of many miles; and masters and managers are alike in this matter. All welcome the passers by, give what shelter they have, and wish them good speed in the morning.

Millions of acres are open to the squatter in Queensland. He must go into the far interior, and leave the lands by the sea and the navigable rivers to the farmer and cotton-grower. The squatter is the pioneer of a new country. He not only introduces sheep, cattle, and horses into the country, but he thereby vastly improves the pasture lands. Grasses become more sweet and actually become more numerous by grazing. The interests of this class, therefore, should not be overlooked in the legislature of a colony: they are also the pioneers of population as well as of stock. Around the station there spring up in a short time the huts of shepherds and stock men; and these, again, soon become the nucleus of little clumps of dwellings—woodmen, bullock-drivers, carpenters, horse-breakers, tailors, shoemakers, and such like, gradually congregate, till, on some large stations, the population becomes considerable. At the resting-places of the drays that "do the carrying" to and from the stations, there rise the way-side inn and smith's forge; and these in time become miniature villages, where dogs, and cows, and children vie with each other in numbers, and all alike revel in wild freedom. This is one way in which population spreads, and finds it home hundreds of miles from the large and populous towns. The governmental method is to lay out townships in various directions, have the surrounding lands surveyed, and encourage suitable persons to purchase, and take up their abode in these localities.

The country for many miles beyond the centres of

population is occupied with stock, so that the squatter is compelled to push further and further to the west and north. The low lying districts are more favourable for cattle than for sheep; and horses are reared anywhere, although all breeds are not alike valuable. The lands on the Logan, the Brisbane, the Mary, the Burnett, the Fitzroy, the Condamine, the Dawson, are all taken up, and partially, if not wholly, stocked; and these include a vast expanse of country. The flow of the great squatting enterprise is now towards the Malonne, the Mackenzie, the Isaacs, the Comet and the Burdekin, the outlying rivers of this magnificent country. And when these are appropriated, as they very soon will be, the daring and enterprise of the pioneer squatter will carry him forwards, still west and north, till he shall feed his flocks on those well-watered plains from which Stuart was driven by the hostile blacks.

As Mr. Wight intimates that the object of his work is to place before the public the claims of a new and little known British colony, and if he succeeds in this he shall feel satisfied that he has done his duty, both to the colony and to his fellow countrymen, we shall avail ourselves of some of his practical hints as to "how to secure a run."

You have got a capital of £750, and on this you cannot manage, with the utmost care and economy, to raise annually more than the merest necessaries of life. You have nothing for "a rainy day." It is hard for you, an industrious man with a wife and family, to waste the best portion of your days, and all your young and buoyant energies, in simply procuring bread. You have a right to expect, under a benign Providence, that such a capital should realize something against the decline of life. You love your native land; "breathes there a man with soul so dead," that he does not? But the claims of your family are paramount, and you resolve to emigrate to Queensland. You don't go alone, for several of your neighbours, worse or better off, have taken the same resolution.

The sea is crossed, and you have set foot on land. Your money is secure in the bank, and you have received the "land orders" for the passage-money which you paid for yourself, wife, and family. Everything is strange, and yet everything looks uncommonly English. You look about; you select your "free grants" of land; you find that things are not so strange after all. You take some light work; perhaps you engage yourself for a sheep station for six or twelve months. Your wife and family stay in Brisbane.

What! take a day's work, play the shepherd on another man's station, and £750 placed to your credit in the bank? Why not, friend? Are you above that? Then think no more of emigrating. This is the way to gain colonial experience without encroaching on your capital; and experience is of vast importance in every colony. Experience may enable you to realize a fortune out of your small capital; proceed without this help, and your capital may—very likely will—become "small by degrees, and beautifully less."

But you have gained the necessary experience, how or where it concerns no one to know; and you desire to settle on a run, or sheep-farm. You have ascertained by this time that there are Commissioners appointed by the Governor and Executive Council for the different squatting districts, whose duty it is to attend to all applications for new runs, when made in proper form, and to give information to those who know how to apply.

The run may be selected anywhere you like, outside of those already appropriated, in accordance with reasonable conditions, regarding your neighbour's boundaries, water frontage, &c. You ride over the portion of land you fancy, accompanied by a friend, or an agent, and mark its boundaries by notching prominent trees, or running your lines by creeks, or dry channels, or mountain spurs. You must see that it lies as compact as possible, for Government will not allow the pasture lands to be cut up in a wasteful manner. Starting from the furthest boundary of your neighbour's run, you thus, with the help of your friend, lay out a block of land of twenty-five square miles, and you carry in your hand a simple outline of the run, accompanied by a few sentences of a descriptive or explanatory nature, to the District Commissioner. He receives you with the utmost civility; enters your application and the descriptive sentences in his large book, and even corrects your description should it be incorrect, as he knows much more about the district than you do yet. If the land is not pre-occupied—and, of course, this is ascertained before you lodge your application—and if you are the first applicant, the Commissioner grants a license for you to occupy the run for one year.

This book is open to the public, and on the payment of a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* any one may examine it, to ascertain what runs are taken up, and by whom. But, in order that everything may be done openly and without favour, all applications are from time to time published in the *Queensland Gazette.*

No run is to contain less than twenty-five square miles, and none are to contain more than 100; but one man may take as many runs as he likes, provided always that he complies with the terms of lease, which are framed to suit the bonâ fide squatter, and not the speculator, for in colonies men speculate in everything, even in runs, to the extensive detriment of the pastoral interest. I have supposed that you have selected one of twenty-five square miles. The estimated capability of this run is 100 sheep for each square mile, or twenty head of cattle, should it be taken as a cattle station. The license is now obtained from the District Commissioner, and within ninety days from the signing of that document you are required to pay, as an occupation fee for the year, the sum of 10*s.* per square mile; and unless such fee be paid, the license is forfeited to the crown. You may put as many sheep on your run the first year as you like, and the occupation fee, £12 10*s.*, constitutes, in fact, the rent for the year.

It is very probable that when you have had a six months' trial of your block of land of twenty-five square miles, for which you pay the Government £12 10*s*, you would like to secure it on lease. How are you, then, to proceed in order to accomplish your object? Any time during the year of license, three clear months before the license expires, you may make application to the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, through the District Commissioner, for a lease; and should you comply with the terms, and the way be clear, a lease for fourteen years will be granted.

There is one reasonable condition, and it is faithfully carried out: during the year of license, and at the date of the application for the lease, you must have your twenty-five square mile block stocked to an extent

equal to one-fourth of the number of sheep, or equivalent number of cattle, which it is deemed capable of carrying by the Act. The Government estimate is, that your twenty-five square miles will carry 2,500 sheep—in reality, it will carry a much greater number, but the Government does not wish to be too exacting with its children, and the number, therefore, which must be depasturing on it when the application is forwarded, is 625. Six hundred good sheep may be bought at the present time for £500. This is the condition which has been inserted in the Queensland Squatting Law, to curb, if it may not prevent, speculation. The District Commissioner grants you the license for one year. On your application, the license is converted into a fourteen years' lease, on the condition mentioned, by the Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands.

When the lease has been secured, what is the rent you will require to pay for your twenty-five square miles? Just the same for the first four years as you paid the year of license, £12 10*s*. And suppose you have on the run 2500 sheep, then the annual rent you pay per sheep is 1½*d*! And, to use the words of the Act, "the rent payable in respect of such lease for the succeeding periods of five years and five years, being the residue of the term comprised in such lease, shall be the appraisement at the commencement of such periods of five years and five years respectively, in proportion to the value of the run, its capabilities, advantages, and disadvantages being considered." But it is provided by the Act, that in no case during the first period of five years shall the rent be less than £25, or greater than £50, per block of twenty-five square miles. During the last five years of the lease, the same sized run will not pay less than £30, and not more than £70. This is deemed very fair, as the value of runs greatly increases from various causes during the period of fourteen years.

Should any difference arise between the squatter and the Government, it is settled by arbitration; and should the lessee pay his rent regularly, and the land not be required for public purposes, he sits unmolested, absolute "monarch of all he surveys." He has no wild beasts to contend with, and if he has the good sense and the humanity to take the poor wandering blacks on the right side, they will prove as harmless to him and his as is the timid walleby or kangaroo. Should your little principality be required for governmental or public purposes, you will have a twelvemonths' warning to quit, and compensation for all the improvements, such as house, huts, offices, stock-yard and wells.

There may be at present about 500 squatters in Queensland occupying stations of various dimensions, none of them smaller than twenty-five square miles. As, according to the law of this new colony, every station must have its proportion of stock, the number of stations represent so much capital and labour. And as the number is steadily and even rapidly increasing every year, and as the labour on each station increases annually with the increase of the stock, the demand for labour in the squatting department must be greater and greater every year. But, in addition to this, every year sees many men who have saved £80 or £100 as shepherds or stockmen return to the towns, in the neighbourhoods of which they purchase small farms, and settle down into cultivators of the soil. The squatter, therefore, has a constant demand for labour, and this demand increases year by year. All classes of men may engage in this work; and, in point of fact, you will at this moment find men busy at station work, representatives of all grades in English society. It is in some sense a "refuge," for there you will meet decayed members of the learned professions, sprigs of nobility, too "fast" for home society, doing their part alongside of the shepherd from the Cheviots, and the ploughman from Lothian and Essex, and doing it well; for, keep them from the gin and the brandy bottle, and they make very fair shepherds and stockmen. Few will surpass them in working a dog with sheep, or tracking, on the fleetest charger on the station, a mob of cattle or horses. But after all, the men the squatter likes best to have about him are those who, at home, were accustomed to out-door work. There is very little Chinese or coolie labour employed on stations, for, though considerably cheaper than British labour, it is by no means so efficient.

Labour is hence, with the introduction of an agricultural population, indeed the present desiderata in Queensland. There is room enough for both squatter and farmer; and whilst the one sends home to the English market the cleanest and the finest wool he can produce, let the other be encouraged to supply the looms of Manchester and Glasgow with the fine cotton fibre which the extensive sea-board is capable of growing. In order to accomplish this, many thousands of industrious families must be induced to settle in those districts where agricultural operations of a nature suited to the soil and climate are most likely to prosper; and there are many such districts in Queensland. The entire surplus population of the kind referred to, that England could supply for years to come, might be disposed of there with incalculable advantage to the colony, and very palpable advantage to themselves. A numerous class of small proprietors resident on and cultivating their own farms would be the making of this new country. When a man has an interest in the soil as a proprietor, it effects a salutary change in all his views, and he becomes an excellent citizen and a devoted patriot. This is the material of which the substratum of society should be composed; and as is the character of the foundation, so will be the structure raised upon it.

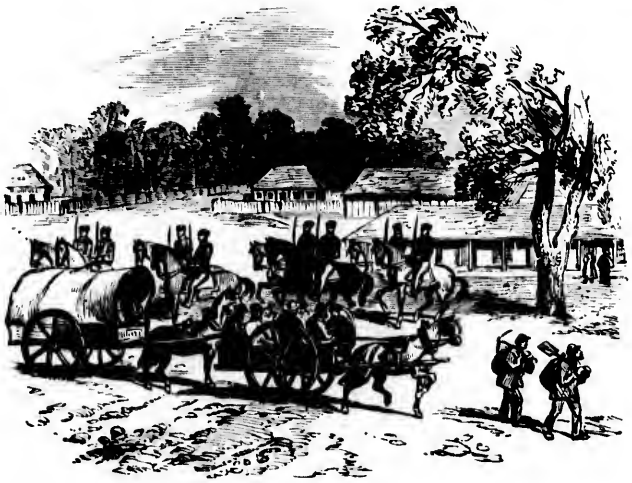
We cannot, however, agree with Mr. Wight in denouncing the introduction of large capital and Chinese or coolie labour. We cannot well see how at the onset a sufficient quantity of cotton could be produced to supply even a portion of what is wanted at home, and we have seen that even the least hopeful and enthusiastic of men—Mr. Crawford, admits that Queensland could meet the demands of Manchester.

There is, however, another question that concerns the squatter to be considered before we treat of produce, and that is, what is the labour expected of a man on the great sheep-farms of Queensland?

When the station is small, and the master resident, he acts as his own manager; but when the station is large, or the master non-resident, one manager or more is required. The manager acts in all things for the master, and his authority is absolute. It is a responsible situation, requires great experience and tact, and generally commands a good salary. The salary, in many instances, is paid partly in money and partly in stock, which he is permitted to graze on the run; and he is allowed to keep, or has the use of several horses. In this way the manager may become in a short time the possessor of a run of his own.

Under the manager there are shepherds, whose duty it is to go out with the sheep in the morning, tend them all day, and return with them to some place of safety at sun-down. One man may shepherd 1,000 sheep; and a man and a boy may safely take charge of a flock of between 2,000 and 3,000 on a good and well ordered station. On many stations there are from 10,000 to 40,000 sheep. Hut-men are engaged to keep the huts, and cook, &c., for the shepherds and watchmen. It is, of course, an inferior occupation, and is often performed by old people, partial invalids, and the wives of the shepherds. Married women, whose husbands are employed on the station, are frequently engaged to perform the duties of cook, housemaid, and so on, to the master or manager. The young people, as soon as they can do anything, are set to work; and hence a man with a wife and grown-up boys will very readily find employment for himself and all of them on a station. A shepherd receives about £45 per annum and his rations; a shepherd and his wife receive from £55 to £60 per annum and rations; and I have known a shepherd, with wife and two or three boys, receive £100, and all rations supplied.

Stockmen do for cattle what shepherds do for sheep, and they are rarely out of the saddle from morning till night. It is a strange life, and has many attractions for the young and the frivolous. There is not a little art required in tracking the cattle to their feeding grounds, and no small amount of courage is needed to fetch a mob from the mountains, or to entice them from the dense, impenetrable scrub to the muster-grounds, that they may be draughted to market, or have the young among them "branded." I have often admired the young stockman, as he started fresh for his work. He is tall, spare, and bronzed by constant exposure to the sun; *sans* coat and waistcoat, with a leathern belt around his waist, stuck full of "indispensables," bewhiskered and moustached; in his hand the stock-whip,



GOLD ESCORT.

and on his head a light straw-hat, from which streams his coal-black hair. You have before you the perfect idea of a man who feels himself free, and who has exquisite enjoyment in his freedom. The stockman is generally well mounted, and it is well for him that he is so; for ere he returns to the station, he shall have many windings and doublings, gullies to cross, and ridges to ascend and descend, in following and guiding the cattle. It is surprising the distances cattle will sometimes go, and the apparently inaccessible places they will choose as their feeding ground. They select their own camping-grounds, which are generally on elevated parts, and thither they hie as sunset approaches. The stockman rarely loses himself in the bush, although his way may be trackless; and if he should, the instinct of his horse will bring him home. The pay of a stockman is about £40, with rations, and a horse kept for his use.

In the lambing season all hands on the station are busy, and great is the anxiety of faithful shepherds. Should the weather be broken and wet, or should the feed be less advanced than it should be, many of the lambs die; but this does not often happen. The seasons in Queensland are, upon the whole, favourable to the increase of stock; hence the ratio at which that increase proceeds. But there is another danger that beets the flock at this time: the dingo, or native dog, which is still numerous in the interior, preys on the lambs whenever he finds an opportunity. The dingo has more the appearance of a fox than a dog; and, like his sly compeer, seems to exercise his wits to reach his prey. The shepherds destroy them by shooting, and sometimes by dropping meat impregnated with strychnine near their haunts. A dingo hunt is a very exciting scene, and not unattended by danger; but they are only witnessed now far in the interior.

An additional number of men are required in the season when the washing of the sheep takes place, and

much depends on the way in which this work is performed. The good or bad washing gives character, in part, to the clip of wool. Of course, inferior wool will not be changed in its character by the washing, but good wool may be greatly damaged by bad washing.

The shearing of the sheep follows; and this work is performed, not by the shepherds, but by men who devote themselves to that special occupation for a portion of the season. The other parts of the year they act as woodmen, fencers, and shingle splitters. When the season arrives, the "shearers" set off on horseback, carrying with them their few implements and their blanket for a night cover when they "camp out." They go from station to station, and generally to the same stations year after year. They do their work by the piece, and make a capital thing of it. They have from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per score; and a good workman will pass through his hands from four to five score a-day. The wages of other men required about stations are in proportion to those mentioned; and this is the case at the present time, when so many men in Britain are striving to rear a family on 11*s.* or 13*s.* a-week.

On a well-ordered and well-kept station, the clip, that is, the wool of the season, is understood to pay more than the current expenses. There is no rent to pay for dwelling-house, or for as much ground as you like to cultivate for the station use; and the rent of the run is little more, on an average of fourteen years, than 12*s.* per square mile. The squatter has not many calls upon his benevolence, and he can afford to be hospitable. His profits are the increase of the flocks, which, together with the growing surplus arising from the sale of his wool, amounts to good fifty per cent. on his capital.

Besides sheep and cattle, and horses, the climate and pasture of Queensland have been found to be well adapted to the support of the llama and alpaca, creatures considerably larger than sheep, and producing a kind of wool much in demand. We saw a portion of the original flock in a field at Friar's Place, near Acton, before Mr. Ledger had surmounted the almost incredible difficulties of their transport from South America to Australia. The result of the experiment has been, according to a statement made in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of August, 1860, very satisfactory; and according to the ratio of increase presented, it was calculated that there would be in 50 years, 9,760,000 head, the wool of which, at 2*s.* per lb., will amount to the sum of £6,832,000 per annum!

RETURN OF THE DRAY

But there are ups and downs in squatting life, as in any other. Men now acting as shepherds, hut-keepers, and bullock-drivers, in connection with stations, occupied very different positions at home. A roving and unsettled disposition, generally accompanied with an overpowering passion for strong drink, has brought them to their present state, and the love of the bottle keeps them in it. In many instances these men make good servants, keep them from drink, and over a period of 12 months they will earn a sum of from £40 to £45. There are cases innumerable in which such men, and others too, who have under prosperity got into jovial habits, have left the bush with large sums in their "belts," and at the first wayside inn spent every farthing before they moved from the spot; and should they by any chance reach the town, a better fate did not befall them, and they were compelled, under dire necessity, either to take what work cast up on the spot, or return without a penny to the station which they had left a few days before. The process is this: a poor incapable lands in the bar of a public-house; he calls for brandy, and he places in the hands of the barman the cheque which he has on the station where he has been serving. He becomes heated with the fiery stimulant, becomes jolly and jovial, and declares that he will "shout" all comers. The meaning of this slang is, that he will treat at his expense all and sundry known or unknown unto him, friend or foe, who shall enter the bar during the process; and the brandy

flows like water, and heads grow giddy, and words become high; "fast and furious grows the din;" and if the whole does not end in a "row," it is generally due to the stupifying power of the well-cooked Australian brandy. Our poor incapable is tumbled into bed, and the cheque is safe in mine host's strong box. In the morning the wretched man calls for brandy, and still more brandy, which is freely given him; and for two or three days matters go on thus, till the demand is resisted, and the poor drunkard, now on the verge of *delirium tremens*, is told that his money is exhausted, and that, should he not instantly "take himself off," he shall be kicked out of doors.

The law cannot reach such cases; and so long as men shall be such consummate fools, the villanous grog-seller will pluck them with impunity.

But there are "ups" as well as "downs" in squatting life, and Mr. Wight describes several of these that came under his own observation:

"Of course, many men engaged in this work have gradually risen from poverty to affluence. Many, who began with very small capitals indeed, have ended by possessing thousands of pounds. This has hitherto been the rule in Queensland, and so far as we can judge, it is probable that it will continue to be the rule. One day I was met by a gentleman from the bush, who freely entered into conversation. I had at one time made a short voyage with him on board a steamer, and had thus come to know him a little. 'I have just sold my station,' said he.

"'Well,' said I, 'I hope you have made something good of it.'

"'Yes, I believe I have,' was his reply.

"'You squatters are the men to make money in this colony,' was my rejoinder.

"'I don't know, but I have received £29,000 cash, and a bill for £1000.'

"I expressed my surprise.

"'I am going to retire,' said my friend, 'and devote myself to the education of my family.'

"I heartily approved and commended the resolution.

"This gentleman had not himself got a liberal education, and knowing the many and great disadvantages the want of a thorough course of instruction and training entails upon a man, he was determined that his sons should not labour under the same defect. I was told that this gentleman was a journeyman mechanic some fifteen years before. He had certainly followed the squatting to some purpose.

"I shall give another case, the type of many. My duties required me at one time to pay a visit, of a few days, to one of the richest agricultural districts of New South Wales. I came in contact with many shopkeepers, woodmen, and farmers. They were all well-to-do in the world, and lived like little potentates, each on his own domain. I was specially interested in the farmers, and enjoyed the hearty hospitality of several of them. The history of most of them was told in my hearing: that of one I shall briefly relate.

"About ten years previous to the date of my visit, this man had left one of the rural districts of Scotland, accompanied by his wife and several young children. Arrived in Australia, he at once hired himself as a shepherd, and his wife took the situation of cook to the master, who happened to live a good portion of the year on the station. The children, who were all girls, managed themselves. In the course of two or three years, what between the wages of both, none of which was spent, but all was laid out in sheep as it was due, and the annual increase of his little flock, he soon found himself in possession of between £300 and £400. His great ambition now was to buy a farm, where he could take up his abode, cultivate the soil, keep two or three cows, and feed poultry and pigs. In this way he fancied he would be able to keep his family in a respectable position.

"I spent a day with this worthy man on his farm, and had the whole corroborated by himself. And he told me that his farm consisted of upwards of 300 acres of good land, on which he grew a quantity of wheat and potatoes, but which he chiefly used for grazing a number of cows, whose produce paid him very well. In this case, as in many others, I was pleased to know that in prosperity my friend had not forgotten the gratitude and the honour due to God. A steady and liberal supporter of a Christian congregation two or three miles from his farm, he had at the same time opened his dining-room for a Sunday-school, where the children all round were weekly taught the holy doctrines of our blessed religion by the daughters of this erewhile Scottish peasant."

VIII.

Cotton Supply—America—Africa—West Indies—India—Brazil—Queensland—Area and Excellence of the Queensland Cotton-field—Quality of the Cotton—Queensland a British Cotton-field?—Sugar, Flax, Fruits, and other Products—Commerce and Revenue—Government—Society in Queensland.

Queensland is so favoured by nature, both in regard to soil and climate, that the answer propounded to "what will the colony grow?" has been, "what will the colony not grow?" The capabilities are great, and the range of product is also great. On the same farm may be seen growing, side by side, maize, peas, potatoes, oats, coffee, sugar-cane, arrow-root, ginger, flax, cotton, peaches, oranges, apricots, figs, mulberries, grape-vines, pine-apples, and bananas. All these may be seen growing to perfection in the open air, and under any ordinary treatment, in the neighbourhood of Brisbane. The extensive plateaux in many parts of the sea board, obviously old sea-marks, of a deep chocolate colour, but little understood as yet, will, it is said, produce magnificent crops of sea-island cotton, and all kinds of fruit; while in the interior, within the moist influence of the mountain ranges, where the temperature is moderate, wheat is grown equal at least to that which is produced in South Australia, New Zealand, or Van Dieman's Land.

It is, however, to the cotton supply that attention is at the present moment most earnestly directed. For several years considerable anxiety has been felt regarding the supply of cotton, and some attempts have been made to increase the number of sources whence it might be drawn. Far-seeing men, when they contemplated the daily development of the trade in cotton-stuffs, and thought of England being dependent on sources foreign to herself for the supply of the raw material, naturally entertained a certain amount of anxiety. Perhaps it scarcely took shape in most minds; it existed as a vague uneasiness; it required something of a decisive nature to give it form, to convert it into a motive to action.

Recent events, and events still pending, the effects of which, in a commercial point of view, no man can

foresee, furnish a motive of sufficient strength to urge the cotton lords of Lancashire, and all parties interested in the prosperity of our great manufacturing enterprise, to take action in this matter. The civil war in America, whatever be its consequence to the American people, has certainly taught us the folly and the danger of depending on strangers for an article of such vital importance as cotton. But whether it shall rouse John Bull thoroughly to action, is another and very different question.

Up to a very recent date America supplied us with eight-tenths of the fibre used in the cotton manufactures of Britain; and although the relative proportions from this and from other countries are daily changing, yet such a state of matters gives that country much more power over our great national interests than should be allowed, except under the direst necessity.

There are few questions of more vital importance to the mother country than that of the supply of cotton. Much of her wealth, and not a little of her influence among the nations of the world, depend upon it. With it, therefore, is closely bound up our national progress and prosperity. But the supply at this moment is almost exclusively from countries over which we have no control, and must therefore be, at the best, subject to too many contingencies. Is it wise in Britain to remain dependent on the foreigner for the supply of such an article? The growing impression on the public mind undoubtedly is, that it is not. And from many indications—from the meetings that are being held in the manufacturing districts—from an extensive correspondence in the newspapers—from the able articles that are appearing in the most influential organs of public opinion—from the associations that are coming into existence—it is very obvious that this subject is not merely agitating the surface, but moving to its depths the mind of a large portion of the English public. But whether this shall lead to decided action, and whether that action shall be in the right direction, is yet to be proved. Much talk about it is good to create, and spread, and sustain an interest; but mere talk is useless. Subscribing money to purchase cotton from the native producers, and to assist experiments in new fields, may be very laudable, and may effect a fractional amount of good; but we respectfully submit that this goes a short way to meet the case, and to secure a result worthy of the interests at stake. Even the proposal, which meets with so much favour in England, to import Chinese and coolies to those countries connected with the British crown, where cotton may be grown, does not, Mr. Wight argues, come up to the exigencies of the case.

In the English mind the question is too much one of pounds, shillings, and pence. Now, although it must, of necessity, be viewed very much in this light, yet why narrow the ground to this one issue? In our peculiar circumstances, as possessed of an extensive colonial empire, as having a yearly surplus of population to dispose of, why not associate the demand for cotton supply with the necessity for emigration? Is it not worth our while to inquire whether the wise direction of the one might not, in great measure, furnish us with what we want of the other? If our own surplus industrious population could be got to produce, in part at least, the cotton fibre we must have for our numerous looms, we should then secure a three-fold result, the consequences of which no man could over-estimate: there would be a great reduction of contingencies, the maximum stability in the supply would be gained, the surplus and underpaid labour would be well provided for, and the labour market at home would never be glutted; the manufacturers would find in such a population a valuable and constantly augmenting market for their various fabrics. We should like to see the question discussed on this broad ground.

Meanwhile, if we mistake not, the only question that weighs with the public is, where shall we get our cotton for the smallest possible sum per pound? This, we admit, is the first and the most important question; but it is by no means the only one of importance that demands our consideration at such a crisis. We want upwards of one thousand millions of pounds weight of cotton per annum to keep our looms going, and we want it at the lowest possible figure; but we also want the supply to be subject to as few fluctuations and contingencies as possible. Of this quantity, America, in 1859, furnished upwards of eight hundred millions; the remainder was derived from India, West Indies, Brazil, the Mediterranean, and one or two other countries. It is not wise to depend so entirely on any one country, not under British control, for such a large proportion of this indispensable staple. Whither, then, shall we turn our eyes? What country or countries may be expected to respond to our call?

Some look to Africa, and they imagine that a large supply may be procured from the tribes on the Zambesi and its tributaries, and from the free blacks, whom British philanthropy, with its usual largeness of heart, proposes to reinstate in their own country. These schemes may or may not come up to expectation, but even though a large supply could be produced in this field, where is our guarantee that it would be steady? You may enter into arrangements; you may make certain stipulations; but should these wayward tribes become jealous, mischievous, or refractory, who is to enforce the conditions? However fair may be the prospect in this direction, however certain it may be that much cotton could be produced, yet you cannot command a regular supply, because you have no real power over the producers.

Some look to the West Indies, and from that quarter they believe a large annual supply might be derived. The liberated negroes are willing to perform the work for a reasonable day's wage, and the quality of the cotton is good. Good; but we need a much larger supply than we are likely to receive permanently from Jamaica. Others direct their eye to India. There, it is alleged, that any quantity of the raw material may be produced. This we don't mean to dispute; but the question of production or growth is not the only one. In India, two difficulties meet us: first, the carriage of the cotton when produced, and the uncertainty of the allegiance of the Indian hordes. According to all accounts, the difficulty and the expense of land carriage, although this is daily diminishing, before the cotton can be put on board ship, amount almost to a prohibition. And then it must be admitted that experience has taught us that little dependence is to be placed in a subjected community like that of India.

The same or similar difficulties will meet us were we to turn our attention to Brazil, or any other foreign country. We want to have the supply more steady than any half-civilised or subject people can ever secure to us, and we must have it, accompanied with fewer contingencies than we ever can expect to have, if the

main sources of supply are in countries over which Britain has no control, or in which her authority may be disputed.

There are some persons who believe that England has no need, even in the matter of cotton, to lean upon others. We can conceive of circumstances in which a great nation like the English might be placed, and which, while they could not prevent such anxieties and inquiries as at present prevail, might yet effectually prevent the application of any remedial measure. She might have had no influence in the Indian Ocean, no access to the products of Hindostan; she might never have had, or, having them, might have been denuded of, her semi-tropical possessions in the Southern hemisphere; and situated so, however much she might have felt and deplored her dependence, from force of circumstances she must be dependent still.

But England is not so situated. Thanks to a beneficent Providence, she holds the remedy in her own hand; it remains to be proved whether she has the wisdom, and will have the patience, to apply it.

She may draw much more largely than she has ever done on her possessions, both in the East and the West Indies. From these sources united, a large proportion of the raw material might be realised under a properly organised system of cultivation, although it would be folly to depend upon them. In these countries, where the labour is cheap and abundant, and where the commonest kinds could be grown, a successful competition might be organised, and the American planter be made to feel that the slave-produced article was not so absolutely in possession of the market of the world as he imagined.

But, best of all, Britain possesses in her own loyal dependencies, in the Southern hemisphere, a vast extent of territory, which, both as it regards soil and climate for the growth of the plant, and the means of conveyance to the shipping to any of the ports over a seaboard of 600 miles, is unsurpassed in any country in the world. Providence seems to have destined the cotton-field of Queensland to be cultivated by British labour, and thus affords the most convincing of all proofs that our cotton supply is not dependent on slavery. Such a monstrous evil cannot much longer exist. The country where it is cherished will never be secure, and will never prosper; nor will the interests dependent upon it ever be secure against fluctuations and sudden change. Neither the North nor the South portion of the United States have apparently any intention to remove the evil. They are devotees of the "almighty dollar," and are not troubled with a scrupulous conscience. Britain has now an opportunity of showing them a better way. Were the view which we have ventured to take and express in these pages of our cotton supply in connection with the extensive emigration of industrious families, to be countenanced by our manufacturers, merchants, and statesmen, ere long we should have on the sea-board of Queensland a large white population engaged in the profitable production of cotton, quite equal to the finest American fibres.

As regards the quantity of land that might be put under cotton, that may be said to extend from the Logan, near the south boundary, along the coast for at least 600 miles, with an inland range of about 50 miles, including most of the islands that skirt the coast. It is, of course, impossible to place all this vast breadth of country under crop at once, even though we had the necessary white labour landed on its shores, for it is more or less heavily timbered, and must first be cleared, and fitted for the plant. This is the work of time; but in time, we doubt not, it will be accomplished. The districts that have been selected as agricultural reserves are not only of rich soil, but also, on the average, thinly timbered. Here, of course, the clearing commences, and from each centre it will gradually spread till the country shall be denuded of much of its robust vegetation. Inland, the cotton produced will not be so good in quality, and will, therefore, not be so high in price; but near the coast, and on the islands, any quantity of the cotton, known in the market as "Sea Island," will be produced. There is field enough here to grow as much as England at present consumes.

The excellence of the Queensland cotton-field does not altogether lie in its vast extent. The soil, although varied, is most admirably suited to produce crops of the finest quality; and because of the suitable soils being associated with a fine climate, the quantity corresponds with the quality. It will, therefore, pay the farmer to devote his capital and attention to its cultivation. This vast cotton-field, with a soil and climate so admirably adapted to the production of the finest fibre known in our home-market, has yet another important recommendation. Along the coast there are at least four harbours, where large ships may receive their cargoes—Brisbane, Marybourgh, Gladstone, and Rockhampton; and ere long, ships drawing over twenty-two feet will be able to sail right up the River Brisbane, and anchor in the very heart of the capital. By this time the steam dredge is at work to remove the few obstacles in the shape of sand and mud-banks. Add to this the fact, that a large portion of the richest land on the coast is completely intersected by navigable streams and creeks for at least fifteen miles inland, and you perceive how wonderfully favoured this colony is by a kind Providence. Besides all this, the climate is such that Europeans, with ordinary care, can do a regular and fair day's work, even in the hottest months, with impunity. I am aware that many persons think this impossible; and on this assumption they build one of their great arguments for coolie labour. But I have only to remind the reader of what is stated touching the climate in another part of this article, and to add that, every lawful day in the year, shepherds, bullock-drivers, masons, and the whole class of labourers, and small farmers, constantly ply their avocations with less mortality than befalls the same classes at home.

Of Queensland cotton-field, this is the sum of what has been stated:—It is of vast extent, being 600 miles long by 50 wide, besides containing nearly all the islands on the coast. The soil varies, but is all admirably adapted to the growth of cotton in its best varieties, especially in Sea Island. The climate is most favourable to the plant, and not inimical to the European constitution. White men labour all the year over, with no more disease, and no higher rate of mortality, than at home. There are numerous navigable streams and creeks ready prepared to convey the bales of cotton to the harbours, with which the coast is largely provided, thence to be wafted, along with wool and other products, direct to the ports of London, Liverpool, and Glasgow.

But some one may ask, "Has the cotton-producing power of Queensland ever really been tested? Has the plant been grown there, and has the fibre been

examined, and spun, and converted into cloth? The most conclusive reasoning is not enough; the matter should be brought to experiment."

A reasonable question, and well put. I quite agree with you, that the matter is much too important to be placed on any ground short of experiment, and on this ground alone do we place it. I must, therefore, request your attention to the evidence of the superior quality of the limited quantities of cotton that have been grown in Queensland, and valued, and bought, and converted into cloth by English brokers and manufacturers.

In 1854, when Queensland was connected with New South Wales, a quantity of cotton grown there was submitted to Messrs. Hollingshead and Co., of Liverpool, for examination. The report of these gentlemen was in these terms: "We have carefully examined the sample of Australian cotton sent us for valuation. It ranks with the highest class of Sea Island cotton, and, free from the few spots of stain, is worth 3*s.* per lb. in this market. It is superior in fineness and evenness of staple, though a little inferior in strength of staple, as compared with Sea Island. We return you the sample, as you may not have retained any, and send you a small bit of Sea Island worth 2*s.* 6*d.* per lb. to-day, and another bit purchased to-day at 2*s.* 9*d.*, both inferior to your sample in our opinion, and in the opinion of the buyer of the 2*s.* 9*d.* lot.

CHILDREN CRADLING.

Three years later, that is, in 1857, Mr. Clegg, Manchester, addressed the following letter to Messrs. R. Barbour and Brothers of the same city, which is too valuable in several respects to be curtailed:—"It gives me pleasure to state, after consulting Mr. Bazley, Messrs. Houldsworth, Barnes, and Co., and a dealer in Sea Island cotton, that the sample you sent to me is of very superior quality, almost too good for ordinary fine yarns and for practical purposes. It was variously valued at from 2*s.* to even 4*s.* per lb., for fancy articles, the prevailing opinion being that it would realise 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per lb., which I believe it would for moderate quantities, but great quantities of such valuable sorts are not required, being of limited consumption. I think, however, they might fairly calculate upon 2*s.* per lb. for a long time to come for such cotton. I have no doubt that, where this was grown, they can produce, in quantity, the best cotton in the world perhaps, and ought forthwith to turn their attention to it, by getting abundance of labour either from China or from other sources, free from any risk of introducing slavery in its cultivation.

"Your friends are right in saying that great care will be required in cleaning the cotton, so as not to damage its colour or injure the staple. For this purpose, none but the roller gin should be used, unless, perhaps, M'Cartney's, which might also be tried, and both are made in Manchester at Messrs. Dunlop's. I can get them right for your friends' experiments, if they wish. This fine cotton would, however, pay to be picked, sorted, and cleaned even by hand, although slow work.

"The seed should be dry and hard before being cleaned, otherwise it crushes instead of leaving the cotton freely, and the oil in the seeds stains the cotton. The finest and best grown pods should always be kept together, the next ditto, and even a third quality of inferior ones; by these means the best prices would be realized for each, whereas, if mixed altogether the whole would only sell for what the inferior alone would fetch.

"A gentleman who has a son in Australia has previously sent me samples of this cotton, and they cannot do better than begin to plant all in their power, and send it in quantity. I shall have great pleasure in selling such as they may send, to enable them to get the best possible price for it. To show that there is no risk, I dare at this moment buy 500 bales, of from 300 to 500 lbs. each, of this, at 2*s.* per lb. Do not, however, let them deceive themselves, but calculate, as one of themselves lately said, on realizing an average of 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb. Even this would be a very high price, Indian cotton ranging from 3*d.* to 5*d.*; American bowed upland Orleans, 3½*d.* to 8½*d.*; Brazil, and similar staple, 5*d.* to 8*d.*; Egyptian, from 5½*d.* to 10*d.*; and Sea Island (your variety), 11*d.* to 2*s.*, fine quality to 4*s.*, per lb."

In the close of 1859, Mr. Heywood, secretary to the "Cotton Supply Association," Manchester, in a letter addressed to Sir William Denison, then Governor of New South Wales, thus expresses himself:—

"We are frequently receiving information of small parcels of most valuable cotton arriving from Australia, and there is a strong desire on the part of our spinners to obtain more. The class of cotton I refer to is a beautiful long staple cotton, of which I have received and sold parcels at 1*s.* 8*d.* to 2*s.* per lb. The demand for this class of cotton is limited, as compared with the New Orleans variety, but there is no doubt that all of the better class that is likely to arrive in this country for many years to come will be eagerly bought up, and I shall be happy to call public attention to any consignments of which I may be advised.

and to find a market for it if consigned to this address."

At a meeting held in Manchester about two years ago, Mr. Bazley is reported to have addressed his audience in these terms regarding Queensland cotton and its cultivation :—

"About five years ago a few bags of Moreton Bay (Queensland) cotton were shipped to Liverpool, and I saw at once that, with such vastly superior cotton, yarn could be produced finer than any that could be manufactured in India or Great Britain. I bought that cotton, carried it to Manchester, and spun it into exquisitely fine yarn. I found that the weavers of Lancashire could not produce a fabric from it, it was so exceedingly delicate; the weavers of Scotland could not weave it; nor could even the manufacturers of France weave this yarn into fine muslin. It occurred to me to send it to Calcutta, and in due time I had the happiness of receiving from India some of the finest muslin ever manufactured, the produce of the skill of the Hindoos with this delicate Australian cotton. At the Paris Exhibition, some of this muslin was placed in the same glass case with a large golden nugget from Australia, and the two attracted much attention. The soil and climate of Queensland are capable of producing, with proper care, 600 lbs. yearly per acre of this exquisitely fine cotton. Two crops could be grown each year. I value this cotton at 1*s.* 3*d.* per pound, which would be equal to £40 per acre This is no over-estimate, for I have recently given 1*s.* 8*d.* per pound for Australian cotton. Now, £40 per acre is an enormous yield for any agricultural product; and I do not think such a profitable return could be obtained in any other country. Judging by what is done in the United States, a man with his family in Queensland could cultivate ten acres of land, which would yield £400 per annum—a very high rate of profit."

Most readers will be satisfied with the evidence presented above in proof of the superior nature of Queensland cotton; but I have another witness whom I must produce. He is a gentleman still resident in the colony, and who has taken a lively interest in the subject of cotton growth for at least ten or twelve years. No man is better qualified than Dr. Hobbs, the gentleman to whom I now refer, to express an opinion on this subject. About five years ago Mr. T. S. Mort, Sydney, who has always taken a lively interest in the subject, submitted certain queries to Dr. Hobbs, the replies to which were embodied in a paper which appeared in Cox and Co.'s Australian Almanac for 1857. I shall transcribe a few of these questions, with the replies which they elicited :—

"What species or varieties of cotton are cultivated, if any, in Moreton Bay (Queensland)?"

"The Sea Island, introduced into the district by G. A. Donaldson, Esq, Sydney (now in England), seven years ago, propagated and distributed by myself to most of the growers in the neighbourhood. A very superior description of Sea Island is being cultivated this season, propagated from seed introduced by Capt, W. B. O'Connell, which he brought from the prize sample in the Great Exhibition in London, in 1851."

"What variety is cultivated to the best advantage?"

"The Sea Island, decidedly. Several coarser varieties have been tried and found to answer well."

"How long have they been cultivated there, and from what country were they obtained?"

"Experimental patches for seven years. The seed imported from America."

"Has the general character of the cotton fibre, as to length, strength, or uniformity, deteriorated since its introduction?"

"No; the cotton from seed given by me to Mr. Eldridge has obtained prizes wherever exhibited—viz, a £30 prize three years ago at Sydney, a silver medal at the Sydney Exhibition, and another silver medal at the Paris Exhibition."

"What is the usual price of ginned cotton fibre per pound?"

"The cotton sent from here has been usually picked by hand; such samples have been valued at Manchester and Glasgow at 1*s.* 9*d.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per pound."

"Are the soil and climate well adapted to its profitable growth?"

"Admirably adapted"

The importance of Queensland as the future cotton field of Great Britain has been taken up, as we have seen, warmly by the Royal Geographical Society. Dr. Lang and Mr. Wight both unite in believing that that colony furnishes one of the most magnificent cotton-fields to be found in the world, and it is to be hoped, although we can scarcely admit the argument to the whole extent, that the patriotic wishes of the last-named excellent man, that it shall also be essentially a British cotton-field, will be favourably considered. All we can say is that we earnestly wish it was so. We cannot conceive a more promising state of things than our great cotton factories supplied by British colonies and British labour. It is so with wool, why should it not be so with regard to cotton? There is nothing in the climate apparently to prevent so desirable a consummation, but at present the value of the emigrant, and the consequent dearness of British labour, is too great. This is a state of things that will, with time, cure itself, and when we consider the number of under-paid hands, and poverty-stricken families, that are met with at home, it would seem as if too much encouragement could not be given to such to depart to those realms where a greater amount of prosperity and consequent happiness would be ensured to them.

A large portion of the colony is capable, it appears, of growing sugar as well as cotton; and it is premised that the capital and enterprise of Britain will certainly, in time, develop the one staple as well as the other, to such an extent, at all events, as will supply the colonial wants.

The coffee-tree grows, and fruits most luxuriantly; and the tobacco plant thrives equally well. It is believed that the tea plant will yet be introduced and extensively cultivated, as it, too, thrives in that genial clime: and as for the ginger plant, and arrow-root, and pepper, &c., &c., their products are both large and of excellent quality. New Zealand flax and many other plants of that nature, grow in wild profusion wherever introduced. Material for cordage and for paper might be produced in this new colony, had we but the labour, sufficient to supply the entire merchant service, and all the printing-presses of Great Britain. The fibre of the banana plant, that grows in every garden in Queensland, is proved by recent experiments to be equal in textile value to the *musa textilis*, the plant from which the Manilla hemp is manufactured.

Were I, says Mr. Wight, to enumerate the different fruits that grow in Queensland, I should fill a very long list. The truth is, that the country, possessing,

as it does, a semi-tropical climate, is capable of growing nearly all the fruits that can be produced. I have never seen the gooseberry there, but the strawberry and the apple are introduced with moderate success. In the room of the home favourite, we have the Cape gooseberry, which is a good substitute, and is very prolific. The rosella plant yields a good preserve, much the same as red currant, with a higher flavour. The passion-fruit grows like ivy on walls and fences, and fruits most abundantly. It is of the size of a magnum bonum plum, is slightly acid, and is much relished by workmen and travellers in hot weather. It is a very common fruit, and sells for a penny or twopence per dozen. Another variety has recently been introduced, much larger, and of greater value. Apricots, peaches, and quinces grow in any quantities, but most varieties of the peach, though abundant in crop, speedily come to decay. A new variety has been introduced that suits the climate much better, and is likely to give perfect satisfaction to growers. The loquat, cumquat, guava, mulberry, mango, olive, tamarind, papaw-apple, star-apple, Bengal quince, date, date-plum, grandilla, custard-apple, rose-apple, citron, lime, lemon, alligator-pear, pomegranate, and many others, all flourish in the open air, and have the finest flavour.

But the fruits that the farmer is most likely to grow, with a view to profit, are the fig, the orange, the grape-vine, the pineapple, and the banana. The fig is a tree that soon bears, and is very prolific. The orange in all its varieties succeeds well, and is much prized. The climate is sufficiently warm for the grape-vine, but it grows luxuriously, and fruits most abundantly, wherever properly cultivated. And although it cannot be considered an article of export, yet, by its plentiful production, home made wine might be manufactured in sufficient quantities to satisfy the home demand. Some parties have commenced the manufacture of wine, and have succeeded well. It is not intoxicating, and is admirably suited to the climate. Vineyards, of considerable size, have been planted in a low country near Brisbane, and in the course of a couple of years will be in full bearing.

The fruit farmer turns his attention especially to the two fruits that remain to be noticed, the pine-apple and the banana. The pine-apple is a fruit with the appearance of which many of my readers must be acquainted; but the miserable specimens sometimes met with here give no idea whatever either of its size or flavour as produced in Queensland. The plant is most willing to grow, even though treated with neglect; and if you allow it to come within reach of the soil, it rises with the vigour and defends itself with the spirit of a Scotch thistle. There are now many acres of pines in the different parts of the low country, and they yield a large return to the grower. The banana plant, as well as the pineapple, is peculiar to Queensland and the northern portion of New South Wales. Neither grows to anything like perfection further south than the Richmond and Clarence; but all along the coast of Queensland they may be grown in incalculable numbers and of the finest quality.

Maize, or Indian corn, in all its varieties, grows luxuriantly in Queensland. The crop never fails if ordinary care is bestowed on its cultivation, although the product varies in quantity according to the seasons, and the thrifty farmer not only manages to secure some green crop between the rows in its earlier stages, but also to have two crops of corn in the twelve months.

The successful cultivation of wheat is one of the established facts on which is based our faith in the internal and permanent prosperity of the new colony. The most sanguine of men would scarcely, indeed, calculate on wheat as an export; but is it a small matter for a colony, blessed by Providence with the power of producing many articles of export in large and growing demand in England and other countries, to be able to furnish its own flour—to provide, independent of any foreign aid, its own staff of life?

Green crops of all kinds, from the common kitchen vegetable to lucern grass for horses and cows, pay the producer remarkably well. Melons, both water and rock, of all varieties, grow with amazing quickness, and in wonderful quantities, and are used extensively by working men in lieu of water, which in this climate is not always so cool as is desirable. They make an admirable substitute, and are much more safe in hot days. An industrious man who worked for me, though he had a farm of his own, was in the habit of bringing with him a large melon, which he carefully kept from the sun, and a good slice of which, at intervals, served him instead of water. Potatoes are grown on every farm, generally in two kinds. The English potato is a very precarious crop, is much relished by the colonists, and brings high prices in such localities as Brisbane and Ipswich. Two crops are produced in the year. One in four may be good; two in four may be tolerable; one in four is a total failure. The reason of this failure is, that the root is unsuited to the climate. Still the farmers will grow it; and though they sometimes get as much as 10*s*, and even 14*s*., the hundredweight, yet it is doubtful whether the crop pays over a series of years. The sweet potato is a root differing from the English potato and the yam of the South Seas, is very nutritive, and is much more wholesome in that climate than its familiar and much-prized prototype. It takes its name from the never-failing quality of sweetness which it possesses, arising from the saccharine element that pervades it. It yields two crops also in the year; grows from vines pushed into the loosened soil, and not from roots, is very prolific when the soil is good, and is used for table, feeding horses and cows, and fattening pigs and poultry. A most valuable root is the sweet potato, although it is generally despised by new comers as pigs' meat, yet most colonists take kindly to it in a few months.

The population of Queensland has increased from 2,257 to 37,000 in 1861, and, great as this increase has been, it is not the standard by which to judge the probable increase of the future. We may reasonably anticipate a large flow of the most suitable kind of emigrants from the mother country to Queensland, as soon as the capabilities and attractions of the colony are known; and the colonial papers show that every week brings to Brisbane from the other Australian colonies no less than one hundred men, four-fifths of whom have come to try their fortune in the new colony. These men are generally the very best immigrants, for they have already learned colonial experience in the other colonies, and most of them bring some capital. I have already mentioned this fact as one of the most conclusive arguments in favour of Queensland as a field for British labour.

The form of government is the same as that which

obtains in the other colonies. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, and is its representative in the colony. There are two legislative houses, the Assembly and the Council. The former consists of twenty-six members, and is elected by the people; the latter consists of fourteen, and is at present nominated by the Crown—that is, by the Governor, as the representative and embodiment of royalty in the country. But the representatives of the people, with the consent of the Council, have the power to make the Council elective. The Executive consists of three members, the Colonial Secretary (Premier), Treasurer, and Attorney-General, appointed by the Governor, with seats in the assembly, and responsible to the people's house. The only qualification for membership is, that one's name should be on some electoral list. Thus, the highest offices in the colony are open to all able and meritorious men. No man in holy orders is eligible. The elective franchise is virtually manhood suffrage, as the conditions are within the reach of all industrious men. A man, to exercise the franchise, must be twenty-one; he must possess a freehold worth £100; or rent a house or farm at not less than £10; or hold a pastoral license from the Crown; or be in receipt of £100 salary per annum; or pay £40 a year for board, or £10 per annum for lodging. In a colony like Queensland, every industrious man may exercise the franchise under one or other of these qualifications, and few, indeed, are excluded, save criminals, and those who have fallen into arrears of rent or municipal rates.

GOLD SEEKERS' GRAVES ON THE TURON.

Brisbane, Ipswich, and several other towns, have sought incorporation, and have consequently been proclaimed municipalities, having a mayor or chairman, and a body of aldermen or councillors, as in English boroughs. The qualifications that entitle a man to vote for a member of Assembly entitle him to vote for the list of councillors. The powers entrusted to the municipalities are large, and are intended to operate in behalf of the community. To carry out their plans they may rate all lands, houses, &c., within the municipal bounds, as well as borrow money; and during the first five years of their corporate existence, Government grants an equal sum to that raised from the rates. In succeeding years, the proportion of the Government grant graduates down to nothing. In this, as all new countries, the municipal authorities have plenty of work to do, and they have been quite late enough in commencing. In towns where the population increases rapidly, such as Brisbane, it is all that they can do to keep pace with the general progress.

The aspect of colonial towns, especially when in their earlier stages, is very different from what we see at home. Melbourne and Sydney have, indeed, quite an English appearance; but such towns as Ipswich and Brisbane, being principally composed of wooden houses, look new and strange to an Englishman. In Brisbane, however, many of the old strange-looking houses are giving place to buildings of brick and stone, of a very substantial character, and more approved architecture. Most of the banks occupy spacious buildings, and several of the merchants and shopkeepers are not behind them. And there are some very excellent private residences rising in various directions; but the greatest architectural effort that has been put forth is the new jail, that cost upwards of £22,000, and the finest building is Government House, which is now in progress, and will cost about £15,000. There are several neat buildings belonging to the various sections of the church. The Roman Catholic, the Episcopal, the Presbyterian, and the Baptist churches are of stone; the Wesleyan and the Independent churches are of brick. The latter is stuccoed and washed a light stone colour, and, from its fine proportions and commanding position, is one of the chief ornaments of the city. The design is by the colonial architect, a gentleman whose fine taste is becoming conspicuous in the rising city. There are, besides, the buildings connected with the National School, the School of Art, &c.

In Queensland there are seven newspapers, all professing liberal principles, and all of them conducted with a tolerable amount of ability. The defects and faults incident to a new society are conspicuous in some of these journals, but these are being rectified by the good sense and manly bearing of the people. Personalities are sometimes indulged in to the gratification of a few, but the high character and manly bearing of the *Guardian*, the leading paper in the colony, are doing much to purify the press. The postal arrangements are liberal in Queensland. Letters delivered in any town where posted are 1*d.*; letters sent to any part of the colony are 2*d.*; letters sent to any of the other colonies, or England, are 6*d.*; all prepaid. News-

papers go free, except those to England, which are charged one penny.

Society is just forming in this new colony, and for a time it must, of necessity, assume a crude and unsettled character; but there is in Brisbane, and in all the towns, a large amount of the proper elements of which society is chiefly composed—honourable, intelligent, and virtuous families. The Brisbanites are well-to-do in the world, are a very hospitable people, and are conspicuous for their benevolent efforts and Christian liberality.

Nowhere, says Mr. Wight, so far as my knowledge extends, do people contribute more largely and more freely to the support of religious worship, and to the temporal support of those who may, by accident or death, be deprived of their means of living, than they do in Brisbane. Many of the people are fond of reading, and there is a tolerable supply of books; but whether the reading there has got into the channels through which the greatest amount of good is derived, is a question which I shall not presume to decide. The people generally are busy all the day, and when night comes are scarcely fitted for much close mental exercise, and hence reading naturally verges towards the light and easy. There is there, as in most places where people do congregate, a desire for pleasant entertainment, such as concerts and lectures; but there is not a marked tendency towards the frivolous. There will be found there, of course, as well as in other towns, some who love the light and frivolous; but these are well kept in check by the moral influence of the body of the people. The working classes are in a most favourable position, and have every chance of rising in the social scale. Many of them are becoming wealthy in their land, and cows, and horses; and some, as might be expected, miss the opportunity, grow indolent, regardless of self-respect, sink into loose habits, and disappear, or turn up after a time as a moral nuisance. There are many who rise—there are some who sink; and if, on the one hand, the rise be rapid, so is the sinking process. Some men cannot stand prosperity, although they have for years braved most manfully the severe storms of adversity; and when they frequent the bar of a public-house, or tipple in their own houses, the descending process is surprisingly rapid, and the end is certain ruin. An unprejudiced person would, however, give a favourable report of colonial society, especially in towns, where the numerous humanizing and softening influences are allowed to operate. In the bush there are many privations; men are removed from many moral and spiritual restraints; and who can wonder if their morals are lax, and their behaviour rude? but yet in the bush I have met with as much hospitality and honest manly feeling as one can meet with anywhere.

CASCADE AT GREENHILL CREEK, SOUTH ADELAIDE.

The Sabbath day is as well kept in the towns in Queensland as it is in the mother country, and a great deal better than in many parts. The attendants upon the services of the church are very liberal in their support of public worship; the benevolence of the people is really great, and much to be commended. Now, after all, the religion that is worth the name—the religion that we most desire in Queensland—is that which manifests its presence, not by controversy, but by love and charity; not so much by a sharply-defined creed as by a holy life.

IX.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

SOUTH AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION—FOUNDED ON THE WAKEFIELD PRINCIPLE — SUCCESSIVE GOVERNORS — GAWLER'S EXTRAVAGANCE — SIR GEORGE GREY'S ABLE ADMINISTRATION — POPULATION — CITY OF ADELAIDE — SUBURBS — COUNTRY TOWNSHIPS—PORTS—RIVERS—MINES—AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE—EDUCATION AND RELIGION—PUBLIC WORKS—PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS—PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE.

WE have seen what a new impulse was imparted to Australian colonisation by the discovery of the River Murray, and its navigation by Sturt in 1830. An Association, calling itself the South Australian, soon obtained an Act, authorising the settlement of a colony in so favourable a spot, but prohibiting the occupation of the land as a dependency of the British crown until after £35,000 worth of land had been sold, and £20,000 had been invested in Government securities. The principle upon which this was done was that advocated by Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the cardinal point of whose theory was, that land without labour is valueless, and that to ensure a constant supply of labour, the land must be sold at a "sufficient price," the proceeds of the land sales being applied to the introduction of labourers. It was on this principle that South Australia was founded, this being the first of Her Majesty's colonies to which the Wakefield principle was applied. The requisite amount of money having been raised, the Commissioners sent out Colonel Light to suggest the site for the capital. He arrived in August, 1836, and, after examining Nepean Bay, Port Lincoln, and Encounter Bay, decided upon establishing the capital where it now stands. Captain Hindmarsh, the first Governor, arrived at the close of the same year, and proclaimed the colony on the 28th of December. On his departure he was succeeded by George Milner Stephen, Esq. (colonial secretary), as acting-governor. His successor, Colonel Gawler, arrived on the 12th of October, 1838. Captain (now Sir) George Grey, the third Governor, arrived in the colony on the 10th of May, 1841; Major Robe on the 14th October, 1845; Sir Henry Young on the 1st of August, 1848; who was succeeded by B. T. Finniss, Esq., as acting-governor; and Sir Richard MacDonnell, the present governor, on the 7th of June, 1855.

During the twenty-one years that have elapsed since the establishment of the colony, it has passed through many vicissitudes. The early files of the local papers are filled with humiliating disputes between the Executive officers of the Government, private squabbles, and melancholy narrations of official incapacity. The short career of office of the first two Governors was characterised by numerous inconveniences resulting from delayed surveys, and wasted time and capital. Colonel Gawler, to obviate the evils that he saw advancing, launched out into a heavy expenditure, vastly augmenting the evils he had hoped to avert. To meet his liabilities he drew upon the British Treasury, and the Home Government dishonoured his bills. The result was a fearful panic and an almost universal bankruptcy. Captain Grey found upon assuming the reins of government, that whilst the revenue was only £30,000 the expenditure was £150,000, exclusive of a debt of £300,000. Adopting the most rigid measures of economy, he reduced the expenditure of the Government within the narrow limits of the revenue just mentioned, and, notwithstanding the check thus given to everything before the close of his administration, the province had so far progressed in material prosperity and reputation, that the Home Government paid half the debt, and accepted colonial securities for the other half. The whole of this has since been liquidated. The discovery of the Burra mines toward the close of Captain Grey's administration opened up a new source of wealth to the colony, but the mining mania to which that discovery gave rise resulted, on the other hand, in wide-spread embarrassment. Still more recently, the discovery of the precious metals in the adjacent colonies, and particularly in Victoria, exercised a marked influence upon the fortunes of South Australia. The gold-fields of Ballarat and Mount Alexander drew away vast numbers of persons from the colony; shepherds, farmers, merchants, traders, professional men, and labourers going in ever increasing multitudes, some by ship, others by overland conveyances, and some on foot. The excitement of all classes amounted to a *furor*. The labouring classes in numerous instances sold everything they possessed, to raise the amount of their passage-money to Victoria; for which purpose even cottage freeholds were conveyed to purchasers for the pitiful sum of £5! whilst others, unable to dispose of their humble possessions, nailed up boards against their windows and doors, and left their homes to the mercy of the elements; which, after the exodus of the thieves and housebreakers for the land of gold, was all the danger the owners had to dread. The industrial operations of the colony were brought to a standstill, the coin was leaving the colony, the bank reserves were rapidly disappearing. The urgency of the case became so imminent, that notwithstanding the almost superstitious disinclination of the Government to interfere with the currency, it was evident that some extraordinary step must be taken, and the Governor specially summoned the Legislative Council on the 28th of January, 1852. So great was the excitement that the Standing Orders of the House were suspended, and a Bill expressly framed to meet the emergency was hurriedly carried through all its stages, and received the assent of His Excellency, who prorogued the Council the same day on which he called it together. This extraordinary example of hasty legislation produced the well-known "Bullion Act," by which the Governor was empowered to establish an Assay Office, and to appoint an Assayer, who should cast the gold into ingots, the banks being at the same time authorised to issue notes against bullion, which might also be legally tendered instead of coined gold. Simultaneously with these prompt measures an overland escort was established, which brought over from the Victoria gold fields the fruits of the successful mining operations of the South Australian diggers to a very large amount, and the monetary system of the colony was thus preserved from utter ruin. The Bullion Act was loudly denounced at the time by some who imagined they saw in it the secret agency by which the credit of the colony would be overturned; but time verified the soundness of the principles upon which that Act was based. At length numerous emigrants to Victoria returned to the colony, the pursuits of copper and lead mining and agriculture were again taken up, and a steady career of prosperity has since been chronicled.

The population of the colony in the early part of 1858 was supposed to amount to 111,521 souls, comprising 56,698 males, and 54,823 females, and as the

average increase is upwards of 5,000 per annum, the actual population might be estimated at 124,000 souls; but there is also the amount of immigrants to be taken into consideration, hitherto notwithstanding the rushes for gold made to Victoria, and still more recently to New Zealand, generally in excess of emigration.

The chief town of the colony, Adelaide, lies nearly south-east of the Port, and consists of two portions, North and South Adelaide. South Adelaide is laid out in a series of streets at right angles, the principal north and south streets (from 99 to 132 feet wide) being nearly one mile in length; and the east and west streets (from 66 to 132 feet wide) from a mile and a quarter to a mile and three-quarters, and bounded by four terraces, facing the cardinal points of the compass, nearly corresponding with the streets in length. In the intersections of the main streets squares are introduced at measured intervals. South Adelaide contains all the Government offices, and all the principal wholesale and retail marts and stores of the city. Between North and South Adelaide the River Torrens winds its course, and both the divisions of the city are surrounded by public reserves called "Park Lands," which the terraces face. The river is spanned by a massive iron bridge, which cost, with its approaches, £22,000. The bridge is in a line with King William-street, the central thoroughfare of the city, thus connecting the hearts of North and South Adelaide. There are two other substantial bridges across the river, respectively at about a mile above and below this central one. The inhabitants of Adelaide are chiefly dependent on the Torrens for their domestic supply of water, which is furnished them by an army of water-carriers, who charge 2*s.* or 2*s.* 6*d.* per load for it. But very costly water works are now in course of construction, and will, in a year or two, quite supersede this irregular and insufficient mode of supply. At a distance of about four miles to the east of the city, the Mount Lofty range of hills takes its rise, extending north, south, and east for many miles. The hills are crowned with forests of gum-trees, from which the citizens are supplied with their usual domestic fuel. Adelaide is under the management of a mayor and corporation, and is rapidly improving both in reference to the beauty and value of its structures.

Around the city of Adelaide are numerous suburbs. The most populous and important is that in the eastern vicinity, consisting of a cluster of townships, including Kensington, Norwood, Magill, Stepney, &c. The townships of Kensington and Norwood stand on a large area of land, which is fast being filled up.

Some idea of the country townships will be gleaned from the list of post-offices, and the frequency of making up the mails. The most important northern towns are Gawler Town, about twenty-seven miles from Adelaide; Angaston, about fifty miles; Kapunda, about fifty-two miles; and Kooringa, the locality of the far-famed Burra-Burra mines, 102 miles distant. Gawler Town has now a mayor and corporation, and is connected with the metropolis by a railway, which was opened for traffic throughout on the 5th October, 1857. Surveys have been taken, and estimates prepared with a view to extend the Gawler railway to Kapunda, and a Bill to authorise the scheme passed the Assembly, but was rejected by the Council during the past year. Another Bill has been introduced with better success, which authorises the construction of a portion of the line, without borrowing more than £80,000—£50,000 being supplied out of the general revenue. It was originally contemplated that from Kapunda the railway should diverge into two lines—one to Blanche Town, on the Murray, the other to the Burra Burra Mines. It is, however, uncertain whether this project will be carried out, or whether tramways for horse traction may not be adopted in preference; but tramways for horse traction have been condemned by a select committee of the House of Assembly. The traffic from the northern districts is very great, both in wool and corn as well as in minerals.

The eastern, north-eastern, and south-eastern districts of the colony include a large extent of highly productive agricultural country. Mount Barker, Gumeracha, Strathalbyn, and Macclesfield are the centres of farming operations. In a southern direction, Morphett Vale, Willunga, Noarlunga, and Yankalilla, are also eminently productive. The chief ports, besides Port Adelaide, are Port Lincoln, Port Augusta, Port Wakefield, Port Onkaparinga, Port Willunga, Port Elliot, Rivoli Bay, and Guichen Bay. Between Port Elliot and the Goolwa, or lower portion of the Murray, an excellent tramway, seven miles in length, worked by horses, is in successful operation. Along the southern coast-line are several jetties and wharves, but the principal jetty (as to length and cost, though not in importance) in the colony will be the new structure now being erected at Glenelg, stretching out into Holdfast Bay, and on account of which the sum of £29,000 has been voted by the legislature.

On tracing the course of the Murray upwards from the sea mouth to the Great North-West Bend, the settled districts will be easily found, by drawing a line north-west from the Bend to the head of Spencer's Gulf. Within the limits bounded by the Gulf, the Murray, and the line drawn, the most important mercantile and agricultural districts will be found. To the north and north-west of the above line the country is either unexplored or occupied by squatters. To the east and south of the Murray extending to the Victorian coast-line is a large extent of valuable country, chiefly occupied by sheep-farmers and stockholders, geographically and commercially more in connection with the Portland Bay District of Victoria than with other portions of South Australia.

The principal port of the colony is Port Adelaide, sometimes confounded by strangers with Adelaide, the capital. The port and metropolis are, however, above seven miles apart, but are connected by the City and Port Railway. Port Adelaide is a creek perfectly sheltered from the sea, and is accessible to vessels of fifteen or sixteen feet draught of water. The Port Town was designed by Colonel Gawler, the second governor and land commissioner, on the shores of the central portion of the harbour, and adjacent waters of the North Arm, covering an area, exclusive of public quays, government, and public reserves, streets, squares, &c., &c., of 1124 acres; but the only part as yet occupied and built upon is that which fell to the share of the South Australian Company, and at the back of their property towards the "Old Port," a first landing-place used in the early days of the colony. The depth of the harbour at this port being insufficient for large vessels, measures are in progress for deepening it. At the North Arm the depth at low water spring tides is from eighteen to twenty-one feet; and we are informed that a company has recently been formed in London

for the erection of wharves and warehouses at this port, to which a road has recently been made by the government. A steam dredge is also at work upon the bar, and when this work is completed vessels of any tonnage will be able to enter in safety, and to load and unload in perfectly still water, remaining afloat at all times of tide. Wharves, warehouses, a patent slip, and every convenience for shippers exist at the port, which is being continually improved under direction of a trust appointed by the Legislature, and invested with ample funds for the purpose. Lines of rail are laid down from the principal wharves to the terminus of the City and Port Railway. The local affairs of the port are managed by a mayor and corporation.

The prosperity of the colony of New South Wales is mainly due to its capabilities as a wheat-growing country. Hence it is that it has been able to hold its own, notwithstanding the allurements of gold-digging in the colonies immediately adjoining; and it has been characteristically stated that there can be little doubt that the flour of Adelaide secures for that colony a larger share of Victorian gold-dust than any other single natural production.

The progress of horticulture has also been rapid in the same colony. Importations from England and elsewhere have been numerous and costly.

The government system of education now in operation was commenced in 1852, in pursuance of an Act of the Legislature passed during the previous year. It comprises a Central Board of Education, having seven members and a secretary, in connection with which are two inspectors of schools. There were sixty-nine schools in 1852, with 3,283 pupils at a cost of £3,689. 15*s.* 10*d.*, and 167 in 1857, with 7,480 pupils at a cost of £10,538. 18*s.*, an increase of more than double in five years, with a still greater ratio of augmented expenditure. The pupils in the schools in the province, not in connection with the Education Board, are estimated at about two-fifths of the aggregate number under instruction, which gave an approximate total amount of about 12,500 at school at the last estimate made. There is also a collegiate school of St. Peter, and there are several other establishments where the classics and mathematics and some of the modern languages are taught.

Almost all denominations of Christians have their places of worship and their congregations in South Australia. The Wesleyans predominated in 1857, but the comparative number of churches and number of congregations seems to vary much at different epochs. Thus in the tabulated view given in the Handbook, we find that in 1856 the Congregationalists had twenty-nine places of worship, and in 1857 only three! The Church of England stands next, then the Lutheran, and then the Roman Catholic. The total number of places of worship in 1857, was 293. If we are to believe the same authority—and it is surely pleasant to do so—notwithstanding the number of religious denominations that exist in South Australia, each of which is actively engaged in diffusing its own views of doctrine and discipline, yet nowhere does there exist greater unanimity of feeling or more cordial co-operation in all that concerns the common weal and the best and highest interests of society. Nowhere, it is also said, has the value of the voluntary system in religion been more thoroughly tested, or its efficiency in the promotion of "peace and good-will" among rival sects been more completely demonstrated.

No better test of the progress of a country can be found than that supplied by the character of its public works, their magnitude, and the energy with which they are carried forward. In this respect the year 1857 was signally distinguished. The year opened with the extension of the Northern railway to Salisbury, and the omen thus exhibited on New Year's Day has been amply verified since. On the 1st of June a further portion of the line was opened for traffic as far as Smithfield; and on the 5th of October the whole line to Gawler, about twenty-five miles from Adelaide, was completed. The telegraph had anticipated the railway, and has been in use between the metropolis and Gawler since the 13th of April, 1857. During the year rapid progress has been made in the construction of the intercolonial line of telegraph, to connect Adelaide with Melbourne, Sydney, and Hobart Town. The first wire of that line was affixed by His Excellency Sir R. G. MacDonnell to the post in the centre of Adelaide, on the 9th of August, 1857; and on the 6th of November following, sixty miles of the line was opened for use. The present southern terminus of the line is Goolwa, near to the mouth of the Murray; but the contracts for the construction of the remainder of the line have been carried out with so much vigour that it is nearly completed. While the extension of telegraphic communication has thus been in course of accomplishment in a southerly direction, the extension of railways to the north has been a subject of constant consideration.

The conviction which is gaining ground, that the great lines of internal communication must be railroads, and not macadamised roads, has tended in some degree to restrict the operations of the Main Road Board. But several important works are in progress under the superintendence of that body; and during 1858 three substantial and elegant bridges were completed and brought into use. They are the MacDonnell Bridge, which spans the Torrens, on the north-eastern road, about six miles from Adelaide; the Stanley Bridge, which is thrown over the Onkaparinga, at Grünthal, on a branch of the south eastern road; and the bridge over the Angas, at Strathalbyn. Other bridges are in course of construction in various parts of the colony, and will soon be opened, very much to the facilitation of communication between the settled portions of the country. The most pleasing feature in connection with these structures is, that they are built with an evident intention that they shall be permanent ornaments to the localities in which they stand. Profiting by the experience of the past, the engineers have provided against the contingencies which have proved fatal to so many Australian bridges, and in deference to the tastes of the present day pains have been taken to secure elegance and grace, as well as firmness and stability.

On the coast there are several important works in progress. Among these we may name the deepening of the harbour at Port Adelaide, and the approaches to it; the erection of light-houses at Cape Borda, on Kangaroo Island, and at Cape Northumberland; and the construction of a jetty at Glenelg. All these works are in progress, and will be completed at an early date.

One of the most important public works now in progress is the scheme for supplying the city of Adelaide with water, for which £200,000 has been voted by the Legislature.

The other different public institutions comprise the House of Assembly, asylums, jails, and courts. There are nearly two hundred justices of the peace, besides twenty-four local courts at as many distinct townships. There is telegraphic communication with Geelong and Melbourne. There are also ten lines of railway—the city and port line seven and a-half miles in length, and the north line to Gawler twenty-five miles in length. There are hospitals, chambers of commerce, destitute boards, district councils, institutes, agricultural and horticultural societies, corporation land societies, four newspapers, one of which is in German, and the usual banks or branches of such, and insurance companies. It is impossible not to see that there are in South Australia the elements of what will be in future a rich and powerful State, with perhaps more stable elements of prosperity than many whose progress has been more rapid and brilliant; and if, as ought to have been the case, the province had comprised the whole basin of the Murray, its future might have been greater than that of any other Australian colony. Every year enlarges the area of land under cultivation, the wool exports are increasing in a most cheering manner, and the mineral resources show no signs of abatement. The passing of the new constitution, by conferring upon the Parliament the entire control of the land fund, enables it at the same time to regulate the influx of immigration according to the state of the labour market, and places it in possession of ample means either for increasing the population or for supplying reproductive labour to the settlers already there.

MONUMENT TO LA PEROUSE.

The experience of the past encourages the hope that a long career of expanding prosperity is before them. The commercial vicissitudes that have afflicted the neighbouring communities have scarcely affected that. The discovery of large tracts of good land, moderately well watered, in parts of the interior, which had too hastily been assumed to be arid and sterile, has opened the prospect of an indefinite extension to their pastoral occupations. The agriculturists have, as a body, been enabled to secure that position of competence which results from the unencumbered possession of their farms and homesteads. Attention is now keenly directed to the means available for turning to profitable account those fruits of the earth with which the British farmer is unfamiliar; and the operations of drying fruit, and especially of making wine, are being vigorously commenced in various parts of the colony. Some of these wines were sent to the Paris Exhibition, and were declared by the judges superior to any sample shown of Rhenish wine, and a demand for them has already arisen in the English market; but the wines on which the greatest hopes are founded have more the character of the Spanish than the French or German. These are already being produced to a considerable extent, and are displacing second-class foreign wines. Mining, once the sheet anchor of the colony, has now many rivals in the work of contributing to the general prosperity; but the mining interests were never in a more sound and flourishing condition than at the present moment, and await only a more adequate supply of labour to develop wealth, as some sanguine colonists believe, not yet paralleled.

X.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

Western Australia—Swan River Settlement—King George's Sound and Albany—Made a Penal Settlement in 1850—Townships—Population—Victoria or Port Gregory District—Mines—Public Institutions.

The colony of Western Australia, of the foundation and natural resources of which we have already given some account, now comprises the whole of the western portion of Australia, from the 129th degree of east longitude to the Indian Ocean, and it extends between the parallels of 13° 44′ and 35° south latitude. The Swan River settlement embraces, however, only the south-western corner, or that portion which is to the southward of the 30th parallel, and westward of the 120th meridian. The extent of the territory is 1,280 miles long, from north to south; and 800 miles broad, from east to west. Three distinct parallel ranges of mountains form the most distinguishing features, the highest and most easterly having its termination near King George's Sound; the second passing behind the Swan River, and extending to Cape Lewin. Several rivers rise on these dividing ranges, on the banks of which settlements have been formed. The town of Freemantle is at the entrance to Swan River, the seat of Government being at Perth, about nine miles inland, to the north. Guildford is about seven miles, and York about fifty miles, further east. King George's Sound, with the town of Albany, is attached to this colony.

The foundation of the colony and its early history have been already recorded, and its further history, up to the year 1850, contains little of interest, for it is but the account of a settlement struggling for bare existence, as up to that period it presented the aspect of a colony without sufficient capital to render avail-

able its natural resources, and with a scanty population.

The position of Western Australia was indeed up to the year 1850, an anomaly in the history of colonisation, as never had a colony been so impoverished and yet lingered on; and the editor of the *Handbook of Australia*, traces the origin of this state of things as we have before done, to the want of a market and the high rate and the small amount of available labour. Immigration had ceased, and the only capital introduced was a small amount of imperial expenditure, and the equally small returns for exports. Under such an unpromising aspect the colonists naturally looked for some means to enable them to throw off the burthen of their long-endured adversity, and but one presented itself, and that was to request the Home Government to make the colony a penal settlement. In 1850 the request was granted, and since then the colony has progressed year by year, exports have greatly increased, the settlers have a market for their stock and produce, public works are progressing, and although all this arises from the introduction of convicts, the statistics of crime show an immunity from transgression against peace and propriety that never could have been anticipated.

The principal townships in this colony are Freemantle, Perth, Guildford, Albany, Augusta, Kelmscott, York, Peel Town, Busselton, Kingstown, &c.; the best districts for settlement being the Avon, the Hotham, the Williams, Arthur, Beaufort, and South-East rivers, with part of the country adjacent to the Swan, the Harvey, Brunswick, Preston, Capel, and Yasc.

The population of the colony is 9,028 males, and 4,573 females; there are 7,214 horses, 26,297 cattle, 198,386 sheep, 8,651 pigs, and 1,532 goats. 18,000 acres of land were cultivated in 1857. The colony possesses large tracts of land suited for agriculture, and if, as is expected, land be reduced to 5*s.* an acre, grain to a considerable amount will be produced.

The district of Victoria or of Port Gregory, situated between Murchison and the Irwin, was first discovered by Captain Grey (now Sir George), but was not settled until after the discovery of the Geraldine Mine by the Messrs. Gregory. The whole of this district contains minerals which are now being exported. Coal has also been discovered in one locality, and there is every indication of its existence in several others. The number of mines actually known to possess ores are twelve; of these four are lead and eight copper; several of these, as yet, have not been worked. Generally they have a most promising appearance, good ore being on the surface; besides these the whole of the district contains a vast number of lodes, some of which are easily traced for five or six miles, and it is the confident opinion of numbers well versed in mining, that it will one day prove to be one of the richest mineral districts in the world.

In addition to the minerals and the grazing of sheep and cattle, this district contains large flats of most superior agricultural land. At present much of it is shut up in the squatting leases, yet sufficient is open for the present wants of the district. On the Lower Greenough one flat contains 10,000 acres of very rich land, giving with very slight cultivation thirty bushels to the acre, it is situated about seven miles from Champion Bay, and is sold in blocks from thirty to 100 acres at £1 per acre, or leased at £10 per 100 acres, with right of pre-emption. This flat has the great advantage for new beginners of being nearly free from timber, and is open for sale. A considerable quantity has this season been taken up for tillage.

Western Australia possesses one of the finest climates in the world, and has been found particularly beneficial to Indian invalids.

The ports of Western Australia are open for ships of all nations, with moderate harbour and pilotage dues; imported articles are subject to custom duties. The imports from 1st October, 1856, to 30th September, 1857, were £108,703. 14s. 11d. Duty free, £16,734. 0s. 7d. The exports £44,193. 18s. King George's Sound is not included in this return. The receipts and expenditure of Government were as follows: receipts £89,079. 19s. 3d.; expenditure, £90,190. 12s. 10d. The number of births and deaths during the same period were: births, 507; deaths, 153.

There is in Western Australia a Bishop of Perth, a Wesleyan church, a Congregational church, and a Roman Catholic church, and three convents. There are also a Western Australia bank, established 23rd June, 1831, with a capital of £20,000; the Wanerenorka Mining Company and White Peak, Geraldine, and Yanganooka Mining Companies. A York Agricultural Society, an Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and a Perth Horticultural Society. A Swan River Mechanics' Institute, and various Friendly Societies. Upwards of eighty vessels entered inwards and outwards at the Port of Freemantle, from 1st October, 1856, to 30th of September, 1857. Eighteen vessels belonged, at last report, to the Port. Twenty convict vessels arrived with 4,476 prisoners between 1st June, 1850, and 30th of September, 1857.

XI.—AUSTRALIA IN 1869.—TASMANIA.—NEW ZEALAND.

AUSTRALIA is now divided into six Colonies; namely, 1. NEW SOUTH WALES, in the south-east; 2. VICTORIA, south of New South Wales; 3. SOUTH AUSTRALIA, north-west of Victoria; 4. WESTERN AUSTRALIA, in the south-west; 5. NORTH AUSTRALIA, north of South Australia; 6. QUEENSLAND, lately Moreton Bay Settlement, north of New South Wales.

1. NEW SOUTH WALES, the parent colony, was founded in 1788 by the British Government, who in that year established a convict settlement at Sydney Cove, near Botany Bay. A very large number of free immigrants were, however, soon attracted to the colony; and after a vigorous opposition by the free settlers to the increase of the convict element, carried on for a number of years, transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840. The climate is fine, the average temperature of summer being 73°, and of winter 54°, but occasionally the vegetation is scorched by the hot winds, which blow from the deserts in the interior of the country. The land is only of moderate fertility, and is much better adapted for pasturage than agriculture. The first practical discovery of gold in Australia was made in 1851, by a New South Wales colonist, in the Bathurst

district, north-west from Sydney. A considerable portion of the country is now under cultivation, and the herds of horned cattle and flocks of sheep are very large. The chief export is wool. The export of gold has been for some time on the decline; but very recently extensive discoveries of gold, diamonds, sapphires, and other gems have been made near Mudgee, and it is said that the miners have been in the habit of throwing away small dust diamonds, though worth about £600 an ounce. One hundred and fifteen rough diamonds of various sizes, weighing together 32½ carats, were obtained in three weeks from a small piece of ground. A diamond mine company has been established, and the demand for shares is said to be greatly beyond the number to be allotted.—Sydney, the capital, is situated on a cove of the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson, and now contains a population of upwards of 95,000. The city is well paved, is lighted with gas, and is supplied with water carried from a distance by a tunnelled aqueduct. There are many fine buildings—the banks particularly being very handsome edifices. Sydney has a university, inaugurated in 1852, and possesses besides many excellent schools.—Bathurst is the chief town in the gold regions of the colony, about 200 miles north-west of Sydney. It is the centre also of the richest pastures. The other towns of importance in New South Wales are—Maitland, Newcastle, Albury, Tamworth, Mudgee, Deniliquin, Windsor, Adelong, Gundagal, Orange, Goulburn, Penrith, Richmond, Camden, Grafton, Glen Innes, Burrowa, Sofala, Dubbo, Wooloomooloo.

2. Victoria.—The permanent settlement of this colony was begun in 1835, and the district became a separate colony in 1851, under a lieutenant-governor. A constitution, establishing responsible self-government, was granted in 1855. The gold fields were discovered in 1849, and since that period the growth of the colony has been unprecedentedly rapid. The population of the entire colony was, in 1854, 273,000, and in 1864, the number had increased to 600,000 persons. The colony is now the most important of the Australian possessions. It is divided into seventeen counties, and contains a vast tract of splendid grazing ground, and good agricultural country particularly suited to the growth of wheat and potatoes, and in many parts to the tobacco plant and grape vine, both of which are now receiving much attention. There is good alluvial mining in the north, and mining, both alluvial and quartz, is largely carried on in the south of the Murray district. The Murray river forms the north boundary line, and is navigable for several hundred miles during the winter. The interior of the country is extremely diversified, much of it being covered by dense forests and scrub. Rich copper ore is found in various places; silver is found in considerable quantities; tin occurs in many places; antimony is another mineral product of the colony; and the area of coal-bearing rocks is about 3000 square miles. Diamonds have also been found in various localities. Gold is, however, the great mineral wealth of Victoria, and is said to have been discovered in 1849, although its existence was known a considerable time before by shepherds and others, who had found the precious metal in small quantities. Since 1849, gold mining has been carried on on a very extensive scale. The total weight of gold exported in 1864 amounted to 1,545,449 ounces. The gross weight of gold exported between 1849 and 1865 was 1024 tons, 8 cwts., having a value of £133,861,708. The population engaged in gold mining in 1864 amounted to 84,000 persons; but of late years a marked change has come over the gold mining operations, and many of the miners are now settling down to other pursuits. After gold mining, comes the pastoral and agricultural pursuits, as a source of wealth to the colony. The pastoral land in occupation is about 32,000,000 acres. The climate of Victoria is very fine, the average temperature in summer being 65°, and in winter 48°. The average fall of rain is 30 inches, and there are occasional falls of snow. There are many good roads in all parts of the colony, and lines of telegraph extend from Melbourne to various quarters. Lines of railway extend from Melbourne in various directions, the total length of the lines being about 300 miles. The commerce of the colony is very extensive, her ports being crowded with shipping from nearly every part of the world. In 1864, the imports amounted to £14,409,828, and the exports to £13,850,895;—the value of the wool exported in that year being £2,049,000; of tallow, £33,871; and hides and skins, £106,264. The revenue of the year was £2,049,786, and the expenditure £1,997,314. The ships engaged in the Victoria import and export trade were in 1864:—Inwards, 1816 ships, with an aggregate of 620,200 tons; outwards, 1895 ships, of an aggregate of 641,510 tons. The manufactures and industries of Victoria are rapidly increasing in magnitude, and many of them are coming into competition with imported goods. The Government of Victoria consists of a governor and commander-in-chief, an Executive Council, and two Houses of Legislature—the Upper House or Legislative Council, and the Lower House or Legislative Assembly. The Legislative Council consists of thirty members, representing the six provinces into which the colony is divided; and the Legislative Assembly consists of seventy-eight members, representing forty-nine electoral districts. There are fifty-eight corporate towns and municipal boroughs in the colony. The number of inhabitants was, at last census, 419,656 persons above five years of age, exclusive of Chinese, aborigines, and the migratory population.—Melbourne, the capital of Victoria, is about 600 miles from Sydney. It is situated on the Yarra-Yarra, near Port-Philip. The streets are spacious, and there are many fine buildings. The Parliament House is a magnificent edifice. The streets are well paved, well drained, and are lighted with gas. Melbourne is supplied with fine pure water from the Yarra-Yarra Waterworks. The suburbs of Melbourne—Brighton, Hawthorne, Richmond, St. Kilda, Emerald Hill, South Yarra, and Flemington—are studded with beautiful villa residences. The climate is very fine—the mean temperature of January (midsummer) being 66°, the highest 101°, and the lowest in winter 48°; and there is a great proportion of fine dry, sunny weather. In commerce, Melbourne ranks as the first port of the British Colonies. Besides gold, the exports are wool, tallow, hides—gold being about five-sixths of the whole exports. Melbourne possesses many manufactories and several shipbuilding establishments, breweries, distilleries, chemical works, and various kinds of mills. The hotels are numerous and well conducted. The University is a large stone building, and it has a large library and a valuable museum for the use of the students. The Public Library, situated

in the centre of the city, contains upwards of 40,000 volumes; it is much frequented. There are also several large markets; an hospital, which is excellently conducted; a benevolent asylum for the aged and infirm poor; a lunatic asylum, which is superintended by Dr. A. S. Paterson, a gentleman of great ability; and a deaf and dumb institute. There are also many other public institutions, such as the Botanical Gardens, the Acclimatisation Society, Public Baths, a Bible Society, several Building Societies, Immigrants' Aid Society, Tract Society, Mutual Improvement Societies, Sailors' Home, and a Trade Protection Society. There are three daily newspapers published in Melbourne—the *Argus*, the *Age*, and the *Herald*. The weekly newspapers are the *Australasian*, the *Weekly Age*, the *Leader*, *Bell's Life*, *Punch*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Customs' Weekly Bill of Entry*, *Clough's Circular*, the *Deutsche Zeitung*, and the *Economist*. There are also two fortnightly and eleven monthly periodicals. The population of Melbourne, inclusive of the suburban municipalities, is now nearly 135,000. Altogether, Melbourne is one of the most flourishing cities of the British colonial possessions, and is every year making rapid strides forward both in material and social prosperity. The return showing the export of gold bullion and specie reported at the Custom House states an export of gold from Australia in one month in 1869 amounting to no less than £1,201,626. In July, 1869, skilled labour and domestic servants were in great demand in Melbourne. The following were the rates of wages:—Stonemasons and bricklayers, 10s. per day; carpenters, 9s. do.; builders' labourers, 7s. do.; gardeners for town, 20s. to 25s. per week; for country, 20s. do.; shepherds, £30 to £35 per annum; hut keepers, £26 to £30 do.; bullock drivers, 15s. to 20s. per week; dairymen, 12s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. do.; ploughmen, 15s. to 20s. do.; stock-riders, 15s. to 20s. do.; boundary riders, 12s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. do.; grooms for town, 15s. to 25s. do.; ditto for country, 15s. to 20s. do.; lads for country, 5s. to 10s. per week; labourers, 12s. 6d. to 15s. do.; ordinary farm servants, 12s. 6d. to 15s. per week; station hands, £40 to £52 per annum; married couples (first-class), for station, £80 per annum; do. (second-class), £55 to £60 do.; do. with encumbrance, £40 to £50 do.; housemaids for country, £35 to £40 do.; do. for town £28 to £30 do.; general female servants for town, £26 to £30 do.; do. for country, £35 to £40 do.; male cooks for town, £1 to £4 per week; do. for country, £1 to £4 do.; female cooks, £35 to £45 per annum; laundresses for town, £30 to £40 do. The other towns of importance in Victoria are—Geelong, Castlemaine, Ballarat, Sandhurst, Mansfield, Kyneton, Beechworth, Ararat, Maldon, Wangaratta, Chiltern, Inglewood, Creswick, Linton, Echuca.

3. South Australia. — The settlement of this colony was begun in 1836, and convicts were excluded. The population in 1854 had increased to 92,000, and in 1869 to 180,000. The best part of the colony is situated between the Gulf of St. Vincent and the River Murray. The middle of this tract is a hilly district abounding in iron and copper ore. The famous Burra-Burra Copper Mine, the richest in the world, in the neighbourhood of Kooringa, contains 74 per cent. of copper, and yields about 21,000 tons annually. This metal seems everywhere abundant throughout the colony, and gold is also found in some quarters. There are many rich agricultural districts, some parts of which are under cultivation and yield excellent crops, and English and tropical fruits flourish side by side. The western portion of the colony, however, is a complete desert. The climate of South Australia is one of the finest in the world. The temperature ranges from 45° to 104°, and the mean fall of rain is 23 inches. The capital, Adelaide, is situated on the River Torrens, and, including the suburbs, contains now a population of nearly 40,000. There are many handsome buildings, and the streets are well paved and lighted with gas. There are four daily newspapers published in the colony, nineteen weekly newspapers, fifteen monthly periodicals, and three annual directories and almanacs.

4. Western Australia or Swan River Settlement.—This settlement was begun in 1829, but has advanced very slowly. The colony, strictly speaking, is as yet confined to the south-west. There is a large amount of arable land, and the country is well watered by numerous rivers. The climate is salubrious, and the country is not subject to the droughts of the other Australian colonies. The temperature in winter averages 59°, and in summer 77°. The capital, Perth, stands on an estuary of the Swan River. Australia possesses other treasures besides gold and diamonds. A number of fine pearls have recently been found in the vicinity of Nicol Bay, Western Australia. They are of great size and beauty, the most valuable among them resembling in shape and dimensions the eyeball of a large fish. This is said to be worth upwards of £200.

5. North Australia.—This colony has hitherto made very little progress. Two settlements were formed in North Australia between 1824 and 1828, and subsequently abandoned on account of the unhealthiness of the climate. Another settlement was erected in 1839, but was abandoned in 1845, after great hardships had been endured by the colonists. North Australia is still in a state of nature, but seems fitted for the produce of cotton, rice, sugar, and spices.

6. Queensland.—This is the most recently erected of the Australian Colonies. It was formerly incorporated with New South Wales, but was separated from that colony on the 10th December, 1859, when Moreton Bay, with all to the north of Port Danger, was proclaimed as the new colony of Queensland. The colony is now divided into fourteen large districts, namely, Moreton, Darling Downs, East Maranoa, West Maranoa, Leichhardt, Port Curtis, Warrego, Gregory, Mitchell, Clermont, Kennedy, Burnett, Burke, and Cook. The capital of Queensland—Brisbane—is situated on the Brisbane river. The other towns of importance are Ipswich, Bowen, Torwoomba, Rockhampton, Warwick, Townsville, and Roma. Queensland is a very fine pastoral country. In many parts it is well watered, and the soil is very productive, and well adapted for the growth of cotton, sugar, and fruits of various kinds. The climate is most salubrious

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Tasmania. — The British Colony of Tasmania (formerly Van Diemen's Land), is an island lying off the southern extremity of Australia, from which it is separated by Bass Strait. Its length is about 220 miles, and its breadth 200 miles, with an area of 26,500 square miles. The population of the island is nearly 100,000. The surface is mountainous—the highest summit, Ben Lomond, being 5,010 feet. On

traversing the island, it is found to present a constant alternation of hill and dale. There are many fine plains and fertile valleys. The soil is superior to that of New South Wales, is well watered, and fitted both for pasture and tillage. The island is peculiarly fortunate in the number and capacity of its harbours. The climate is pleasant and salubrious, and is well adapted to the constitutions of the natives of Great Britain. All the vegetables and fruits cultivated in England and Scotland are raised without difficulty. The capital of the colony is Hobart Town, situated on the River Derwent, in the south-east of the island. It is a well-built town, and has a handsome market-place, governor's house, a college, several churches and schools, an hospital, distilleries, mills, building-yards, &c. Its public buildings are numerous, and would be considered handsome even in England. The town has a very business-like appearance, with its shipping, wharfs, and stores. The river is navigable for very large vessels, and the foreign trade is extensive. The population is above 25,000.—Launceston, the next town of importance, is situated on the River Tamar, which empties itself into Bass Strait about forty miles below the town.—Georgetown is a thriving town situated at the mouth of the River Tamar.—The island of Tasmania was discovered in the year 1642, by Tasman, a celebrated Dutch navigator; and was called by him Van Diemen's Land, in honour of Anthony Van Diemen, who at that time was governor of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies. In 1803 it was taken possession of by Great Britain; and a penal settlement was established here by the British Government in 1804. The colony was, however, soon increased by many free settlers. Tasmania ceased to be a penal settlement in 1852. The chief products of the island are wool, guano, and timber. The whale fishery is also carried on with considerable success. The internal policy of the island is now conducted by a Governor-in-Chief, a Legislative Council of fifteen members, and a House of Assembly of thirty members. —There are three daily newspapers published in Hobart Town, namely, the *Mercury*, *Times*, and *Evening Mail*.

New Zealand.—The British Colonial possession of New Zealand consists of two large islands, North Island and South Island, and one much smaller, Stewart Island, and several islets. They are situated in the South Pacific Ocean, about 1,200 miles south-east of Australia. The extreme length of New Zealand is 1,100 miles, the average breadth about 100 miles, and the area is estimated at nearly 120,000 square miles. The population is about 178,000, of whom about one-half are British settlers, and the remainder are Maories or aborigines. New Zealand is divided into nine provinces, namely—in *North Island*, Auckland, Hawke Bay, Wellington, and Taranaki; and in *South Island*, Marlborough, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, and Southland.—Auckland, the capital of the colony of New Zealand, is situated in the North Island, on the east side of a narrow isthmus; and having thus ready communication with the seas to east and west, is admirably situated for trade. It stands on two harbours, Waitemata and Manakau. It is a thriving town; and the commercial activity of the people, and the constant arrival and departure of shipping, impart to the town an air of great animation.—The other chief towns in the North Island are Napier, on Hawke Bay; Wellington, on Port Nicholson; and New Plymouth, on the west coast. The towns of chief importance in the South Island are Blenheim, in the north-east; Nelson, in the north, on Blind Bay; Christ Church, on Pegasus Bay; Dunedin, on Otago Harbour; and Invercargill, in the south, on Foveaux Strait.—New Zealand is a fine country. The soil is in general fertile, and the climate very salubrious and agreeable, being milder and more equable than that of Great Britain. Both of the large islands are traversed by a lofty range of mountains—the highest summit, Mount Cook, in South Island, being 13,200 feet. The principal native products of New Zealand are its noble pines, lofty palm trees, the *ti* or cabbage tree, sweet potato, and flax. European grains and fruits yield good returns.—The natives are a brave, intelligent, and superior race, but are also very ferocious and vindictive. They have made some progress in rude arts, and display considerable ingenuity as mechanics.—The daily newspapers published in New Zealand are—in Auckland, the *Herald* and *Southern Cross*; in Christ Church, the *Times*; in Lyttleton, the *Times*; in Canterbury, the *Times*; in Nelson, the *Evening Mail*; in Otago (Dunedin), the *Times* and the *Echo*; and in Hokitika, the *West Coast Times*.

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