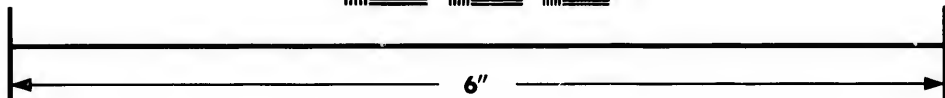
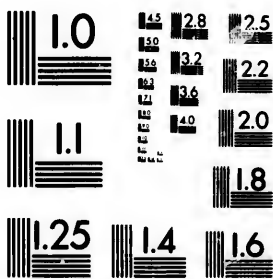


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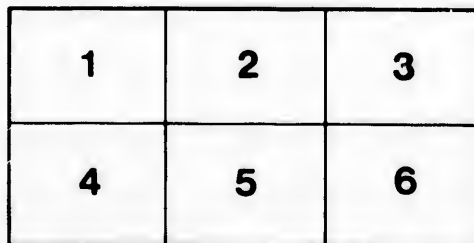
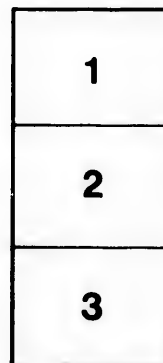
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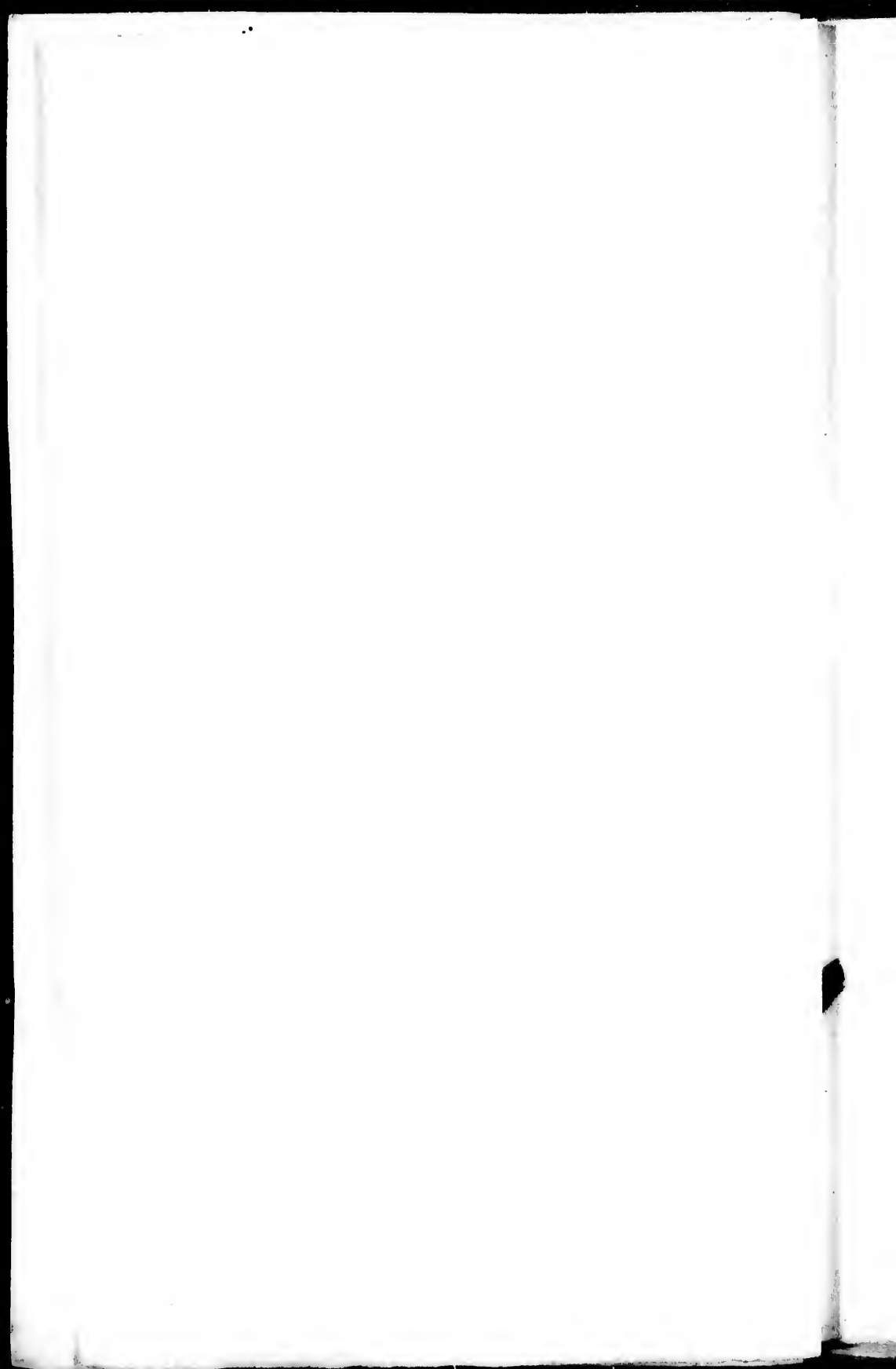
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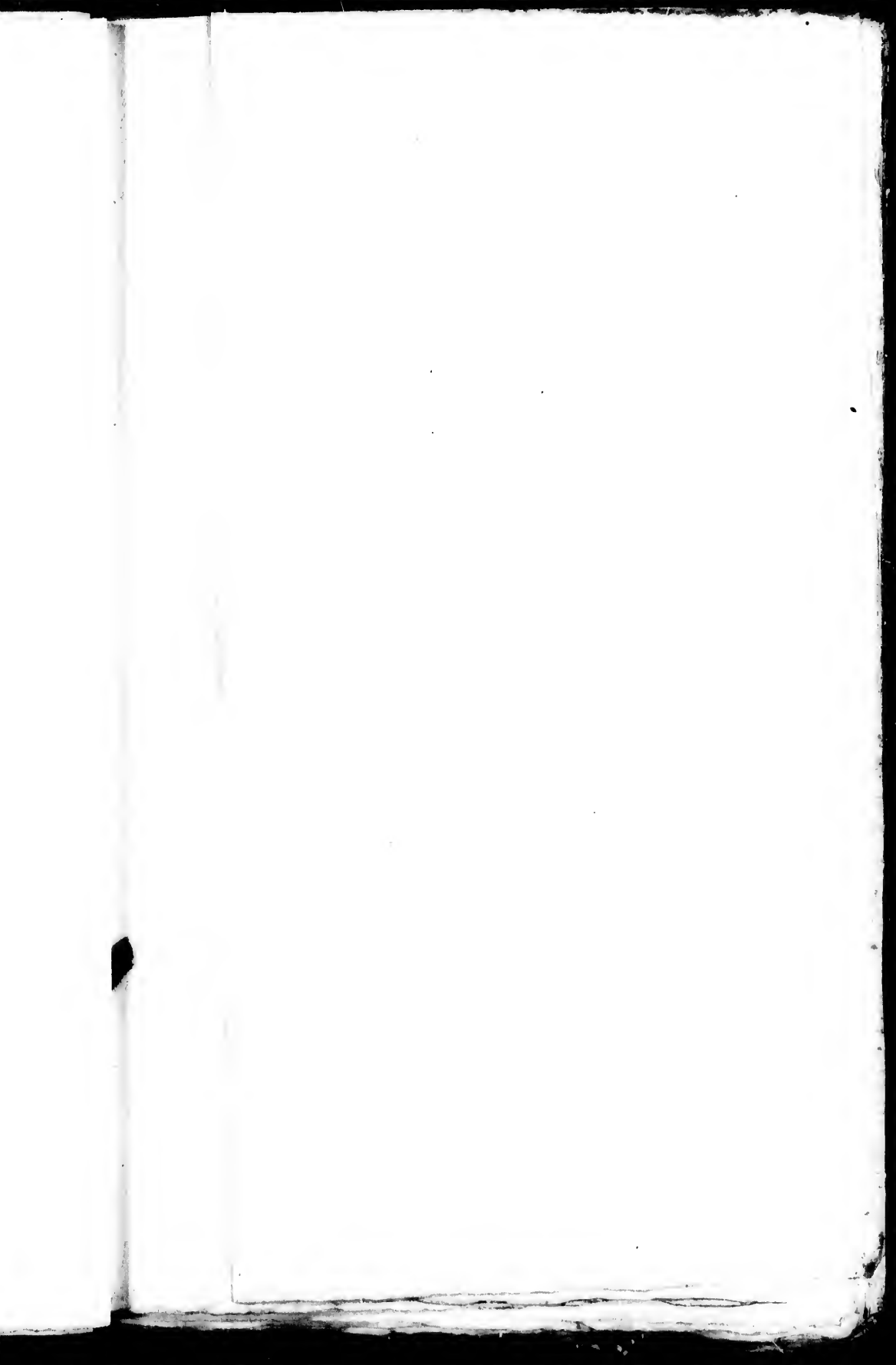
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
STATISTICS AND EXISTING COMMERCE
OF THE SHORES OF THE
PACIFIC OCEAN,
&c. &c. &c.







Kirkwood Sculp.

A
SUMMARY VIEW
OF THE
STATISTICS AND EXISTING COMMERCE
OF THE PRINCIPAL SHORES OF
THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

WITH A
SKETCH OF THE ADVANTAGES, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,
WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
A CENTRAL FREE PORT WITHIN ITS LIMITS;
AND ALSO
OF ONE IN THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC, VIZ. WITHIN THE TERRITORY
OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, CONFERRING ON THIS LATTER, IN
PARTICULAR, THE SAME PRIVILEGE OF DIRECT TRADE WITH
INDIA AND THE NORTHERN ATLANTIC, BESTOWED
LATELY ON MALTA AND GIBRALTAR.

BY *Alexander*
CAPTAIN M. KONOCHIE,

ROYAL NAVY.

LONDON;

PRINTED FOR JAMES M. RICHARDSON, 23, CORNHILL: AND
WILLIAM BLACKWOOD, PRINCE'S STREET, EDINBURGH.

1818.

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CHAPTER I.

SUMMARY OF THE STATISTICS, MEANS OF FOREIGN COMMUNICATION, AND EXISTING COMMERCE, OF THE PRINCIPAL SHORES OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

INDIAN SETTLEMENTS.

THE southern extremity of South America is yet, for the most part, in the occupation of the native Indian tribes, the aboriginal inhabitants of the whole country; the continued line of Spanish colonial dominion terminating on the west shore, at the river Bio-bio, joining the Pacific in lat. 37° south. From this point, then, the whole extent, quite to the Straits of Magellan, comprising a line of sea coast exceeding 1400 miles in length, is, with the exception of one or two isolated Spanish settlements, which will be noticed in another place, included under the general head which I here prefix, of Indian Settlements. Their importance, in a com-

mercial point of view, is not as yet great ; but a summary of the statistics, and means of commerce of the Pacific shores, would be incomplete, without a short notice of the leading features, of their soil, climate, population, and means of internal and external communication—the extent to which these last are as yet improved furnishing also matter for a very few remarks.

Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions.—The soil and climate of so extensive a tract of country must necessarily be much diversified ; nor can I here notice more than the principal features characterizing the two extremes. The southern districts are comparatively low ; the line of Andes, which traverses the whole continent from north to south, gaining its greatest elevation nearly under the equator, and melting down gradually towards the sea in the high southern latitudes. There, too, the climate is cold and humid ; the soil sandy, intermixed with extensive tracts of morass ; and the vegetable productions few and unimportant, corresponding to a soil and climate thus characterized. The only valuable article is the forest timber, which, on the shores adjoining the Gulf of Chiloe in particular, attains a vigour of growth and quality, holding out very considerable in-

duancements to commercial speculation, were the Pacific Ocean to become the theatre of an active maritime commerce, and a certain market thus provided for naval stores. The northern districts are somewhat more mountainous, although still more generally level than the contiguous provinces of Spanish Chili; and the climate, although still, in winter, tinctured with a portion of the asperity of that of the southern districts, is yet in summer mild and genial, giving vigour and maturity to an infinitely more extended list of vegetable productions. Of these, maize, wheat, and potatoes, are objects of cultivation to the simple natives, whose plains, moreover, abound with nearly every species of wild fruit, while their forests are composed of every variety of valuable timber. These forests are, however, by no means so abundant as in the southern districts; the whole of this northern division, as far as the Valdivia, having been once in the occupation of the Spaniards, and cleared, either while under their sway, or during the sanguinary war which, for nearly 200 years, was maintained against them by the native tribes, united in that celebrated Araucanian confederacy which the successive pens of Ercilla and Molina have made familiar to the students of South American history or manners.

Before quitting this article, it may be proper to observe, that situate on the declivity of the Andes, the Indian, as the Spanish settlements, have ever been exposed to the most dreadful calamities from earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Some most deplorable instances of these are recorded in Molina's Natural and Civil History of Chili, a work to which I would beg leave to refer whatever curious reader may be desirous of more minute information than I can here give respecting these settlements.

Mineral Productions.—These are said to be both rich and abundant, but their research is forbidden, under the most severe penalties, by the natives. This prohibition was occasioned by their resentment against the Spaniards, and was promulgated immediately after their expulsion, with all the formalities of legislative enactment.

Population.—The Indian population of South America is divided into two great nations, the Puelche, or Eastern; and the Moluche, or Western People; so named from their situation relatively to the central chain or Cordillera of Andes, which traverses the whole continent. The Moluches, who alone come within the limits of this compilation, are further divided into Huilliches, or Southern; Pehuanches, or Pine;

and Picunches, or Northern Indians; who, following the same law with the vegetable productions of the country, gradually improve as they draw to the northward, and progressively advance in energy and political importance, from the naked and shivering savage of the Magellanic shores, to the bold and sagacious Araucanian, whose merits are attested by his success against the invaders and plunderers of his native land. Of their total numbers, we have no accurate knowledge; thus far only we have been assured, that they maintained their ground in every way while engaged in one of the most sanguinary wars on record, and that they have even considerably decreased since. Deprived of that strong excitement which the vicissitudes of war had supplied, they have substituted the more pernicious one of strong liquors in its stead, and have degenerated in a proportionate ratio to their means of obtaining this pernicious gratification.

Means of Communication.—While the Spaniards yet occupied Araucania, the cities which they founded, the once flourishing and opulent cities of Imperial, Osorno, Canete, Valdivia, &c. were connected by tolerable roads, for the maintenance and improvement of which, the long protracted civil wars furnished numerous additional

inducements. These are now understood to be gone to decay; but such is the general level nature of the country, and such the gentle flow of the great rivers to the sea, the means of internal communication are still ample. One only road has been made within the last few years by the Spaniards, connecting Valdivia and Fort Maullin on the shores of the Gulf of Chiloe, two of those out settlements, which, it has been already noticed that they possess along the coast. This road is an interesting channel of communication with the southern districts; all access to which by sea is precluded, to the skill and enterprize of Spanish navigators at least, during the winter months.

The means of external communication improve with the inducements to its maintenance in passing from south to north; the extreme southern districts being nearly inaccessible, the Gulf of Chiloe stormy and hazardous only, and the shores of Araucania everywhere easy and safe of approach. Of the six great rivers, too, which join the Pacific within the limits of these Indian settlements, the southernmost, the *Sinfondo*, empties itself into the Gulf of Chiloe; the next, the *Rio-bueno*, joins the Pacific in lat. $41^{\circ} 20'$ south; the *Chaivin* and *Valdivia* in

about 39° 40' south; and the Tolten* and Cauten within the limits of Araucania Proper, as the narrow stripe of land between the Valdivia and Bio-bio is named. All these are navigable, for even the largest class of shipping, some considerable distance into the interior; and, together with the Bio-bio itself, the boundary river, would all become most interesting points of communication with these shores, were the Araucanian prejudice against working their minerals to be dispelled, or were the Pacific Ocean to be so frequented as to afford a certain contiguous market for naval stores.

Commerce.—The commerce of these shores is as yet of the most minute and desultory description; to the southward, consisting chiefly in the sale of their labour in felling timber, for which they are paid in ardent spirits; and even among the northern and most civilized tribes, confined to the simplest form of barter, aided by some conventional values affixed to horse furniture, and some other articles of common demand among them, by which they express their notions of value, and conclude their bargains. Their good faith is the most remarkable characteristic of these transactions, and is even proverbially

* This river communicates with a large and navigable lake, 80 miles in circuit, situated in the interior.

quoted by the Spaniards, to whom their commerce, by terms of the final treaty of peace concluded in 1773, is exclusively confined,

The chief articles of import into Araucania, are horse furniture, cutlery, spirituous liquors, grain, and wine. Those of export, are Ponchos, or Indian clokes, in the manufacture of which they display great ingenuity, and of which they are said to export annually from 40,000 to 50,000, some of which are valued by the Spaniards, among themselves, at 150 dollars each; together with some other trifling manufactures of Ostrich feathers and basket-work. The total amount is exceedingly small, and is entirely conducted by interior communication, the Spaniards being extremely jealous of any endeavour to open their sea-ports. In preventing this, their own good faith co-operates with Spanish precaution, and not even the whalers have ever, I believe, succeeded to any extent. The inducements to the attempt are indeed, as yet, too small; nor can these ever be increased, but by the progressive improvement and activity of the other commercial resources of the whole Pacific Ocean, that sea which, by a singular neglect, seems hitherto to have been regarded rather as a subject of wonder and curiosity, than of consistent enterprize and exertion.

SPANISH SOUTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

THE Spanish South American colonies in the the Pacific, extend, in an unbroken line, from the river Bio-bio, in latitude $36^{\circ} 50'$ south, to the isthmus of Panama, in 9° north latitude. The line of sea-coast, embraced within these limits, exceeds 3000 miles, without considering its lesser sinuosities; besides which, however, several isolated points along the Indian shores, particularly Valdivia and Fort Maullin, already mentioned; together with Isla Grande de Chiloe, the principal island in the Archipelago of that name, which, with its innumerable islets, skirts the whole coast between the latitudes of 44° and 52° south; and the islands of Juan Fernandez, and some others of lesser note, are also subject to Spanish dominion in the Southern Pacific. The average breadth of their continental territory, does not exceed 350 miles, the eastern boundary being traced by the great central chain of Andes; its superficial contents are estimated between 300,000 and 400,000 square leagues.

Political Divisions, Chief Cities, Population, &c.
The whole of this extended territory is divided into three chief governments, Chili, Peru, and

New Grenada; and the following table will be found to specify the limits, chief cities, and population of each. The limits are marked by tables of the latitudes bounding them on the sea-coast.

Governments.	Limits.		Population.	Chief Cities.		Remarks.
	Southern.	Northern.		Names.	Popul.	
Chili.	36° 50' S.	22° 30' S.	800,000	St. Jago. Concep- tion.	42,000 12,000	The capital of Chili, and great emporium of its trade, distant, however, 70 miles from Valparaiso, its sea-port. Most advantageously situate, both for internal and external communication. being both an excellent sea-port, and in the immediate vicinity of the navigable river Bio-bio. It has suffered much, however, by repeated earthquakes.
Peru.	22° 30' S.	3° 30' S.	1,500,000	Lima. Cuzco.	80,000 30,000	The celebrated capital of Peru, and once the emporium of the whole commerce of these southern colonies with Old Spain. It is situate in an extensive and commodious plain, watered by a small river, and is five miles distant from Callao, its sea-port. The once opulent capital of the Incas, now chiefly maintained by its cotton and woollen manufactures. It is situate in the interior, 400 miles from Ylo, the nearest sea-port, and its commercial connections are chiefly, therefore, confined to the upper country.

TABLE—Continued.

Govern- ment.	Limits.		Popula- tion.	Chief Cities.		Remarks.
	Southern.	Northern.		Names.	Popul.	
Peru.	22° 30' S.	3° 30' S.	1,500,000	Potosi.	Uncer- tain.	Potosi, by arrangements made in 1773, belongs to the viceroyalty of La Plata, but it is included in this list, from its commercial connection with Peru. It is situate in the interior, in a most bleak, barren, and mountainous country, 300 miles from Cobjija, the nearest sea-port. Previous to the breaking out of hostilities, it corresponded principally direct with Lima, from which it is 1215 miles distant, on the direct road to Buenos-Ayres. Frezier states its population at 70,000 souls.
				Cuenza.	26,000	Also an inland town, the capital of one of the most fertile provinces in Peru, and noted for its manufactures of woollen and cotton cloths. It is situate about 300 miles from Guayaquil, through the medium of which alone, it maintains any intercourse with the Pacific. Loja, famous for the culture of Jesuit's bark, is within the intendency of Cuenza.
				Truxillo.	8,000	Once an opulent, but now decayed city, situate in the north of Peru, 300 miles from Lima, and five from Guanchaco, a small sea-port in the Pacific. It was a place of great passage, while the trade with Europe was maintained through Panama and Porto Bello.

TABLE—Continued.

Governments.	Limits.		Population.	Chief Cities.		Remarks.
	Southern.	Northern.		Names.	Popul.	
New Grenada.	3° 30' S.	9° 10' N.	1,800,000	Santa Fé di Bogoto.	40,000	The capital of New Grenada, an inland city, situate 250 miles from Bonaventura Bay, in the Pacific, and about sixty miles from Honda, the emporium of the commerce of these provinces with the Atlantic, down the Rio Madalena. Santa Fé is populous and commercial, in the direct road from this last-mentioned place, to the interior of Peru.
				Quito.	50,000	Also an inland city, situate on the northern extremity of the famous plain of Quito, elevated 9000 feet above the level of the sea, and the immediate base of Chimborazo, the highest peak of the Andes. Quito is an opulent manufacturing city, also on the high road from Honda towards Cuenza, Potosi, and La Plata; 600 miles from Santa Fe; and 300 from Guayaquil, on the Pacific.
				Popayan.	30,000	The capital of the province in which the gold alluvious grounds are principally deposited. It is rich, but not manufacturing; the residence, chiefly, of the proprietors of these opulent but unhealthy inheritances.
				Antioquia.	7,000	The capital of one of the highest and most inaccessible provinces in New Grenada, poor, and thinly peopled.

TABLE—Continued.

Governments.	Limits.		Popula- tion.	Chief Cities.		Remarks.
	Southern.	Northern.		Names.	Popul.	
New Grenada.	3° 30' S.	9° 10' N.	1,800,000	Neyva. Honda. Carthage- na. Panama. Porto- Bello.	6,000 9,000 22,000 700 —	Also a poor town and district. The opulent and busy emporium of the Atlantic commerce of these colonies. Here the Madalena first becomes navigable, and thence it proceeds 500 miles to the Atlantic. The population here assigned, is the average of that of Carthagena, such as it was before taken and almost destroyed by the royalist General Morillo, in the present war. It is situate on the principal mouth of the Madalena, and is thus most advantageously placed for an extensive commerce. The celebrated and once opulent emporium of the overland commerce between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, now in ruins and decay. Even, if possible, more thoroughly deserted than Panama, situate in a most unhealthy and pestilential valley near the sea, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus.

Soil and Climate.—These are of an almost infinite diversity; a diversity occasioned not so much by the variety of latitudes comprised within the ample limits which we have seen to bound these colonies, as by the several points of even extreme elevation which they attain along the sides of the Andes; points, many of them within the limits of perpetual snow. It is thus impossible to speak of them here, but in the most general terms; and to these only, therefore, I shall confine myself. The sea-coast is for the most part of very moderate elevation, level, and in many districts, particularly in Peru, sandy and arid, only occasionally, and at long intervals, interrupted by patches of the richest loam, yielding ample returns to even the slightest and most superficial cultivation. One only labour is indeed imposed on the husbandman, viz. that of irrigation, which, as it very seldom rains near the coast, is quite indispensable to his success. The upper country, as it is called, in contradistinction to these maritime districts, is, on the other hand, irregular and mountainous, here shooting up a volcanic spiracle of immense elevation; there presenting an extensive surface of bare and barren rock, the receptacle of the treasures of the mineral kingdom; and there, again, opening out a delicious valley of the

richest appearance, stored with every varied form of vegetable creation, and enjoying a climate exposed to considerable vicissitudes from the operation of the cold winds blowing from some neighbouring peak, yet, in the main, warm, salubrious, and delightful. It is in these vallies, that the picture of the Happy Valley, drawn from the imagination of our great moralist, is embodied, even to the letter of his description. Within, is every varied resource which luxury, or even the grossest sensuality, can desire; and without, is the same rocky wall, almost impervious to human enterprise, forming that great obstacle to the improvement of Spanish America, which is derived from the extreme difficulty of mutual intercourse and communication.

The volcanic character of the Andes has been noticed in the preceding article, and need only again be quoted. The devastations produced by the eruptions, earthquakes, &c. which have successively ruined nearly every opulent town within the limits of these colonies, would excite a surmise, at least that the same sites were not again occupied, which had just been visited by such calamities. The surmise would be founded, however, on a contracted view of human nature; a view, indeed, contradicted by even the most ordinary experience. The sailor is in-

different to the dangers of the sea ; the miner to the casualties of the mine ; the South American to the impending menace of volcanic fire. And it is thus, that by a beneficent principle in our moral constitution, the danger which actually threatens our existence, is deprived of that hold on the imagination, which would indeed aggravate its consequent suffering beyond what we could bear.

Vegetable Productions.—These form a very numerous list ; a list which I shall only attempt to class in the most general terms, according to the districts in which each article predominates. In the low sandy plains of Peru, the chief productions are pepper, sugar, grapes, olives, maize, and algarrobales, a species of forest tree, bearing a fruit of peculiarly nutritious qualities to cattle, on which accordingly they are principally fed while maintaining the interior communication across these thirsty plains. In Chili are added to these, wheat, potatoes, and great quantities of the finest fruits ; while, in the more northern districts of Guayaquil and New Grenada, rice and pasture lands, of considerable extent, indicate the swampy alluvious grounds brought down by the rivers from the mountainous interior, in many of which are found rich deposits of gold ore. The vallies of the interior and

upper country are still more diversified in their produce, yielding ample returns of sugar, cotton, indigo, the nopal, on which the cochineal is reared, and every variety, as well of esculent grain, as of the most delicious tropical fruits. The medicinal herbs and balsams of these countries are also celebrated. Among others, are, quinquina, or Jesuit's bark, sarsaparilla, jalap, balsam of Tolu, &c.; and to the whole varied list may yet farther be added, the botanical riches, the knowledge of which was first communicated to the European world by the celebrated Mutis, the correspondent of Linnaeus in youth, and again, in the decline of life, the friend and host of Humboldt and Bonpland.

Animals.—The Abbe Molina, in his Natural History of Chili, enumerates not less than 35 species of animals, peculiar to the western colonies of South America, and unknown in Europe. Of these, I shall only notice the several varieties of domestic camel, as he considers them, peculiar to this continent, and which offer some points of commercial interest, either from their habits as beasts of burthen, or from the hair and wool which they severally yield to the native manufactures. These are variously designated, guanaco, chilihueque, lama, alpaco, and vicogna; the first and last only being quite wild, and only valuable on account of their fleeces, the latter of which are the finest in

the world, and alone bear the expense of transport to the European market. The other three are varieties of the same domestic animal, the native beast of burthen of these countries, and differ from each other only in some minute points. They average from three and a half to four and a half feet in height, and carry about one hundred weight at a time. They are principally used for the interior labours of the mines, to the mephitic vapours of which they seem to possess some degree of insensibility. For every other purpose of labour, mules are now almost exclusively employed.

Minerals.—The mineral wealth of these colonies is exclusively lodged in the rocky mountainous districts of the interior, and labours accordingly under great disadvantages in the competition with that of Mexico, from the severe expense of land carriage. In New Grenada alone, the excess of the evil has produced the remedy. The mineral wealth of that province is placed at such inaccessible heights, as to be only wrought amid the alluvious grounds deposited by the rivers in their passage to the sea. On these, washing places are erected, and the returns are in many places very rich and abundant, consisting almost exclusively of gold.

The principal metallic productions of South America, are gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, tin,

iron, and lead; in one mountain in the Chilese province of Huilquilemu, there is also found a species of very fine native brass, supposed to be produced by the action of internal fires upon contiguous veins of copper and zinc, both of which are found in the vicinity. Besides these, an infinite variety and profusion of marbles, alabasters, jaspers, chrystals, and other precious stones, in a peculiar manner characterize the Chilese mountains. Coal is also found within the limits of that province, which may be said generaliy to possess the greatest variety of mineral productions, the mines of Peru being rather distinguished for richness, and the alluvious grounds of New Grenada producing, as has been remarked, only gold. Quick-silver is only wrought at the great mine of Huan-cavelica, in Peru, but is known to exist in many other places, although its research is forbidden by royal order. Copper, tin, and iron, are very generally disseminated throughout the upper districts, but are principally wrought in those of Chili and La Plata. Saline earths, in a peculiar manner, distinguish the plains of Low Peru, affecting even, it is said, the flavour of the vegetable productions.

The following Table, extracted from M. Humboldt's work on New Spain, gives the average produce of the gold and silver mines of the south-

ern colonies in 1803, according to the official data procured by that eminent traveller. Since that period, many improvements have been introduced into the general administration of the mines; and their produce, it is believed, has been proportionally increased.

<i>Governments.</i>	<i>Produce in mares of Castile.</i>		<i>Total value in Piastres.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
	<i>Gold.</i>	<i>Silver.</i>		
Chili . .	1,212	29,700	2,060,000	Estimating the contraband to bear to the registered produce, the proportion of 1 to 4 1 to 6 1 to 5 1 to 7
Potosi and adjoining districts }	2,200	481,830	5,850,000	
Peru . .	3,400	611,090	6,240,000	
New Grenada	20,000	- -	2,990,000	

The annual produce of the quicksilver mine in Huancavelica, already noticed as the only one systematically wrought in these southern colonies, averaged at the same period 3000 quintals, but had been some time before as high as 6000. This supply, at its greatest amount, is, however, totally inadequate to the demand, even at that lesser point to which the late improvements in mining have brought it; and before their introduction, scarcely sufficed for the consumption of a single considerable district. The mountain of Potosi, alone, has

been known to consume 15,000 quintals in a year; but at that period, the consumption of quicksilver in amalgamating the precious metals, bore the proportion to the quantity of metal acquired by the process, of $1\frac{4}{5}$ to 1—a consumption eight times greater than that observed in the mines of Saxony, which does not exceed $2\text{-}10\text{ths}$ to 1. But the mining operations of South America are even yet far from having attained this perfection.

Means of Inland Communication.—The means of inland communication are extremely bad in the western provinces of South America; and all the political and physical evils consequent on their state of inferiority, present themselves, accordingly, in their most aggravated features. Separated from each other by almost impassable wastes, the population has no common or united feeling; no intrinsic bond of alliance beyond the feeble tie thrown over them by their common origin. They neither supply each other's wants, nor minister to each other's strength; the history of their obedience to the parent state, was ever characterized, accordingly, by local, but most destructive famines; and that of their rebellion is now equally marked by disunion and dissension; by the promulgation, in each petty township, of its own theory of constitution—its own favourite form of government: and by the obscure but savage and unnatural de-

tails of a guerilla war unto death; not by those united and combined plans of operations, which gave a character and dignity to even the earliest military enterprizes of our American offspring.

The principal obstacles to mutual communication in these provinces, arise in each from the peculiar features of their geological character; in Chiki, from the width and depth of the rivers by which it is intersected; in Low Peru, from its extensive sandy plains; and in the Upper country, and throughout New Grenada, from the excessively steep and rugged mountainous tracts of country which isolate their fertile plains. These obstacles are, for the most part, overcome by means of such temporary expedients as suggest themselves to travellers, and the extreme rudeness of these may be surmised from the following account of the bridges generally used throughout the whole Upper country. These are formed of three ropes, drawn tight across the ravine which it is proposed to cross, interwoven with branches of trees, and covered with loose earth, so as to form a species of flooring; to which are added two similar ropes, at a convenient height above the others, to serve as ballustrades. Along these vacillating supports, even loaded mules are sometimes conducted; but they are not in general intended for such a purpose, another device being

employed for their transport, when either the sides of the ravine are too steep, or the enclosed river is too rapid to admit of their passing without assistance. A very strong rope is drawn very tight across, and to this is affixed a running groove or traveller, fitted with slings, in which the animal, being previously unloaded, is secured, and thus drawn across. But the bridges do not form the only feature in the internal communication in South America, indicative of its extreme rudeness and difficulty. Some provinces in the interior of New Grenada are altogether impenetrable, unless either on foot, or on men's shoulders; and so jealous are the inhabitants of these provinces of this direction to their domestic industry, that not many years ago, when some proposals were made to improve their roads, these were lost through their own strenuous opposition. In the history of so despotic an administration as that of Spain, it is not a little singular, that almost the only instance of acquiescence with the wishes of the subject should be thus characterised with absurdity—should be thus, as it were, a sneer levelled by despotism at popular administration. *

* The extreme absurdity of this case, is, in fact, attributable to that very despotism itself, which suppresses every species of political discussion, and thus unfits its subjects for understanding their own most palpable interests. But, after all, the Bri-

Means of External Communication.—There are four several outlets for the commerce of these western colonies, viz. Buenos Ayres, Brazil, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The means of communicating with each must be separately considered.

1. Buenos Ayres. The post roads to Buenos Ayres, from Lima and St. Jago, the capitals of Peru and Chili, have been constructed with infinite labour; and during the first half of their progress, whilst yet winding amid the gorges of the Andes, present to the traveller a combination of every varied feature of danger, difficulty, and distress. The remaining half is, on the other hand, most insipidly uniform, being conducted along the level Pampas, or plains of Buenos Ayres, where not even any variety of vegetation enlivens the tedium

tish reader must neither laugh too loud, nor too long, at these poor South Americans; parallel cases may be found, neither very remote in time nor in place, from ourselves. Mob councils are every where the same. It is not yet 80 years since petitions were presented at the bar of our own House of Commons, against extending the turnpike roads; and it is but the other day, that a royal burgh in Scotland turned the high turnpike road out of the town altogether, to *save a new causeway* in one of the streets. The popular clamours lately so industriously excited against improvements in machinery, are all of a similar stamp; and the influence of the same pursuit of immediate objects, indifferent to their remote accompaniments, might be yet further traced and illustrated in some popular topics in Palace Yard—" *Sed ex his disce omnes.*"

of the journey. Post houses have been erected upon both ; and the military operations, of which, within the last few years, they have been the theatre, will probably perfect and complete whatever may be yet wanting in their respective accommodations. The whole distance from Lima by Potosi to Buenos Ayres, is about 2800 miles ; from St. Jago, it is about one-third less ; but the former road is best provided with relays, the intercourse between Chili and Buenos Ayres never having been so intimate as that between the latter and Peru. This last will probably also now receive the greatest share of improvement ; the protracted warfare on the borders of Peru being more calculated to produce this effect, than the rapid movement which at once placed the Chilese capital in the hands of the insurgent forces.

2. Brazil. The communication with Brazil is maintained exclusively by means of the river Amazon ; which, rising in Peru, and winding along the Andes, first to the southward, and then to the north-east, at length reaches the Atlantic Ocean, after an inland navigable course exceeding 3000 miles. The details of this medium of external communication are very imperfectly known ; and its improvement, like that of the interior roads, has been opposed, though for another reason, by that portion of the colonial population, within whose pro-

vince it fell to reason on the subject. It was maintained by the majority, that, to improve its navigation, and to encourage the commerce maintained by it, would be to facilitate the smuggling transactions, for which it is now almost exclusively traversed. It was in vain that M. Humboldt, and the few, opposed to this reasoning the almost self-evident argument, that these were in fact promoted by the solitude of its shores, and could only effectually be checked by their population.

3. Atlantic Ocean. The eastern boundary of the province of New Grenada, described in a great measure by that central chain of Andes which traverses nearly the whole continent from south to north, is farther defined, on its approach to the Atlantic, by the great Rio Madalena, which, receiving at Honda the accession of several tributary streams, becomes there navigable; and thence pursues its course 500 miles to the ocean, which it joins by two mouths, at Santa Martha and Carthagena. By it is the principal communication maintained between the western provinces and the Atlantic Ocean, the Rios Atrato and Chagres, the only other two outlets in this direction, being comparatively unimportant; the former communicating between the gold provinces of Choco and Popayan, and the Gulf of Darien; the other between Panama and the Caribbean Sea. The Rio Atrato has become

of somewhat more importance within the last twenty years, in consequence of its navigation having been declared free for all importations of slaves and provisions into the adjoining provinces, whose unhealthy labours require a constant supply of both: but the Chagres, once the exclusive medium of communication between the town of Porto Bello and the western world, is now rarely traversed at all, unless by a few dozen wretched negroes, proceeding along its lonely channel to their ultimate destination on the sickly shores of New Grenada. Never was revolution so complete as in the comparative importance of this once celebrated river.

4. Pacific Ocean. The following Table will be found to comprize most of the necessary points of information respecting the Spanish sea-ports in the Southern Pacific.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Lat. in.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Valdivia	40° 5' S.	A most excellent harbour, but deficient in supplies, there being no town, and only a petty garrison, and small convict settlement maintained. It is situate on the mouth of the river of the same name, beyond the Spanish frontier, and amid the Indian settlements, on which it is meant as a check.
Conception	36° 40' S.	A good port, and abounding in every species of supply. It is situate near the confluence of the Bio-bio, the frontier river, with the Pacific; the town, indeed, being now built on its banks, nine miles from the port. It has the privilege of direct trade with Old Spain, a privilege only enjoyed by three other ports in the Southern Pacific.

TABLE—Continued.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Lat. in.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Valparaiso	32° 50' S.	An open anchorage, absolutely untenable in winter, yet in consequence of being the sea-port of St. Jago, the capital of Chili, from which, however, it is 70 miles distant, it has engrossed much the greatest share of the whole commerce of the province. It has the privilege of direct intercourse with Old Spain.
Coquimbo	30° 0' S.	A good summer port, being well protected from southerly winds; but in winter, when northerly gales blow strong on the coast, it cannot shelter above 25 or 30 vessels. It is well supplied with provisions.
Guasco	28° 5' S.	An open anchorage, into which falls a fine stream of fresh water.
Copiapo	27° 0' S.	Also open, and very indifferently supplied with fresh water.
Salado	24° 35' S.	Also quite open, and named from the salt with which all its springs are strongly impregnated.
Cobija	22° 10' S.	An open insecure anchorage, much frequented, however, as being the nearest sea-port to Atacama, Lipes, and Potosi, all rich mining districts: from the first of which, however, it is forty leagues distant, and more than one hundred from the other two.
Arica	18° 29' S.	Quite open, with a heavy surf constantly beating on the beach. It has the privilege of direct intercourse with Old Spain; a privilege of which it does not, however, avail itself. Pepper, and some other spices, form its principal articles of export.
Ylo	17° 37' S.	A mere open road, much frequented as being the nearest sea-port to Cuzco, from which it is, however, 400 miles distant. It is also occasionally resorted to by merchants from Potosi, from which it is, at the same time, distant nearly 900 miles.
Pisco	13° 40' S.	An excellent sea-port, enjoying an extensive coasting commerce, in wines, brandies, olives, and ordure of sea-fowl, employed in Peru both as fuel and manure. Not less than from 8000 to 9000 tons of small shipping belonging to Pisco, are said to be constantly engaged in collecting and distributing it along the coast. Pisco is deficient in fresh water.
Callao	12° 5' S.	The celebrated port of Lima, secure, commodious, and abounding in supplies of every description, fire-wood alone being somewhat scarce and high-priced. It is unprovided, however, with

TABLE—Continued.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Lat. in.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Guaura	11° 3' S.	docks; and vessels requiring repair below the water-line, must be hove down to stages. It has the privilege of direct trade with Old Spain. An open insecure anchorage, at the mouth of a small river.
Guanchaco	8° 0' S.	The sea-port of Truxillo, open and insecure.
Payta	5° 15' S.	Open, but tolerably secure; once a place of some trade, now decayed.
Tumbes	3° 30' S.	A small, but secure harbour, in the Gulf of Guayaquil; once a place of much resort, now abandoned. Its prosperity was founded on its trade in refreshments with the Panama fleets.
Guayaquil	2° 11' S.	An excellent harbour, formed by the mouth of the river of the same name, which is navigable 160 miles above its confluence with the Pacific, and forms the principal, almost the only point of access from the westward to the interior of New Grenada. The town is situate about 25 miles up, and enjoys a very great commerce. The principal productions of the adjoining districts are cocoa of very superior quality, ship-timber, cattle, and firewood. The town itself is poor and mean.
St. Jago	2° 0' N.	The mouth of a large river, communicating with the gold alluvious grounds in New Grenada, but of no resort for Spanish commerce. It is navigable for shipping nine miles up.
St. Michael	6° 40' N.	A large and deep bay, receiving three considerable rivers, which communicate with the gold districts of Choco and Popayan. They are each navigable for some leagues up, and on one of them, the Santa Maria, the Spaniards have a small settlement, which maintains a trifling commerce in provisions with the interior. The adjoining country is, however, extremely hot and unhealthy; and as the navigation of the Gulf of Panama is generally excessively tedious, little or no external commerce is maintained by its shores.
Perico	8° 50' N.	The sea-port of Panama, nine miles distant from that town, and a secure commodious roadstead, although now nearly deserted, having shared in the ruin, as it did also in the prosperity, of that celebrated emporium. The pearl fisheries, for which it is still noted, are in the immediate vicinity.

Manufactures. Remote from Europe, and excluded by Spanish policy from the benefits of a free intercourse with Asia, the manufactures of these colonies, although far from elegant in any one branch, embrace nearly all the first objects of domestic utility and convenience. They have uniformly to contend with the disadvantages consequent on rude and imperfect implements, the perfecting of which seems, by some peculiar law of our nature, to be reserved exclusively for the most advanced stages of society, advantageously distinguishing, for example, that of England; and, among savages, being, on the other hand, entirely overlooked. The Spanish South American colonists hold a middle place between both; turning their weaving, and some other implements, with considerable neatness and ingenuity, but altogether ignorant of that combination of mechanical power with polish and convenience in the instruments employed for even the coarsest purposes, which gives the manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester their unrivalled superiority.

The principal manufactures of these colonies are coarse woollen and cotton cloths, mostly prepared at Cuzco, Quito, Cuenza, and other cities in the interior, where external communication is most difficult; together with leather, soap, sugar, oil, wine, brandy, chocolate, &c. in quantities adequate

for the domestic consumption, none of these articles bearing the expense of exportation. The maritime districts prepare a somewhat more extensive supply ; but all labour under the same general disadvantage of want of market, a disadvantage which, while it subsists, will be ever operative against the improvement and perfection of the useful arts in South America. Indeed, even the acquisition of a market would not, for ages probably, give this direction to national industry. The whole country is thinly peopled ; and produces in abundance the richest and the finest crude material. The exportation of that would long furnish employment and subsistence at an easier and cheaper rate, than a competition could be maintained, by its means, with the foreign manufactures which the increased intercourse would necessarily introduce into its domestic mart. Spanish America, thus situate, is precisely the market wanted by ourselves ;—a people in every respect differently characterized, numerous, active, and already embarked in manufacturing pursuits, the crude materials of which our country does not itself grow, and for which it necessarily looks abroad.

Commerce. Of the precise amount of each branch of the commerce of these colonies, (their several directions have been already indicated,) the British public is altogether without the means of forming

any precise estimate. In considering them, as I now propose to do, separately, I am unable to furnish more than mere approximating data—always confused, and some of them even contradictory. When my own conjectures may therefore seem unfounded, the reader is requested to exercise his own judgment and discretion.

1. Commerce with Buenos Ayres. The revolutionary wars which have now raged for some years in these colonies, have, it is presumed, for the present, interrupted the regular intercourse between them. While it yet subsisted, it consisted principally of the interchange of the following articles :—

Exported from the western provinces: wines, brandies, maize, precious metals, sugar, spices, indigo, and, previous to the glut of European goods at Buenos Ayres, the woollen and cotton cloths of Cuzco and Quito.

Imported from Buenos Ayres: mules (annually 60,000 into Peru alone), cattle, sheep, tallow, wool, Paraguay tea, (an herb universally used as tea in the western provinces,) tin, and negroes.

The *Mercurio Peruano* states the value of the exports from Peru alone, to have averaged, in 1790,

annually 2,000,000; while that of the imports amounted, at the same time, to 1,000,000 piastres. The whole circulation did not then probably exceed 5,000,000 piastres, allowing Chili 2,000,000 for her own share; an extravagant allowance, were it not that many of the importations into Peru, particularly negroes, followed the route by Chili, as being the shortest land journey. The trade, on the whole, is a very interesting subject of public curiosity; and it is to be wished, that we knew better what are the chances of its revival when the present disturbances shall be quelled, and what extent of competition an entirely maritime communication is likely to sustain from it. The latter is that which it would be decidedly for the best interests of Great Britain to maintain; but this rather for political than commercial reasons, as, under any circumstances, her manufactures would engross the supply of any effective demand which these colonies could produce.

2. Commerce with Brazil. The commerce of the western provinces with Brazil, consists almost exclusively of illicit exportations of silver from the mining districts contiguous to the Amazon. We are much in the dark respecting the whole details of this communication, M. Humboldt only generally estimating its amount at 1-4th of the annual produce of some of them, and elsewhere stating it,

in round numbers, as averaging annually 2500 marcs of Castile. It has probably increased in extent and activity since he wrote: the residence of the Portuguese court in Brazil will have occasioned a greater demand, while the degree of contempt into which, on the other hand, the Spanish royal authority has since fallen in High Peru, will have loosened the opposing shackles to its increase. This also is a very highly interesting vein of commerce, worthy of being more particularly known.

3. Commerce with the Atlantic. The two principal branches of external traffic are almost entirely confined to the southern colonies of Chili and Peru; this with the Atlantic is engrossed by the merchants of New Grenada. It is of very ancient date; having been actively maintained in the time of the Porto Bello fairs, and with such success, as to excite some selfish murmurs on the part of the merchants of Lima, and some very absurd regulations on that of the court of Spain, with the view of satisfying their clamorous demands. The operation of these, together with the greater facilities progressively bestowed on maritime communication with the remote colonies on the Pacific, had, however, very much injured this branch of commerce; and previous to the commencement of the rebellion in 1811, or rather previous to the French invasion of Spain in 1808, it was reduced

to a very low ebb. From these periods, it has, however, progressively increased; and it now forms an important branch of that commerce, which the merchants of Jamaica, in a late official document, valued at ten millions Sterling, and which is gradually acquiring a stability and a legality in the estimation of those maintaining it, which it would be very difficult indeed for Spain to overcome, were she even again mistress of the territory in which it is maintained.

This commerce consists of the interchange of European goods with the precious metals, cotton, cocoa, coffee, medicines, (particularly bark, jalap, sarsaparilla, and balsam of Tolu,) wax, &c. The precise amount of it is unknown; but it must be considerable, however checked by the reduction of Carthagena, and the other more recent successes of the royalist army in New Grenada.

4. Commerce with the Pacific. The commerce with the Pacific must be considered under the two heads of Coasting Commerce, and Commerce with the Mother Country. On both, our information is exceedingly vague and uncertain.

1. Coasting Commerce. The ports of Peru, particularly Callao, form the great centre of mutual communication between these southern colonies, none of which maintain any intercourse across their parallels. The following Tables, therefore,

in shewing the state of the coasting commerce of the Peruvian ports, will indicate also that of the whole in 1790, the latest period to which our minute information extends. They are extracted verbatim from the *Mercurio Peruano* and *Viagero General*, as quoted in the *Edinburgh Review*, for I have not had the means of original reference to these works; for the remarks on them only am I personally responsible.

I. Coasting Trade of Callao, in 1785-6-7-8-9.

<i>Ports with which maintained.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Balance for Callao.</i>	<i>Balance against Callao.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Chili . .	5,533,775	14,686,423 3	- -	847,351 6	Part of this balance accrued from imports from Buenos Ayres, sent by way of Chili. Chiefly occasioned by imports into Guayaquil, destined for the interior provinces.
Guayaquil .	2,347,643 1	2,906,305 0	358,661 7	- -	
Panama .	59,035 5	201,631 7	142,596 2	- -	This balance arose principally from government consignments for the maintenance of the provincial authorities. It will be seen in another place, that much of this intercourse is now suspended.
Guatemala .	210,295 7	29,416 4	- -	180,394 4	
Total in 5 years	8,350,749	67,823,776 6	501,258 1	1,028,231 1	
Annual average	1,670,149	71,564,755 3	- -	105,394 4	

II. Annual Average of the Coasting Trade of Arica, Payta, and other Peruvian ports, at the same time.

<i>Ports with which maintained.</i>	<i>Imports.</i>	<i>Exports.</i>	<i>Balance against Peru</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Chili . . .	46,675	- -	46,675	These imports consisted principally of provisions; and were in part paid for in ordure of sea-fowl, not entered in any register. I cannot conjecture any reason for this balance being against Peru, and I think it is a mistake. Panama is dependent on Peru for nearly all its supplies; and Guayaquil is the point of access into the interior of New Grenada. These are indeed precisely the only points in which the balance of the coasting trade was in favour of Callao; why then this opposite result at the other ports?
Panama and } Guayaquil }	350,000	130,000	220,000	

The result of these Tables gives the following average for the annual trade of Peru with the other colonies, in the year 1790: viz. imports, 2,066,825; and exports, 1,694,755 piastres. The annual balance, by the same statement, was against Peru, 372,069 piastres: a balance reconcileable enough in the main, with our knowledge of the fact, that Lima, at that period, was a very general medium by which the out provinces made their remittances to

the mother country. That part only of the statement is incongruous, which makes the balance in the trade of the out ports with Panama and Guayaquil so very unfavourable to Peru; and even for this, some solution may be found, from a consideration of the delay and difficulty attending a maritime passage from these ports to Callao, which might, although I think it improbable, make it more expedient to disembark at a northern port, and proceed thence to Lima by land.

It will be observed, that in the first of the above Tables, I have noted that much of the intercourse between Callao and Guatemala has ceased. It consisted, at the date of these Tables, principally of consignments of indigo from the latter province to Old Spain, made through the medium of Lima. This course of intercourse will be seen, in the following article, which treats of the Spanish North American settlements, to have altogether ceased.

The above Tables state generally the amount of this coasting trade: it is only necessary to add, that it consisted, on the part of Peru, in the dissemination of European goods, of quicksilver, wines, brandies, and flour; and in the receipt, in return, of such indigenous productions as were either suited to the European market, or were required for domestic consumption. The whole trade in 1803 had considerably increased in value and in activity;

but to what extent, is not stated by M. Humboldt. We are entirely ignorant, also, of the changes which it may since have sustained: if a conjecture may be formed, these have been on the whole favourable, at least till within the last very few years.

2. Commerce with Old Spain. The commerce of these distant colonies with the mother country has adopted several successive media of communication; first by Lima, Panama, and Porto Bello; next direct round Cape Horn, in register ships, as they were called, from the registered licence which vessels were forced to take out previous to undertaking such a voyage; and now finally, by the means of communication granted to certain of their ports, by the act or edict, commonly called, of free trade, which enabled them to correspond directly with certain other ports in Old Spain, without the necessity of each vessel taking out a special permission. This last is infinitely the most fair, liberal, and convenient of any of these three methods; and was considered, both by the parties bestowing and those receiving the concession, to have been equivalent to a grant of free trade to the colonies at large. Hence the edict received that somewhat too comprehensive title by which it is generally known; a title, however, to which some of its provisions, particularly the arbitrary and even unjust selection of some ports for these privi-

leges, to the exclusion of others, by no means give it a claim.

This trade consists generally in a similar interchange of commodities, manufactured and crude produce, as that maintained on the shores of the Atlantic ; and while Spain yet preserved her authority over these colonies, it was further swelled by annual remittances of gold and silver, on government account, as well as on that of individuals. Of its total actual value, we have no precise idea ; our latest accurate information only coming down to 1794, and even then being confined to the single port of Callao, the emporium of Peru. Its exports to Europe at that time averaged nearly 7,000,000 of dollars annually ; having progressively increased from about 2,000,000, while the system of the Panama galleons prevailed, to nearly 4,500,000 by the register ships, and finally to the sum already stated, by the free trade. In 1803, M. Humboldt summarily states the whole to have very materially increased ; but he does not say to what extent : and now again it is to be feared, that it is much injured by the usual operations of hostility and confiscation, particularly on this point, (Peru,) the commerce of which, from its continued loyalty, is, in a peculiar manner, exposed to the depredations of the insurgent marine.

SPANISH NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES.

THE Spanish North American colonies extend along the shores of the Pacific, from the Isthmus of Panama, in the 9th parallel of north latitude, to San Francisco, in the 38th, where they confine with the Indian territory designated on the charts by the name of New Albion. On the Atlantic, they extend only to the 26th parallel, where the Rio Bravo del Norte divides them in its whole length from the United States province of Louisiana; and from the mouth of this river, accordingly, the line of frontier runs in a north-west direction, as far as 40° north, where is situate its source. The whole extent of territory embraced by these boundaries is about 150,000 square leagues.

Political Divisions, &c.—This ample portion of the eastern shore of the Pacific Ocean, comprises a small part of the province of Panama belonging to New Grenada, and which it is unnecessary further to notice, and is besides divided into one captain-generalship, Guatimala; one viceroyalty, New Spain, or Mexico Proper; and one commandancia-general, viz. de las Provincias Internas de Mexico, a division of the northern and least populous provinces of that viceroyalty, which are placed under

the special government of an officer bearing the title of commandant-general, who is charged with the defence of the frontiers from the incursions of the Indian tribes. The following Table will be found to contain the most important particulars respecting the provinces, population, and chief cities, of each of these principal divisions: it will be observed, only, that their respective limits are omitted. This omission is indispensable, if I would continue the tabular enumeration which I adopted under the same head in the preceding Article. The latitude alone will not here give any idea of the relative boundaries; and indeed, for commercial purposes, such knowledge is not very important.

<i>Governments.</i>	<i>Total Population.</i>	<i>Provinces.</i>		<i>Chief Cities.</i>		<i>Remarks, &c.</i>
		<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	
Guatemala.	1,800,000	Costa Rica	- -	St. Jago.	- -	The capital of the captain-generalship, destroyed by an earthquake in 1773, and rebuilt at some distance from its former site. It is 90 miles distant from Sonsonata, its seaport in the Pacific; and has now very little communication with that sea. An opulent, thriving town, situate at one end of the Great Lake of Nicaragua, by means of which it maintains an extensive inland communication.
		Nicaragua	- -	Leon.	- -	

TABLE—Continued.

<i>Governments.</i>		<i>Provinces.</i>		<i>Chief Cities.</i>		<i>Remarks, &c.</i>
<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	
Mexico Proper	5,480,000	Mexico	1,511,800	Mexico	140,000	The celebrated capital of this kingdom, and the seat of government, as well under the native as Spanish administration. It enjoys a very great commerce, being the centre of all inland communication, including also that from sea to sea. Its public buildings, aqueducts, sluices, &c. are all on the most magnificent scale.
				Queretaro	35,000	Noted for the beauty of its public buildings, aqueducts, and cloth manufactures.
				Acapulco	4,000	The celebrated port of Mexico on the Pacific. It is, however, 150 miles distant from that capital.
		Puebla	813,300	Puebla	67,800	The capital of a department, especially remarkable for its fertility and amount of population. It is principally situated in the interior; but a small portion of the shore of the Pacific is comprised within the intendancy.
				Cholula	16,000	Remarkable for a pyramid, a curious remnant of Aztec architecture; several others of them are also found throughout the country, particularly in the province of Mexico, the capital city.
		Guanaxuata	517,300	Guanaxuata	41,000	The capital of one of the chief mining districts, and containing, in its immediate suburbs, a further population of 30,000. This intendancy is altogether inland.

TABLE—Continued.

<i>Governments.</i>		<i>Provinces.</i>		<i>Chief Cities.</i>		<i>Remarks, &c.</i>	
<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>	<i>Names.</i>	<i>Popul.</i>		
Mexico Proper	5,479,095	Valladolid	376,400	Valladolid	18,000	Capital of an intendancy, containing many rich mines, and comprising a small portion of the shore of the Pacific.	
		Guadalajara	630,500	Guadalajara	19,500	The capital of a maritime province on the Pacific, also a rich mining district.	
		Zacatecas	153,300	Zacatecas	33,000	Capital of the richest mining district after Guanajuata in Mexico. It is entirely inland.	
		Oaxaca	534,800	Oaxaca	21,000	The capital of a thinly-peopled, but extensive province, contiguous to the Pacific, and celebrated for its cochineal produce.	
		Merida	465,800	Merida	10,000	The capital of an Atlantic province, sultry, yet salubrious.	
		VeraCruz	156,000	Campeche	6,000	6,000	Celebrated for its dye-woods.
				VeraCruz	16,000	VeraCruz	16,000
San Luis Potosi	334,900	San Luis Potosi	334,900	Xalapa	13,000	An agreeable little town, on the brow of the Cordillera, where the opulent merchants of Vera Cruz principally reside.	
				San Luis Potosi	12,000	12,000	The chief city of the most northerly intendancy on the Atlantic; some portion of it is accordingly in charge of the commandant-general
Provincias Internas	359,200	Durango	159,700	Durango	12,000	Capital of the intendancy.	
				Chihuahua	11,600	11,600	The residence of the commandant-general.
				San Juan del Rio	10,200	10,200	One of several populous little towns in this intendancy, in which the population, through fear of the Indians, is accumulated in the towns.

TABLE—Continued.

Governments.	Provinces.		Chief Cities.		Remarks, &c.	
	Names.	Popul.	Names.	Popul.		
Provincias Internas	359,200	Sonora	121,400	Arispe	7,600	The capital cities of their respective intendancies. The chief village of this province, which is composed of that celebrated isthmus projecting into the Pacific Ocean, and enclosing the Sea or Gulf of California, otherwise called the Vermilion Sea, noted for its pearl fisheries.
		New Mexico	40,200	Santa Fe	3,600	
		Old California	9,000	Loreto		
		New California	15,600	Monterey	700	
				San Francisco.	820	The most northerly Spanish settlement; a secure and capacious harbour.

Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions.—The range of Andes, which we have seen in the southern hemisphere characterized by lofty precipitous peaks, arranged in parallel chains along the sea coast, dips, in crossing along the isthmus of Panama, into North America; is low, broken, and shattered by volcanic fires in the captain-generalship of Guatemala; and ascends again in Mexico, accumulated in one prodigious mass, and gaining

an elevation, almost uniform in its whole length, of from 6000 to 9000 feet above the level of the sea. The table summit which it thus presents, forms the celebrated plain of Anahuac, the chief seat of the Aztec empire, and in which even now are accumulated nearly all the most populous and important cities in the colony. It is nowhere intersected by any transverse valley, running east and west, but maintains its extreme elevation nearly to the shores of the Eastern or Atlantic Ocean, towards which it descends with almost perpendicular slope. On its northern side it is skirted by three longitudinal vallies, which, as with successive steps, break the rapid descent, but which are themselves extremely steep, and most materially aggravate the difficulty of the communication between the interior and sea coast.

With a geological character thus constituted, the soil and climate of this extensive country are necessarily diversified, the whole being indeed divided, by the common usage of the inhabitants, into *Tierras Calidas*, *Templadas*, and *Frias*. The first include the coasts of both oceans, which are uniformly sultry, and generally unhealthy; but which abundantly return, to even the slightest cultivation, all the native productions of the torrid zone. Of these, the celebrated indigo of Guatimala, and the nopal, on which, in the province of Oaxaca in par-

particular, prodigious quantities of cochineal are annually reared; together with cocoa, vanilla, cotton, coffee, sugar, and various species of dye-woods and medicinal plants, form the chief articles; of which, however, a more minute enumeration will be found in the table of exports subjoined. The Tierras Templadas, the second in the enumeration, include the whole declivity on both sides of the great central plain, and combine, on almost all points of their ascent, the varieties of tropical produce, with those peculiar only to more temperate regions. And, lastly, the Tierras Frias, designate the nearly level surface of the plain itself, together with the more northern districts on each side, in all of which only the hardier European grains are found to return adequately to the husbandman's labour. In the elevated regions of Anahuac, snow is not indeed uncommon, even within the tropic; while, in many of the more elevated points of it, with every advantage of soil, vegetation is found slow and tardy in its developement, impeded, it would appear, by that uniformity and tenuity of climate and atmosphere which very strikingly characterize them.

Mineral Productions.—When Guatimala was first discovered, the promise of mineral wealth which it was supposed to offer, procured for one of its districts the appellation of Costa Rica; but this promise

has not been fulfilled, no quantity of the precious metals having ever been extracted from it, and even their research being now long discontinued. Mexico, on the contrary, abounds with them in even the greatest variety and profusion: its mines being moreover peculiarly accessible, and altogether free from those noxious mephitic vapours which so peculiarly characterize those of Peru. Their value is accordingly very great; and the passion for their research and discovery much more universal among the whole Mexican population, than among the inhabitants of any other Spanish colony.

The mineral wealth of New Spain is principally situate on the western declivity of the central plain, and consists of gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, lead, iron, and tin; of which, however, only the two first are objects of systematic pursuit to the inhabitants. In 1803, the average produce of the gold mines was 7000 mares of Castile annually; while that of the silver was 2,500,000 mares, more than two-thirds of the whole produce of the globe. The average value of both together was 22,170,740 piastres, and was drawn from about 500 reales, or mining districts; of which the annual expenditure of quicksilver averaged 16,000 quintals. The quicksilver is entirely the produce of importation from Europe, the native mines of this valuable semi-metal being neglected and overlooked.

Means of Internal Communication.—In the captain-generalship of Guatemala, the internal communication is much facilitated by the great lake of Nicaragua, situate within its limits; and the intercourse thence with Vera Cruz, in New Spain, the principal port by which the valuable indigo of the whole province is exported, is maintained along a road cut within the last ten years, which extends across the whole continent, from the port of Tehuantepec on the Pacific, to Vera Cruz on the Atlantic Ocean. The land carriage by this road, is shortened by an embarkation for about thirty miles on the Rio Huasacualco, falling into the Atlantic about fifty miles S. E. of Vera Cruz, on quitting which it proceeds nearly along the sea shore to that port.

In New Spain there are no lakes considerable in proportion to the whole face of the country; neither are there any navigable rivers, by which the internal communication might be facilitated. The roads are, however, good; and, from the level nature of the great central plain of Anahuac, the communication between the principal cities is easily maintained. It is only difficult when passing to either sea, and, on the eastern declivity, is peculiarly painful and inconvenient. The importance, however, of that communication is too great, and the views of the inhabitants too enlightened, to

suffer any obstacles to remain which art may remove; and new roads, or new repairs, are constantly on hand, accordingly, in that direction. Towards the Pacific Ocean the stimulus is not so strong, and there is, consequently, some neglect; the whole charge, however, on the transport of goods from sea to sea, not exceeding two piastres per carga of 80 lbs.

Means of External Communication.—The external communication of Guatemala and New Spain, is confined to the two oceans by which their several shores are washed; the petty traffic maintained with the Indians on the northern frontier of the Provincias Internas being unworthy of notice.

1. Communication with the Atlantic.—There are only two ports, Campeche and Vera Cruz, by which the Atlantic commerce of these colonies is maintained; and both are very bad and insecure. Placed in the bottom of the Gulf of Mexico, and receiving constant accumulations of sand from the currents in the Carribbean Sea, they are both but indifferently protected from the vicissitudes of the weather; yet are they both noted, as will be seen in its place, for very lucrative exportations.

2. Communication with the Pacific.—The following Table contains the enumeration, latitudes, and properties, of the principal sea-ports along the western shores of these colonies. It may be re-

marked generally, that the sea is receding from the south-western shores of Guatemala, and also from those of the contiguous provinces of New Spain: the praises which Captain Dampier bestows on several of the ports here named, are quoted accordingly, with very considerable modifications.

<i>Governments.</i>	<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Lat. in.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Guatemala	Realejos	12° 20' N.	The sea-port of Leon, from which it is 20 miles distant. A tolerable port, extremely sickly and unwholesome.
	Sousonata	13° 50' N.	A very insecure port, but the only point of communication between Guatemala and the Pacific Ocean. The distance between them exceeds 90 miles; yet thus, and then round Cape Horn, previous to the completion of the new road from Tehuantepec to Vera Cruz, the indigo of that district was in the habit of reaching the European markets.
	Guatulca	15° 30' N.	A tolerable port, but unfrequented, from the difficulty of internal communication, the land rising in short, abrupt, and detached ridges within it.
Mexico Proper	Tehuantepec	16° 10' N.	A mere open road, with a dangerous bank across its mouth, within which, however, is tolerable riding for very small vessels. It is somewhat celebrated, from the opposite coasts of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans here approaching each other nearer than at any other point in Mexico.
	Acapulco	16° 50' N.	The celebrated galleon port, ample in its accommodations, and very secure in some creeks; although generally admitting a heavy swell from the south-west, when the wind blows hard from that quarter. It is extremely unhealthy.
	San Blas	21° 30' N.	Situate within the Gulf of California, San Blas is a secure and capacious harbour, but extremely sultry and unhealthy. It is, however, a royal dock-yard, and enjoys some little coasting trade.

<i>Governments.</i>	<i>Ports.</i>	<i>Lat. in.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Provincias Internas	San Lucar	23° 35' N.	A small port, near the south point of the isthmus of California, where the galleons are in the habit of calling for orders and refreshments.
	Monterey	36° 38' N.	Already noticed as the capital of New California; a large, but nearly open bay, with indifferent shelter in one cove for a very few vessels.
	San Francisco	37° 59' N.	A noble harbour, about a league wide at the mouth, but opening within to a magnificent basin. There is only a small presidio, or mission, established here; and refreshments are accordingly somewhat difficult to be procured, although the adjoining country is rich and productive.

Manufactures.—In Guatemala, where there is a thinly scattered population, easily accessible to foreign importation, and enabled to make in return very valuable crude exports, there are few or no manufactures. In New Spain, they are abundant and diversified, and have attained, many of them, very considerable perfection; but they are overborne, notwithstanding, by the weight of European importations, and have, in consequence, very trifling comparative activity. Those most in esteem are joiner's work, carriages, musical instruments, &c. for all of which the variety of fine woods, growing indigenous in the country, affords the choicest materials; and besides these, the several manufactures of cloth, leather, soap, and sweet-meats, afford materials for some trifling exportation. But at home, the fashion of European wares is pre-

dominant, and the market afforded for them, accordingly, is immense. The woollen and cotton cloths manufactured in Mexico in the year 1803, were estimated to amount to the value of 7 or 8 millions of piastres; yet the average value of the same articles imported at Vera Cruz exceeded, at the same time, 13,000,000: a striking proof of the dissemination of the comforts and luxuries of life among the Mexican population.

Commerce.—The commerce of Guatimala and New Spain is confined to the two oceans which bound their respective shores. It must be considered, accordingly, under the heads which their names will denote.

1. Commerce with the Atlantic. It has been seen, that there are two ports, Campeche and Vera Cruz, by which the Atlantic commerce is maintained. Of these, the exports from Campeche consist almost exclusively of dye and other valuable woods, which are principally directed also to the port of Vera Cruz, the grand emporium of the eastern commerce of these colonies, whither, also, the indigo of Guatimala and the cochineal of Oaxaca, are sent, and whence alone the whole finds its way direct to the European market. Of the nature and value of the commerce of that port, and consequently of the whole northern colonies in its direction, the following Tables, quoted from M. Humboldt's *Essai Politique*, will give an ample and

adequate idea. They are extracts from the annual report published in 1802, at Vera Cruz.

Goods imported into Mexico from Spain, the produce of National Industry and Agriculture.

<i>Denomination.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Brandy	29,695 lhds.	1,283,914
White wine	40,335 do.	683,079
Red wine	21,657 do.	331,882
Ditto in bottles	13,159 bott.	8,642
Vinegar	3,374 lhds.	48,149
Dried grapes	2,501 quint.	27,414
Almonds	2,590 do.	81,543
Olives	9,519 jars.	22,205
Oil	32,099 arrob.	96,297
Saffron	5,187 lib.	99,765
Aromatic plants	185 quint.	2,009
Capers	202 barrcls.	2,714
Nuts	227 quint.	3,240
Figs	320 do.	2,491
Arigan	2,450 lib.	306
Cumine	242 arrob.	1,992
French grapes	1,170 pitch.	3,510
Pilchards	93 barrels.	1,347
Anchovies	10 arrob.	50
White paper	274,211 reams.	885,884
Foul paper	7,906 do.	4,577
Thread	376 quint.	11,451
Corks	699,000	5,177
Canteens	492	20,583
Hams	142 arrob.	1,380
Fine liquors	852 do.	11,766
Soap	119 quint.	1,785
Delft ware	3,041 doz.	4,651
Beer	71,876 bott.	45,779
Cider	1,920 do.	968
Sausages	3,368 lib.	1,684
Vermicelli	233 quint.	4,623
Sharpening stones	513	1,282
White iron	289 chests.	10,115
Iron in bars	42,440 quint.	382,480
Wrought iron	7,792 do.	78,882
Steel	7,020 do.	132,392
Cordage	459 do.	6,442
Bale goods ... } tercios *... 5,651		2,250,552
Woollen, cot- } caxones ... 3,293		3,889,891
ton, silk, } baules ... 899		606,130
&c. } toscos 3,418		520,182
Total value in double piastres		11,539,219

* These several packages not being opened at the custom-house, the nature of the goods which they usually contain is not specified: but, in general, tercios contain woollens and cottons, linens and baize; caxones, silks; baules, silk and cotton stockings, lace, &c.; and toscos, (i. e. caxones toscos) hardware, drugs, crystals, hats, boots, shoes, &c.

*Goods imported from Spain into Mexico, the produce of
Foreign Agriculture and Industry.*

<i>Denominations.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Butter	15,881 lib.	1,678
Cheese	259 quint.	10,334
Wine	16,920 bott.	12,690
White paper	87,065 reams.	328,714
Steel	7,050 quint.	126,605
Delft ware	9,234 doz.	23,085
White iron	996 chests.	32,400
Canteens	12 do.	390
Coarse linens	50 pieces.	2,000
Wax candles	337 lib.	270
Cod	340 quint.	8,500
Cloves	14,737 lib.	47,204
Pepper	37,465 do.	22,657
Cinnamon	199,965 do.	661,569
Bale goods	18,529 tercios	6,572,108
Woollen, cot-	501 caxones	391,435
ton, silk, }	24 baules	8,533
&c.	5,200 caxones toscos	595,458
Total value in double piastres -		8,851,640

Importation of Spanish Colonial Produce into Mexico.

<i>Denominations of Goods.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	<i>Value in Double Piastres.</i>
Wax	20,571 arrob.	332,359
Coffee	344 quint.	6,060
Cocoa of Caraccas	1,984 faneg.	106,234
Ditto of Maracaybo	18,708 do.	687,928
Ditto of Tabasco	6,952 do.	315,902
Starch	1,746 arrob.	2,550
Campeche wood	28,019 quint.	38,958
Indigo	4,910 lib.	4,910
Salt fish	6,586 arrob.	15,185
Tortoise shell	570 lib.	2,954
Salt	18,699 faneg.	33,816
Sacks (cortales)	130,800 do.	42,388
Straw hats	5,084 doz.	7,948
Packthread	1,964 arrob.	6,065
Cordage	259 pieces.	2,842
Harpoons	1,057 arrob.	2,379
Blankets	716	2,229
Hammocks	325	846
Quinquina	1,030 lib.	5,150
Shoes	62½ doz.	302
Divers articles		1,224
Total value in double piastres -		1,607,729
To which add		11,539,219
		8,851,640
Total importation		21,998,588

*Exportation from Mexico for Spain.**

<i>Denomination of Goods.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	<i>Value.</i>	
Cochineal	{ grana fina - - - - -	48,277 arrob.	3,303,470
	{ granilla - - - - -	2,355 do.	50,472
	{ polvos de grana - - - - -	1,322	14,615
Indigo, chiefly from Guatimala	1,480,570	3,229,796	
Vanilla - - - - -	1,793 mill.	65,076	
Sugar - - - - -	431,667 arrob.	1,454,240	
Roucon - - - - -	195 do.	1,419	
Cotton - - - - -	9,228 do.	28,644	
Tabasco pepper - - - - -	2,920 quint.	15,622	
Campeche wood - - - - -	17,389 do.	23,116	
Cocoa of Socomisco - - - - -	1,724 lib.	1,078	
Coffee - - - - -	272 quint.	4,860	
Sarsaparilla - - - - -	461 do.	2,988	
Jalap - - - - -	2,921 do.	68,760	
Balmis - - - - -	48 arrob.	1,200	
Quinquina - - - - -	700 lib.	612	
Tuns - - - - -	- - - - -	14,626	
Tortoise shell - - - - -	439 do.	2,290	
Different articles - - - - -	- - - - -	3,516	
Plates of copper - - - - -	670 quint.	15,745	
Coined and wrought gold - - - - -	- - - - -	62,663	
Wrought silver - - - - -	- - - - -	52,622	
Coined silver - - - - -	- - - - -	25,419,289	
Total value in double piastres - -		33,886,219	

* The real value of the foregoing Tables will be much undervalued, if they are considered only as affording information as to the actual state of the Mexican Atlantic trade in a particular year. Every other Spanish colony in the Pacific is composed of the same original elements of society with Mexico, and growing nearly the same articles of exchange, affords also a similar effective demand, only not bearing every where the same proportion to the amount of population as on this point, where a taste for the luxuries of life is infinitely more disseminated than any where else. These Tables then contain, moreover, the most important hints for the assortment of speculative cargoes for South America: hints, which the progress of revolution in Peru would seem to render daily of more interest and value to the commercial world.

Exportation from Mexico to other Spanish Colonies.

<i>Denomination of Goods.</i>	<i>Quantities.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Flour - - - - -	22,558 ter.	404,851
Sugar - - - - -	7,265 arrob.	22,195
Cocoa of Guayaquil - - -	631 fan.	15,821
Wax - - - - -	368 arrob.	6,426
Campeche wood - - - - -	6,219 quint.	7,773
Raw hides - - - - -	300	2,403
Tallow - - - - -	675 arro	6,711
Enables - - - - -	- - - - -	100,461
Woollen cloth - - - - -	- - - - -	9,062
Pitch and tar - - - - -	403 barr.	1,012
Sacks - - - - -	7,690	2,419
Ordinary delft - - - - -	239 chests.	2,019
Gold leaf - - - - -	- - - - -	7,041
Soap - - - - -	1 946 chests.	55,832
Pitá - - - - -	1,235 arrob.	9,504
Tanned hides - - - - -	- - - - -	82,353
Different articles - - - - -	- - - - -	66,912
Plates of copper - - - - -	895 quint.	2,779
Wrought copper - - - - -	13,947 lib.	5,844
Lead - - - - -	330 quint.	2,779
Wrought silver - - - - -	- - - - -	15,417
Coined silver - - - - -	- - - - -	3,730,171
Coined gold - - - - -	- - - - -	4,400
Total value in double piastres - - -	- - - - -	4,581,148
To which add - - - - -	- - - - -	33,886,210
Total value of exportation - - - - -	- - - - -	38,467,367
From which take total imports - - -	- - - - -	21,998,588
Balance in favour of Mexico - - -	- - - - -	16,468,777
Add the above sums, and the result will be the total trade of Vera Cruz - }	- - - - -	60,465,955

In this balance, the merchandize and productions transferred on account of government are not included. These amount to twenty-one millions and a half of piastres more, viz. imported in mercury,

paper for cegars, &c. to the amount of two millions; and exported in gold and silver, nineteen millions and a half; of which, twelve and a half to Spain, and seven to the other colonies.

2. Commerce with the Pacific. The commerce of the Spanish North American colonies with the Pacific is of the most minute kind, scarcely averaging in all an annual circulation of 5,000,000 of piastres; and even this divided into two distinct and independent branches. The first is the intercourse maintained by Guatemala with Callao and Guayaquil, consisting in the exchange of its indigo with the salt, pepper, and cocoa of these ports. This intercourse was once of some importance; the exports to Callao alone, in 1789, averaging 210,296 piastres, as may be seen by a reference to the Tables of the trade of that port in the preceding article. But at that time, the indigo of Guatemala sought the European markets through Callao; and the balance in its favour was accordingly paid by credit on the mother country. But since the opening of the new road from Tehuantepec to Vera Cruz, this direction of the home trade has entirely ceased; and the whole exchange is now accordingly reduced to that dictated by the mutual wants of these colonies themselves, which, as they grow each nearly the same articles, and as their communication is peculiarly embarrassed by the difficulties of coast-

ing navigation along both their shores, is almost necessarily very small.*

The next branch of Pacific Ocean commerce enjoyed by these North American colonies, is that of Acapulco, which diverges in two directions, viz. to Manilla and Callao. The first is that celebrated galleon trade, of which foreigners, judging from the opportunities which it enjoyed, once entertained so magnificent an idea: the second is almost nothing, consisting exclusively of a feeble attempt occasionally made to vend a portion of the Indian produce received by the Manilla galleons in the Lima market. The first is maintained by an annual ship of 1200 tons burthen, provided by government, and commanded by a naval officer; and her import cargo, thus subjected to military law, is

* Along the west coasts, alike of Africa and America, strong currents set from the north and south, meeting, on the one, in the Gulf of Guinea, and on the other, in that of Panama, rendering the approach to these several points very easy from both hemispheres, but departure from them difficult in every direction, unless to the westward, whither the accumulated waters rush with great rapidity. These currents (they are both in the air and in the ocean) would seem to be occasioned by the eddy winds and currents, which are always found to set to the eastward in the high latitudes, being interrupted, in both oceans, by projecting capes between the 35th and 40th parallels of latitude north and south, and which are thus constrained to escape along the adjoining land, until meeting, they are together thrown to the westward: but, whatever be their cause, their effect is at least certain, and is in the highest degree embarrassing, particularly to the Spanish coasting navigation in the Pacific Ocean.

by order restricted to an average value of half a million of piastres, although, by connivance, it generally amounts to a million and a half, or two millions. It consists of silk, raw and manufactured, spices, ivory, and other valuable Asiatic produce. The returns are chiefly made in silver, with some cochineal, sweet-meats, Spanish wine, and woollen cloth, most of it the produce of the Mexican looms. The whole trade is most cruelly oppressed by the various exactions which custom and prejudice have imposed on it; and every successive account of it which we receive, announces its progressive diminution and decay. That these are the consequences, however, of impolicy only, may easily be gathered from a variety of incidents peculiar to the trade; but the inference can be by nothing so clearly demonstrated, as by a comparison of the burthens imposed on it by convention, with that necessary expense of freight and embarkation which it must undergo. This last is estimated at 5 per cent. *ad valorem*; while the remaining charges are, 33 per cent. import duty at Acapulco, 6 export do. on specie, and 7 commission to supercargoes, of whom each merchant is accustomed to provide one for his own purpose merely, the galleon thus embarking from 20 to 30 every voyage.

I have now summarily traced the whole Spanish colonies on the eastern shore of the Pacific, from

their extreme southern, to their extreme northern limit; I shall now conclude this account of them with the following Table of the respective values of their foreign trade in 1803, extracted from M. Humboldt's work on New Spain, to which I have been indebted, besides, for nearly all that is most valuable in this portion of my compilation.

<i>Political Divisions.</i>	<i>Importation from Europe and Asia, including contraband.</i>	<i>Exportations.</i>		<i>Remarks.</i>
		<i>Value of agricultural produce.</i>	<i>Value of Gold and Silver produce.</i>	
Chili and Peru	11,500,000	4,000,000	8,000,000	Population 2,000,000, of which, in Peru alone the census gave, in 1791, 130,000 whites, and 240,000 mestizos.
New Grenada	5,700,000	2,000,000	3,000,000	Population 1,800,000.
Guatemala and New Spain	22,000,000	9,000,000	22,500,000	Tot. popul. 7,800,000. In New Spain alone, 3,337,000 whites and mixed casts, all consuming European commodities, according to their means.

NEW ALBION,

UNDER the generally received, but disputed, appellation of New Albion, I propose including the

whole intermediate coast of America between the Spanish and Russian settlements, bounded thus on the south by the 38th parallel of north latitude; on the north by Cook's Inlet; on the east by the Rocky Mountains, the Andes of the northern hemisphere; and on the west by the Pacific Ocean. Thus limited, New Albion presents a sea-coast, extending about 1600 miles in length, by a breadth varying from 500 to 700.

Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions.—The soil and climate of this portion of the shores of the Pacific Ocean are exceedingly various; but its indigenous productions, and there are as yet few others, are very uniform, consisting almost exclusively of forest timber, growing in great abundance and luxuriance. The more southern districts are mild even in winter; and are characterized by detached patches of open, champaign land, which, from their recurrence in similar situations, Captain Vancouver was inclined to consider as having been cleared by the industry of man. Further north, these disappear, and the climate assumes, too, considerable additional severity and rigour; the growth of forest timber still, however, retaining its luxuriance, and, during the short summer, a thousand field flowers embellishing the inland plains. Everywhere, indeed, along the coast, the quality alike of soil, climate, and productions, is found superior to

those of the corresponding latitudes on the eastern shores of the same continent; and the vigorous growth of the timber, cited by Captains Lewis and Clarke as having been witnessed by them in the interior, vies with that of the best woods in the Old World. Several species of oak and pine are instanced by these gentlemen, averaging from 180 to 200 feet in height, by a diameter of 9; and to these are added the cypress, poplar, yew, maple, ash, birch, and other natives of the colder climates, of corresponding growth, and almost infinite variety. These want but a permanent contiguous market, to become lucrative objects of mercantile speculation.

Mineral Productions.—Many specimens of iron ore have been found on the shores of New Albion; but we are too little acquainted with the interior to be enabled to give any list of mineral productions. Quartz, agate, the common flint, and other siliceous matter, with some varieties of calcareous, magnesian, and argillaceous earths, constitute the whole enumeration furnished by Captain Vancouver; and to these Captains Clarke and Lewis only add some vague indications of coal and iron observed among the Rocky Mountains.

Population.—The native population of New Albion is as yet very imperfectly known to the European world; and is only characterized, by the se-

veral voyagers who have frequented its shores, by those general marks which seem, unfortunately, common to all savages, viz. ferocity, and propensity to theft. The various tribes of which it is composed, have all evidently one common origin with the Indians on the other side of the mountains; but they do not seem to possess the favourable points of character, the sense of honor and hospitality, the susceptibility to emotions excited by eloquence, and the perseverance alike in good and evil, for which these are so remarkably distinguished. That wonderful sagacity, too, quoted repeatedly, as characterizing the Canadian Indian, is nowhere cited as observable among those of the western shores; who seem in all, indeed, inferior, except in that passionate love of war and bloodshed, which seems instinctive in savage man. In that feature, they are inferior to none; and, unfortunately, the desultory traffic maintained on their shores, has but too well supplied them with the means of gratifying the propensity. Fire-arms are familiarly known and employed by them; and the traders themselves have had frequent occasion to lament the pernicious communication to them of these weapons of assault.

Means of Communication.—The southern shores of New Albion are remarkably characterized by the entire want of a sea-port capable of affording shel-

ter to a vessel of any burthen. With the country in this direction, accordingly, but little communication has been held, the temptation to the attempt not having been, indeed, very strong, the furs of these districts being very inferior in value to those farther north.

The Columbia, or Great River of the West, is the first point of communication, then, in tracing these shores from north to south, which has been sedulously improved; and is, in fact, the only considerable river, or point of ready access to the interior, which has yet been discovered along the coast. Situate in $46^{\circ} 18'$ north latitude, its entrance is guarded by a bar, or rather bank, of considerable extent, on which only four fathoms water have been found; but within, it gradually deepens to eight, ten, and twelve fathoms, and is navigable for vessels of 300 or 400 tons burthen, from 80 to 100 miles up. The rise and fall of the tide is perceptible 180 miles up, but the stream is shortly after interrupted by great falls. It has been traced 1500 miles to its principal source in the Rocky Mountains, and is navigated in nearly its whole length by the boats of the Canadian Fur Company, who followed the steps of the intrepid Mackenzie some years ago, and have now factories established on several points along its banks. These points have been, for the most part, selected near the con-

fluence of the several considerable streams which join the river in its course, and which furnish farther facilities of internal communication, interrupted only by the savage temper of the natives, which demands the utmost vigilance and precaution to guard against its effects.

About two degrees to the northward of the Columbia, that is, in about the 48th parallel of north latitude, lies the mouth of the celebrated inlet of Juan de Fuca, so long considered the entrance to an inland sea communicating with some portion of the Atlantic Ocean. This surmise was finally disproved by Captain Vancouver in 1792, and the strait was determined to be only the commencement of a chain of islands which, from this point, skirt the whole coast of New Albion northwards. Behind them the land breaks into several considerable inlets, all affording convenient means of communication with the native inhabitants; these, however, it would be equally tedious and unprofitable to enumerate. On one of the islands themselves that celebrated settlement of Nootka was founded, which, in 1790, was so near occasioning a rupture between Spain and Great Britain; and, on another of them, an American factory was established in 1804, overthrown by the natives in 1813, and now again understood to be re-establishing. To the island on which it is placed they have given

the name of Madison's Island, after the late president of their republic.

Commerce.—The commerce of New Albion is as yet confined exclusively to the exchange of its various valuable furs, the sea and common otter skins, together with those of the bear, fox, ermine, martin, wolf, and rabbit, against such European manufactures as the traders find suitable to the savage market in which they are exposed. These, unfortunately, are principally fire arms and ammunition; objects of extreme desire to the ferocious natives, but which they almost as frequently direct against their European visitors as against each other. Nothing, indeed, can be more unfortunate than the wide dissemination of these implements of hostility among this people: a dissemination consequent on the imprudent avidity, and mutual competition, with which the desultory traders first sought their market, but which they all now nearly equally regret.

The commerce of the shores of New Albion was maintained, at first, only in the most desultory manner, single trading vessels ranging along the coast, and picking up furs as they might happen to meet natives who had been successful in the chace; while, on the approach of winter, they were in the habit of repairing to Canton, and disposing of the proceeds of their cruize, however small or great

these might be. Successive improvements have been since, however, introduced. First, two or more traders joined together, and, on the approach of winter, repaired to the Sandwich Islands; whence they dispatched those of their number only to Canton, whose lading they were enabled to complete; while the remainder returned, on the approach of spring, to the coast of New Albion, where they had previously appointed rendezvous with the natives along the coast. Next, the Americans established their factory on Madison's Island; and then the Canadian Fur Company crossed the Rocky Mountains, in the steps of Mackenzie, and established their factories on the Columbia, which, with the American settlement, have been noted among the means of communication. Between these several establishments the whole trade is now divided. During the late war, indeed, with America, it was monopolized entirely by the latter of them; but the competition is now again revived, and the advantages are so much in the opposing scale, it is to be feared that the Canadian Company will be constrained, in time, to abandon the undertaking. Their convoys on the river Columbia itself are exceedingly burdensome and expensive, in consequence of the untamed ferocity of the native inhabitants of its shores; and even when they have cleared these, and have embarked the pro-

ceeds of their barter on the Great Ocean, their difficulties and disadvantages rather multiply than diminish. They have no market but Canton, and there they are exposed to all those oppressive regulations which have been enacted by our legislature for the protection of the monopoly of our East India Company. They can only sell for specie, an equivalent which is well known to bear a peculiarly high price in the Chinese markets; and that specie they cannot, either, embark, but must lodge it in the Company's treasury, taking bills on India or England for its amount. These bills, however long the interval before they can be presented for payment, bear only the ordinary rate of interest; while, at the same time, the fur merchant is unable to embark, at any neighbouring port, a cargo of tropical produce, however valuable it might possibly be in his home market in New Albion, because the proceeds of his previous trip are thus taken out of his hands, and only represented to him in bills without credit, and without efficacy, unless in the ordinary line of their circulation.

The whole extent of these disadvantages, under which the British fur trader labours at the port of Canton, forms one of the most lamentable instances of impolicy within the whole scope of our mercantile administration. The subject of their palliation, or removal, will be again resumed in another part of

this work. They are here only incidentally quoted, as tending, in their direct and inevitable operation, to convey to an active and indefatigable rival the whole profits of a most lucrative trade, at the immediate expense and loss of a Company, which, in the enterprize which it has displayed in traversing this vast continent, has established a claim on our encouragement and protection, such as but few can equal, and certainly none exceed.

RUSSIAN AMERICA.

RUSSIAN AMERICA is bounded on the south-east by Cook's Inlet, and extends thence round the promontory of Alashka, to the extremity of the land hitherto explored beyond Behring's Straits. Many patches of islands skirt its shores, and from the S. W. or Alashka Point, above named, two clusters, called the Aleutian and Fox Islands, run in a direction nearly west, almost quite across to the opposite Asiatic shore of Kamtschatka. The whole length of continental coast exceeds 2000 miles—the islands are innumerable, and are many of them the sites of those occasional factories, detached from Kodiak, the principal settlement, by which

the chief intercourse with the native tribes is maintained. Kodiak is itself an island, situate in $57^{\circ} 34'$ north latitude, and 152° west of Greenwich.

Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions.—With the interior of this extensive coast we are nearly altogether unacquainted, and, indeed, the aspect of the sea-coast is too uninviting to have ever tempted any one to extend his excursions beyond the immediate sphere of his business or resources. Incessant torrents of rain, in an especial manner, characterize the short-lived summer of these desolate shores, and the immediate effect of these is to produce a rapid and forced vegetation in the low and sheltered corners, which are alone susceptible of it; but the early return of winter soon chills the opening prospect, nor have the esculent grains ever been known to ripen under their influence. The hardier species of forest timber, together with some grasses and garden vegetables, are alone found to survive the quick recurring vicissitudes; and even of them, the former run principally to brushwood, scarcely ever being found of vigorous growth, or considerable diameter.

Population.—The native inhabitants of Russian America rank singularly low in the scale of even savage man, and are neither remarkable for cunning, ferocity, nor any other mental quality; their excessive filth being, indeed, their only very promi-

ment characteristic. The Russian population is not numerous ; that of Alexandria, the chief settlement in the island of Kodiak, from the population of which most of the demands for out-factories must be supplied, having been only calculated by Campbell, in 1809, at 1300 souls. The whole amount is probably overstated at 3000. It is scattered about in the several islands which are annually chosen as sites for out-factories, whence, too, the greatest portion of it is constantly detached along the bays and inlets which diversify the whole coast, trading with the natives, and procuring from them those valuable furs which compose the sole inducements to the maintenance of establishments along these shores. Cut off thus from all connexion with the civilized world, and necessarily associating much with the natives, it is but natural, perhaps, that these poor Russians should adopt their manners, and even diet, and should be, indeed, in little but mercantile sagacity, their superiors. The excess to which this is generally represented to be carried, is, however, a little extraordinary ; but, it may be remarked, that its effect has been extremely favourable to their commerce. They are, in general, much beloved by the native traders, and have succeeded, also, in converting most of them, to the exterior semblance at least, of the Greek church. It advantageously distinguishes, indeed,

even the earliest Russian settlers on this coast, that, from the first, they made this conversion a favourite object of their pursuit, before they could have been aware of the temporal and political advantages which are inseparably connected with its acquisition.

Commerce.—The commerce of Russian America consists exclusively in the acquisition of furs from the native tribes, and their subsequent transmission to the respective markets for which they are destined. The whole is in the hands of a company established at St. Petersburg, called the Russian American Company, whose agents reside at Kodiak, and assert a political as well as commercial authority over the settlements. One peculiarly evil consequence results from this system, viz. that no part of the profits of the traffic are expended on the spot where they are acquired, the agents for the transaction of one of the most lucrative branches of commerce in the world being established at a fixed salary, and from their distance secluded even from the means of private speculation. Their only virtue is fidelity to their employers; their only reward, promotion in their service. They live meanly, and the colony is neither benefited by their presence, nor injured by their repeated absences while visiting the out-factories.

The furs obtained from the natives of Russian America, are of the same description with those of

New Albion, and are partly exacted from them as tribute—partly acquired by fair and regular barter, the just dealing of which is attested by the attachment which these poor savages testify for their masters. The articles of exchange are iron tools, woollen cloths, beads, ardent spirits, provisions—most of these latter previously obtained from the Sandwich Islands, neither Kamtschatka nor Ochotsk admitting of an exportation of that nature—together with some other trifling articles in estimation among the native tribes. The furs, when obtained, are transmitted in covered boats to Alexandria, and are thence sent either to Petropaulowska and Nishni in Kamtschatka, or direct to Ochotsk, as the season, or other circumstances, may direct. From these places they are subsequently transmitted to the interior, in the several directions which will be summarily explained in the following article, treating of the Russian settlements on the east coast of Asia.

RUSSIAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE EAST COAST OF ASIA.

THE Russian settlements on the east coast of Asia, are composed of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, and the interior shores of the sea of Ochotsk,

as far as 53° north latitude, where a chain of mountains, running in a line W. S. W. into the interior, separates them from Chinese Tartary, and forms the southern boundary. On the north, they are bounded on the shores of the Pacific by the tributary but sovereign tribes of Koriaks, and others, occupying the western shores of Behring's Straits. The length of sea coast, from this frontier to Cape Lopatka, the extreme south point of Kamtschatka, is about 1500 miles; from Cape Lopatka to Ochotsk, it exceeds 1100; and from Ochotsk to the Chinese frontier, the line extends to about 600 more. The breadth of Russian territory, from Ochotsk, as a central point, situate moreover in nearly the same parallel of latitude with St. Petersburg, exceeds, in an unbroken line, 100° of longitude; the whole comprising an empire greatly exceeding, in extent, that of the proudest days of Roman grandeur. In intrinsic resource it is, however, far inferior, and, indeed, has only begun to figure with importance on the great European stage within our own times.

Soil, Climate, and Vegetable Productions.—Of this extensive empire only the extreme eastern shores come within the scope of this compilation, and of these, a very few words will explain the principal particulars. The climate of Kamtschatka is cold and wet; and the soil, bound up during a long win-

ter in snow and ice, receives a short-lived but rapid principle of vegetation from the spring rains, which, as on the opposite shores of America, give forth an early promise, very seldom fulfilled by the autumnal produce. The esculent grains rarely come to maturity, rye-corn alone, indeed, being generally attempted. The growth of timber is, however, considerably more luxuriant than on the opposite coast; and a profusion of grasses and vegetables render the Kamtschadale ports not altogether ineligible for the reception and refreshment of the crews of the fur traders, whom filthy and unwholesome diet but too generally exposes to scorbutic attacks, during their tedious and laborious navigations. To them, even the resources of Kamtschatka appear luxuries, and their demands form the only market for surplus produce possessed by its inhabitants. It is almost unnecessary to add, that agriculture is at an extremely low ebb among them, and, indeed, even its most simple operations would be here exposed to obstacles, which only a very powerful stimulus could permanently overcome.

On quitting Kamtschatka, and proceeding along the sea coast to the westward and south-west, some small improvement, both in soil and climate, is perceptible; but no material change is found in the vegetable productions, which are still limited to

crops of rye-corn, some of the hardier fruits, and forest timber. The interior of Siberia progressively improves in passing to the westward, but it would be to stray beyond my limits to follow up its progress and advance.

Mineral Productions.—The peninsula of Kamtschatka is essentially volcanic in its composition, and abounds also in those metallic substances, the composition of which would seem to be connected with the action of internal fires, being generally found in their vicinity, although sometimes also discovered where they do not now at least exist. Of these, copper is the most valuable which has yet been observed; and I ought to have remarked, in the preceding article, that this metal is also found in such abundance in some of the neighbouring Aleutian islands, as to have given a name to several of their number. Iron ore is also common, and an abundance of the inferior minerals, talc, &c. is found along the whole interior of Kamtschatka. Of all these, only the last mentioned, talc, forms an object of export into the interior. It will be found in the subsequent enumeration of the chief articles of traffic with the Chinese.

Population.—The population of Kamtschatka, native as well as Russian, was long very limited, having, indeed, declined materially for many years

after its first discovery and occupation by the Russian power. Within the last twenty years, however, it is understood to have very considerably advanced; and, as the encouragement of the Russian trade in the Pacific Ocean is a favourite object with the present Emperor, its importance will undoubtedly increase with the success which his measures may obtain. Of the amount it is impossible to form any very correct surmise. It is probably understated at 9000, including the population of Ochotsk, and the other maritime districts of Tartary, in the enumeration, but excluding such of the native tribes as are merely tributary, but not always submissive to Russian authority. Thus understood, its component elements are the pure Russian, the pure Kamtschadale, and the mixed race; of which, both first and second are the least numerous, the latter composing nearly the whole permanent population, exclusive of the garrisons and company's agents. The assimilation of manners with the native tribes, which we noticed in the Russians established on the coast of America, is here, even if possible, still more complete; nor can almost the nicest scrutiny detect, in the domesticated Russian, the smallest superiority over the Kamtschadale peasant with whom he associates. Of course, I neither speak of the officers of the garrison, nor the superior agents. To their urbanity and hos-

pitiable attention, every successive voyager, from our own illustrious Cook down, has borne a willing, an ample, and a grateful testimony.

Chief Cities, &c.—The following enumeration of chief cities, comprises those through which the commerce of the Eastern Sea passes in its way to Irkutsk; whence it separates into two branches, and seeks the Chinese and St. Petersburg markets. Beyond that point it is not my intention to trace it in its progress to Europe, further than by a mere statement of the distances which it subsequently traverses. The communication with China is an integral object of my compilation, and will, consequently, be further considered. The points of contact, too, Kiachta and Zuruchaitu, will be also noticed in the following enumeration of chief towns.

<i>Political Divisions.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Kamtschatka	Nishni	The capital of Kamtschatka, situate on the great river Kamtschatka, about twenty miles from the east coast. It is excellently adapted for the purposes both of external and internal communication, having a good port at the mouth of the river, which is, besides, navigable for boats upwards of 300 miles into the interior. The town is very meanly built.
	Petropaulowska	A noted sea-port. The town also, however, very meanly built.
	Bolcheretsk	Once the capital of the peninsula, and a tolerable sea port on its west coast; now altogether abandoned and neglected.

TABLE—Continued.

<i>Political Divisions.</i>	<i>Chief Towns.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Russian Tartary	Ochotsk	A very bad, insecure port, and meanly built town, situate at the extremity of the gulf or sea of the same name. It is the general rendezvous for the whole Russian trade on the Pacific, which either proceeds direct to it by sea, or, if prevented doing so by the season, the gulf being very hazardous in winter, lands at Petropaulowska or Nishni, and proceeds overland.
	Yakutsk	Situate on the Lena, in 64° north latitude, and 620 miles distant from Ochotsk. This is the first considerable stage made by the Russian trade, in its way from the Pacific to its market. The Lena, on which Yakutsk is built, is navigable from that point upwards of 1500 miles up, and 800 down, to its confluence with the Frozen Ocean, and is, consequently, a medium of inland communication for more than 2000 miles.
	Irkutsk	The capital of the province of Russian Tartary, and the point where the roads to China and St. Petersburg diverge. It is situate in about 54° north, near the inland sea of Baikal, about 1800 miles from Yakutsk; of which distance, however, 1500 may be made on the Lena. It is an opulent, well built town, an archbishop's see, and the residence of the governor of the whole eastern possessions of the Russian empire.
	Nerschtinsk	A small town, situate about 700 miles E. S. E. of Irkutsk, in about 51° north latitude. It is celebrated as being the place where the first commercial treaty between the Russian and Chinese empires was signed; and it has since flourished under the shade of the success with which the arrangements then made have been crowned.
	Kiachta	The celebrated emporium of Russian and Chinese traffic, divided into two towns; of which, the Russian quarter only is named Kiachta, the Chinese being by them designated Maimatschin. Here the rich mutual traffic is almost entirely transacted, the common boundary being marked by a post, with a suitable inscription in the Russian and Manchur characters. The Russian quarter is poorly built. The Chinese is decorated in their usual style of gaudy but tinsel magnificence.
	Zuruchaitu	Another point of communication with China, but of very inferior importance to Kiachta.

Means of Communication.—The means of external communication enjoyed by the eastern shores of Tartary and peninsula of Kamtschatka, necessarily resolve themselves under two heads, viz. those afforded by the interior roads to China and St. Petersburg, and those supplied by the Pacific Ocean.

1. *The Interior Roads to China and St. Petersburg.*—Of the composition of these roads nothing is known of a later date than the journey overland by M. Lesseps, who, in the year 1787, was charged with dispatches for the French government by the unfortunate De la Perouse, then about to quit the port of Petropaulowska, in the prosecution of those discoveries which had so fatal, and as yet mysterious a termination. Amidst the frippery with which this traveller has chosen to clothe his narrative, it is not very easy to discover the precise nature of the obstacles which he had to encounter; they seem, however, to have resolved, in their outset, into those of cold and hunger, both which he very pathetically sets forth; and, subsequently, to have been little more than those usual obstacles which imperfect civilization will necessarily present, in even the most open and accessible countries. Our surprise indeed, at least if I may judge from my own sensations, is rather at their comparative paucity and unimportance, than either at

the courage or perseverance with which M. Lesseps acquaints us in very direct terms, that they were overcome.

The following Table will convey a precise idea of the distances along which this communication is maintained. It is extracted from Mr. Coxe's *Russian Discoveries*, and presents a picture of mercantile perseverance unparalleled in any other country, the interior wilds of Canada alone perhaps excepted. The distances are expressed by Mr. Coxe in Russian versts, of which three make about two English miles.

<table border="1" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tbody> <tr> <td>From Ochotsk to Yakutsk</td> <td>-</td> <td>972</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Yakutsk to Irkutsk</td> <td>-</td> <td>2433</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td></td> <td style="border-top: 1px solid black;">3405</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>			From Ochotsk to Yakutsk	-	972	Yakutsk to Irkutsk	-	2433			3405
From Ochotsk to Yakutsk	-	972									
Yakutsk to Irkutsk	-	2433									
		3405									
<i>From Irkutsk to St. Petersburgh.</i>	<i>From Irkutsk to Pekin by Kiachta.</i>	<i>From Irkutsk to Pekin by Zuruchaitu.</i>									
To Tobolsk - - 2918	To Kiachta - - - 471	To Nerschinsk - 1129									
Moscow - - 2385	Pekin - - - 1532	Zuruchaitu - 370									
St. Petersburg 734		Pekin - - 1588									
6037	2003	3087									

RESULT.—From Ochotsk to St. Petersburg - - - - 7452
 From Ochotsk to Pekin by Kiachta - - - - 5408
 From Ochotsk to Pekin by Zuruchaitu - - - - 6492

It is proper here to remark, that although these distances are thus computed only from Ochotsk, yet to many of the fur exports from that town it is not the beginning of their land journey, the con-

tributions of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, and much also of the winter produce of the Aleutian Isles, having already performed a land journey from Nishni exceeding 1200 versts. Amid such farther distances, however, even this addition, considerable as it really is, appears comparatively unimportant, nor is it, indeed, found materially to affect the price of the commodity.

2. *Communication by the Pacific.*—There are three sea ports of some note in the peninsula of Kamtschatka: the mouth of the river Kamtschatka, in which the chief town is called Nishni; Petropaulowska, otherwise called the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul; and Bolcheretsk: and one, viz. Ochotsk, on the main land of East Tartary. These have been each mentioned in the preceding enumeration of chief towns, nor is it necessary here to add to what has been there said of them. It may only farther be remarked, that Bolcheretsk owes its decay and fall, from being the chief residence of the governor of the peninsula to its present rank of a mere neglected village, to the improvement of the Russian navigation along these inhospitable shores. Situate near the extreme point of the peninsula, on its western side, it was the regular winter quarter of the traders between Ochotsk and the American islands, when the intermediate passage consumed always two summers. This is now, how-

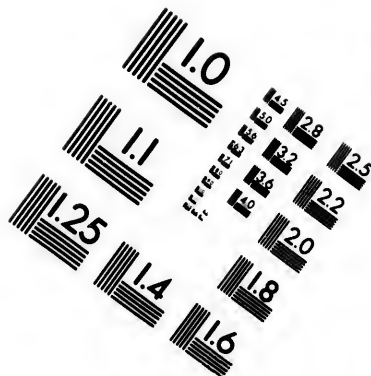
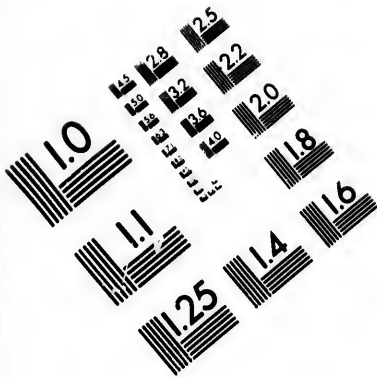
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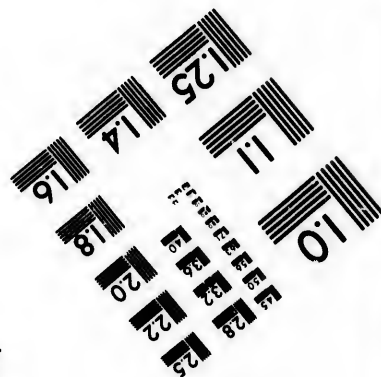
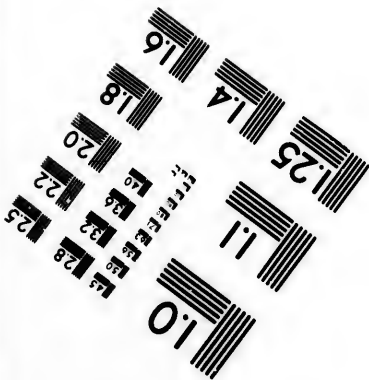
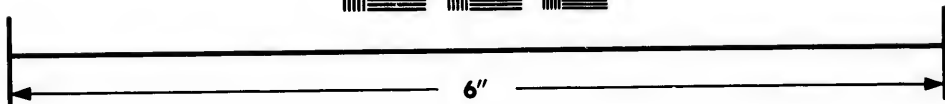
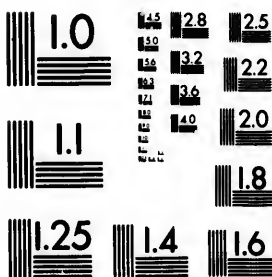
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ever, currently performed in one, and Bolcheretsk is accordingly abandoned.

Commerce.—The commerce of these shores will equally resolve itself under two heads, viz. the overland commerce with the Chinese; and the maritime commerce on the Pacific Ocean.

1. The commerce maintained by the Russians on the Chinese frontier is of very ancient standing; and, even so far back as the year 1680, had begun to excite the jealousy of that proud and suspicious people. Camhi, the reigning emperor at that period, declared war; and this was maintained, with various success, until the year 1589, when that famous treaty of Nerschinsk was concluded, which, although successively modified and retrenched, may yet be considered the basis of the commercial intercourse between the two nations. That, as it now stands, is maintained at two several points, Kiachta and Zuruchaitu; of which the first is infinitely the most important, the latter being only a small dependency on Nerschinsk, and a point of communication with the Mongol Tartars, who repair to it in the month of July, and barter some inferior silk and cotton wares against some ordinary furs, cloth, and Russia leather. The trade of Kiachta is infinitely more valuable, and was estimated, in 1776, to average an annual value of 4,000,000 of rubles, or nearly L. 800,000 Sterling.

It was understood to have suffered materially subsequently to that period, by the influx of furs into the port of Canton in English and American bottoms, consequent on the familiar navigation of the Pacific Ocean which took place after Captain Cook's last voyage; and it was farther for a time suspended altogether, by a difference between the two empires in the reign of the Emperor Paul. Under these circumstances, it is impossible to form any just surmise of its present value; but it is probably now even more considerable than ever, from the enlightened patronage bestowed by Alexander on every branch of commercial speculation within his dominions, but especially on the affairs of the American Company, of which he is, indeed, personally a member.

The exports from the Russian dominions at this point, consist of furs, (those, viz. drawn from Kamtschatka and the Aleutian Isles); cloth, chiefly Russian, with some little French, English, and Prussian, previously imported at St. Petersburg; Russia leather; glass-ware; cattle, chiefly camels, horses, and horned cattle; tin and talc, the latter the produce principally of the eastern shores. The imports consist of raw and manufactured silks; teas, many sorts of which are considered superior to any which can be procured from the fraudulent Hong merchants at Canton; porcelain, toys, tiger and

panther skins, rhubarb, musk, sweatmeats, &c. These are principally destined for the St. Petersburg markets; saddled with the multiplied expenses of their land journey, their acquisition is much beyond the means of Tartar or Siberian population.

2. The Russian commerce on the Pacific, exclusive of that already mentioned with their own settlements in America, is as yet extremely limited; consisting only of some little trade with the Sandwich Islands, and with Canton, for the supplies of provisions, teas, &c. necessary for their domestic consumption. The improvement of this commerce also, is however a favourite object with Alexander; and although the heavy understandings of his subjects seem little calculated for the meridian of Canton, yet the prospect is not altogether a bad one which perseverance would seem to hold out. They are most advantageously situate for obtaining an intercourse with Japan, some of the northern establishments of which on the peninsula of Segalien, literally confine with the Russian Kurile Islands; and although an embassy, formally sent in 1806 to Nangasaki failed in its object, yet cannot the slow but certain operations of neighbourhood and mutual wants be thus arrested at a despot's nod. Russia may not reap the full or exclusive harvest of Japanese traffic—she may, and probably will be

superseded in it, when it shall be fairly opened, by a more active or richer rival; but she is very likely indeed, to set that encouraging example of first success, which would alone seem wanting to fix the attention of the mercantile world on that mart.

CHINA.

It is not my intention to speak here of the vast empire of China in detail: its commercial resources, with the leading features of its domestic policy, statistics, &c. are already sufficiently well known to the mercantile world, to render it unnecessary to attempt even their outline. I shall content myself, therefore, with very summarily indicating the limits and direction of its sea coast, with the existing means of communication which they afford, and several branches of external commerce maintained by them.

The boundary line separating Chinese from Russian Tartary, has been already indicated to be a chain of mountains running W. S. W. into the interior, from the sea of Ochotsk, in about 53° north latitude. From this point the coast runs nearly E. S. E. to the mouth of the Amoor, or Segalien,

a large, and as is generally understood navigable river, which enters the Pacific in about 52° north. Here the peninsula of Segalien is connected with the main land by a narrow spit of sand, the accumulation, it is believed, of the river deposits; and hence the coast runs nearly S. S. W. as far as the extreme point (situate in about 35° north) of the peninsula of Corea, a dependancy of the Chinese empire, rather than an appendage of its crown. Behind this point the land falls back to the north-west, and forms the spacious Yellow Sea; the minute particulars respecting which have been lately given to the public by Captain Hall, who commanded his Majesty's sloop *Lyra*, attached to Lord Amherst's mission. From the south-east point of this opening the coast runs nearly south, as far as the 25th parallel of north latitude, where it falls back W. S. W. until it is at length terminated by the contiguous kingdom of Tonquin, in about 103° east longitude from Greenwich. The total extent of sea coast thus described, considerably exceeds 3000 miles, without including its lesser sinuosities; but of this, from 35° to 53° north is comparatively unimportant, in its present state at least, being inhabited exclusively by the Coreans and wandering hordes of Tartars, the rude inhabitants of those interminable plains which skirt the empire of China properly so called, and which divide it from the

more populous districts, where the extreme line of boundary separates it from Russia, and which are the theatre of that laborious commerce which we have already contemplated in the preceding article.

Means of External Communication.—Only two ports, Macao and Canton, are directly open to European speculation throughout the vast empire of China. Of these I shall speak at some length in their places; but before proceeding to them, I would trace the whole shore of the empire, from north to south, and indicate certain points in it, where, as I conceive, a farther communication might be indirectly instituted, some of them, indeed, being already the sites of external commerce and communication.

1. The river Amoor, or Segalien, already indicated as falling into the Pacific in 52° north latitude. This river was once in the occupation of the Russians, but was ceded by them, in 1689, when the victories of the great Camhi, emperor of China, removed their line of boundary many miles back from the advanced points which it had once occupied. Its cession was a very severe loss to the Russian trade; and, in fact, is the very circumstance which imposes on it those weary land journies from Ochotsk to Kiachta, which we have already contemplated, and which might be nearly altoge-

gether avoided, could the Russians command the navigation of this noble stream, which passes within a very short distance indeed, of Nerschinsk, and Zuruchaitu. As a means of improvable communication, however, with the interior of Chinese Tartary, its acquisition is yet, I should deem, attainable. It is known that the Mantschur Tartars visit the adjoining coasts, and they are said also to collect pearl oysters in its vicinity. Nothing could appear more easy than to institute a trade with these people; and even, by degrees, to draw down to this point the whole of that intercourse at Kiachta and Zuruchaitu, which consists in the exchange of the commodities of Kamtschatka, the American islands, &c. for Chinese wares. The difference to the Tartars would not probably be much, if any; while the convenience to the Russians, or to whomsoever chose to embark in the speculation, would be immense.

2. The tributary Chinese kingdom of Corea, it is well known, maintains an almost unreserved intercourse with the Japanese and Loo-Choo islands, each nearly opposite to its eastern shores; and each successive voyager mentions the numerous sampanes, or coasting boats, which are constantly observed in the intermediate sea, or gulf, also called Corea. With these it might not be difficult to institute a regular intercourse, were these seas ever

to be habitually navigated by small vessels, or by individual traders, (as distinguished from the agents of a great commercial company,) whose notions would not, accordingly, be so entirely confined to speculations on a large scale, and who would have no dignity to compromise by a conformity to local forms and customs, to the observance of which, it would appear, an extreme importance is attached by all ranks of Chinese subjects. In opposition to this it may perhaps be objected, that only the other day, the *Alceste* and *Lyra* were repulsed in every similar attempt on the west coast; but even to this objection, a very satisfactory answer may, I think, be given. Neither of these vessels were prepared for trade; they were both evidently armed; and the inhabitants of the western shores of Corea may, moreover, easily be supposed to be more completely subject to Chinese maxims of policy than those of the eastern, situate as they are on the coast of an inland and domestic sea. The cases are evidently not sufficiently the same to warrant a decided inference respecting the one, from the result of the other experiment.

3. The river of Nankin, joining the main ocean at the mouth of the Yellow Sea, and not more than 40 leagues to the southward of the debouchure of the Yellow River, whence this latter takes its name, is the first point which I shall indicate along the

coast of China Proper which actually maintains an extensive foreign intercourse; and which might accordingly probably be converted into a medium of indirect trade. This foreign intercourse is maintained exclusively in native bottoms, but extends as far as Batavia and Siam, exporting porcelain, silk, preserved fruits, &c.; and receiving in return assorted cargoes of the varied produce of the Indian Archipelago.

4. Ning-po, situate on a river joining the sea behind the Archipelago of Chusan, will come next in this enumeration. It has the monopoly assigned to it of the whole national trade with Japan, the nature and extent of which will be more particularly considered when treating of that empire; besides which, it also maintains a very considerable traffic, also, however, in native bottoms, with the islands and ports of the Indian Archipelago, Manilla, Sooloo, Batavia, &c. Its exports are nearly of the same nature with those of Nankin, with which it maintains also a very active coasting trade.

5. Amoy, or Emouy, situate nearly at the south-east extremity of China, behind the island of Formosa, is the only other point besides Macao and Canton, where any Europeans are allowed to trade; this exemption being, by virtue of a special treaty, conferred on the Spaniards resident in the Philippine Islands; and, in common with every commer-

cial opportunity enjoyed by them, is almost entirely neglected, not more than one annual ship of small tonnage being sent by them to this point. In return, however, the Chinese merchants resident at Emouy are extremely active in their intercourse with all the Indian islands; and their port being the nearest along the eastern coast, is also much frequented by the Chinese settlers throughout the whole Archipelago. It enjoys, accordingly, a very extensive trade, exporting, for the most part, nankeens and other cotton cloths, raw and manufactured silk, paper fans and parasols, iron instruments, vermilion, &c. in exchange for native produce of the Indian islands; amid which, however, it would not appear difficult to insinuate English goods, were some of those regulations relaxed, which at present shut up the English market to those silk manufactures, in which consists the great wealth of this eastern coast.

6. Macao, the well-known Portuguese settlement in the mouth of the river of Canton, is another point of access into the Chinese empire; and is probably alone, of all those in this enumeration, improved to the uttermost, a very extensive system of smuggling into the interior being regularly organized at it. The commerce is accordingly very great; and is maintained principally with British capital, although, for the most part,

confined to the Portuguese flag. Its chief mercantile connexions are with Bengal; from which, besides piece goods, cotton, saltpetre, and grain, it draws annually upwards of 3000 chests, of 100 lb. each, of opium, all of which, notwithstanding the most rigorous prohibitions, is smuggled into the interior of China. From Madras it principally receives Ceylon pearls, cotton and piece goods; from Lisbon, Madeira wine; from Cochin-China, areca nuts, bird's nests, tripang, or sea slug, a dainty in much estimation at Chinese tables, ivory, and rice; and from the Indian islands their varied produce, such as will be afterwards more particularly enumerated. In 1807, the entire tonnage entered at Macao amounted to 9160 tons, arriving in the following proportions: from Lisbon, 1280; Goa, 450; Bengal, 4730; Madras, 250; Indian islands, 1950; and Cochin-China, 500. The same vessels sailed the same year also as follows: to Lisbon, 1400; Ceylon, Bombay, and Goa, 1080; Bengal, some of them touching at the Indian Islands on their passage, 3250; Madras, 250; Indian Islands, 1200; and Cochin-China, 1200.*

* For these minute details, I am indebted to the late Captain Tuckey's most valuable work on Maritime Geography. Poor Tuckey! We were fellow-prisoners of war in France when he devoted his leisure to this laborious compilation, and when, at the time most of us were idle, reckless, and dissipated, he thus

7. Canton, the celebrated port of direct European communication with China, is situate on the river Pe-kiang, vulgarly called the Tigris, from the name of a small island in its mouth, whence that of Bocca Tigris was first given to the adjoining passage, and the general appellation thence improperly transferred to the river itself. The trade of Canton is immense, and must be considered, if even the faintest outline of it be attempted, at considerably more length than those we have already noticed. It may be divided summarily under the following heads: 1. Trade with England; 2. with Foreign Europe, and Atlantic America; 3. with India; 4. with the Indian Islands; and, 5. with the Pacific Ocean.

1. Trade with England.—The trade of Canton with England is most rigorously confined, by act of Parliament, to the East India Company; and the monopoly by that body is further supported by

laid the foundation of that distinction which ultimately consigned him to a premature but honourable grave. His first-lieutenant in his late expedition (Hawkey) was in the same circumstances too, and was equally assiduous. How little did any of us then anticipate, that the manly studies in which he was unremittingly engaged were so soon to experience a brief and fatal termination! Peace be to their ashes! The cordial sympathy and good wishes of all their brother-officers accompanied them on their fatal errand; and the sincere sorrow with which the account of their fate was received by all who had known them, was a more genuine testimony to their merits than any monument could confer.

a variety of regulations, which nearly exclude altogether every British subject from entering it, unless only their own agents or Indian subjects. No others can sell their cargoes unless for specie, a commodity always very high priced in Canton; and even that specie is not allowed to be exported by the merchants purchasing it, but must be poured into the Company's treasury, in exchange for bills on England or India, as may be most suitable. A variety of other restrictions are also imposed, but this is the most important; and its operation on another branch of Canton trade will be cited presently in its own place.

The Company's exports from Canton are teas, nankeens, wrought and raw silks, and porcelain.— In 1810, the prime cost of the investments at Canton was L.1,487,000; the freight and charges L.873,000; and the customs paid in England L.18,500; total cost and charges L.2,378,500; which returned at the Company's sales L.3,723,000, of which tea alone for more than three millions and a half; the annual import into England by the Company of other objects being only raw silk L.100,000, nankeen L.50,000, porcelain L.5000, and wrought silks L.1000. The returns to Canton, on the other hand, annually average between a million and a million and a half prime cost in England; and consist of woollens for L.1,000,000, tin

and lead L. 200,000, and bullion L. 100,000, together with a small list of sundries, chiefly the private ventures of the officers of the ships employed in the trade, consisting of lead, furs, Prussian blue, cochineal, clocks, watches, &c. The total value of these, amounts, *communibus annis*, to about L. 100,000; besides which about the same sum in specie is supposed to be annually imported also among the private ventures.

2. Trade with Foreign Europe and Atlantic America.—Previous to the late long war, the trade with Foreign Europe direct was chiefly in the hands of the Dutch, Danes, Swedes, French, and Spanish Philippine Company; but the gap made in the commercial relations of these several people by that event has not yet been filled up at this point, although it is generally understood to be within the contemplation alike of all to make the attempt. The trade with the United States is accordingly the only one in this list which can be spoken of in the present tense; that is understood to average an export of about 12 or 13 millions of pounds of tea, in exchange for furs, chiefly brought from the western shores of America, English camblets, ebony of the Isle of France, sandal wood, bird's nests, &c. picked up among the Indian and Pacific Ocean islands, and brought to this ultimate market. Two circumstances remarkably characterise this trade.

The first is the circuitous and desultory manner in which it is maintained. Each American vessel leaves its own port on general speculation, carrying perhaps a cargo of provisions to Madeira, and embarking wine in lieu ; or to the Isle of France, the English settlements in India or New South Wales, the Spanish ports in South America, &c. &c. with an assorted cargo suited to these several destinations. Wherever they unload, they are ready and willing to embark in any speculation, whether of country or of foreign trade, and close with any promising offer, keeping Canton only remotely in their view as the port whence, after a lapse even of years, they propose to proceed home, when they shall have accumulated from these slender beginnings a capital sufficient to complete the 'cargo of tea with which they mean to return. The next remarkable feature in this trade is its rapid increase. In 1789 only 15 American vessels touched at Canton, and exported about half a million of lbs. of tea, with a little silk and porcelain. In 1806 there were 39; and in 1809, immediately previous to the breaking out of hostilities with Great Britain, there were upwards of 80. In this last year, it is true, they were hurrying home from all quarters in the anticipation of confiscation from British cruizers; but they are now again out, it is understood, in greater numbers than ever, an active, busy band,

sagacious to discover and eager to improve every promising opportunity.

3. Trade with India.—The principal mercantile connexions of Canton with India are with the respective presidencies of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. From the first it receives cotton for about L.700,000, sandal wood for about L.30,000, and shark's fins, also a dainty for the Chinese table, for about the same sum. The returns are in sugar, sugar-candy, nankeens, raw silk, camphire, tutanague, porcelain, &c. the whole averaging about L.330,000. The balance is principally made up in specie, except such portion of it as may belong to the Company, which is invested in teas for England. From Madras Canton receives pearls of Ceylon for about L.40,000, cotton for L.11,000, piece goods for L.11,000, and sundries for about as much; the total import thus averaging nearly L.80,000. The exports are in the same articles as are sent to Bombay, and amount in all to about L.60,000. Lastly, from Bengal, Canton receives for about L.250,000, of which nearly L.200,000 in cotton, the remainder being in piece goods, saltpetre, &c. Bengal also sends, as has been already noticed, a great quantity of opium to China, but it principally circulates through Macao, its importation being contraband.

4. Trade with the Indian islands.—The trade maintained by Canton with the Indian islands cen-

tres in Manilla belonging to the Spanish, Batavia to the Dutch, and Pulo Penang to the English companies ; besides which, a little desultory traffic is carried on in native junks with Borneo, Celebes, and the continental coasts of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Cambodia, &c. The amount altogether is very great, but we have no such materials as will enable us to hazard a precise conjecture. The exports are principally raw and manufactured silks, nankeens, teas, alun, camphire, &c. ; and the returns are made in that varied produce, for the minute detail of which I beg again to refer to the article devoted to the summary of the commercial equivalents of those islands themselves. Those from the continental coasts are areca nut, ivory, tortoise-shell, dried fish, varnish, mother of pearl, &c.

5. Trade with the Pacific.—The last and least important branch of trade maintained at Canton is that, notwithstanding, most material to this compilation, its commercial relations, viz. with the Pacific Ocean. Had I not been induced to give these a separate place from my desire to make some remarks on their prosecution, I might have appropriately included it under the head of United States commerce, for it is almost exclusively in the hands of the subjects of that republic, the free British traders being nearly entirely excluded by those re-

gulations already mentioned, which so sedulously confine the British trade at Canton to the East India Company.

The commercial connexions of Canton with the Pacific diverge in three directions, to the coast of New Albion and the other fur coasts, to Spanish America, and to the Sandwich and other islands of the great ocean. To these might be added New South Wales; improperly, however, inasmuch as some little intercourse subsists from that colony to Canton, but none direct from Canton to it, the returns not being due to the colony itself, but to the merchants, who having embarked convicts in England for it, purchase up its furs, &c. and proceed with them to Canton. Of these three branches of commerce then, the first, as has been seen, is for the present divided between the Americans of Madison's Island and the Canadian Fur Company's factories on the Columbia. The second is entirely indirect, being maintained by way of Manilla in the first instance, whence it subsequently diverges, as will be seen in its place, to Acapulco, Lima, &c. The last is exclusively engrossed by the subjects of the United States, who in the course of their trading speculative voyages, which have been already noticed, pick up among the widely extended Polynesia, as the islands in the Pacific have been generally designated, assorted cargoes of pearls, mo-

ther of pearl, sandal wood, ambergris, ebony, &c. This speculation generally falls to the lot of those vessels who, not having completed a cargo of furs along the shores of New Albion, are unwilling to repair to Canton without some substitute, and has frequently been known to reward the lost labour and time very handsomely. The whole traffic is however maintained in too desultory a manner to be always very certain ; but in return, the Indian islands are directly in their path, and a very short research among them is always adequately rewarded by an assorted cargo of their numerous productions.

In the year 1805, 122 European and American vessels in all arrived at Canton ; of them 80 were English, 18 belonging to the Company, and 62 to the country trade, 3 were Danes, and 39 United Statesmen. In 1809, there were 84 English, the increase having been in the Company's shipping ; and, as has been already seen, in the same year a very considerable increase took place, from a temporary cause, in the American shipping at this port. It would be a very interesting communication, but which I have not myself any means of obtaining, could a list be procured of the flags and arrivals within the last years, with a detail of the steps taking to renew those European factories which the late long war had so completely overthrown.

It is foreign to the purpose of this compilation to trace the shores of Continental Asia beyond the limits of the Chinese empire, and I now therefore take up the western boundary of the Pacific Ocean as it is defined by the several islands and groups of islands, which extend in continued succession from Cape Lopatka, the southern point of the peninsula of Kamtschatka, situate in 51° north latitude, to the extreme point of Van Diemen's land, lying in $48^{\circ} 36'$ south, which thus divide it in its whole extent from the Indian and Chinese seas. These I shall class under the following heads: Kurile Islands, Jesso, Japanese islands, Loo Choo Islands, Indian Archipelago, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land; and when I shall have concluded the brief sketch of them, which alone I propose here to submit, I shall, under one general head, to which I shall give the name of Archipelago of the Pacific, select for description, a few of the most important of those numerous groups which in almost every direction cover the bosom of the great ocean, but which, in a peculiar manner, extend from New South Wales towards South America, and seem almost to describe a southern boundary to this sea, which by ordinary usage, however, has, in fact, no other limit in that direction than the Polar ice.

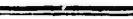
KURILE ISLANDS.

THE islands to which the name of Kurile, or, as it has been interpreted, of Sea Weed, has been given, are, according to the latest authority, (Krusenstern,) 25 in number, and extend from Cape Lopatka to the 46th parallel, where they are parted by a narrow strait from the island of Jesso. They are divided into two distinct groups, named the Great or Japanese, and the Lesser or Kamtschatka Kuriles: and it is remarkable, that although the intervening strait (Canal de la Boussole) is not more than 5 leagues wide, the distinctions between the geological features of the islands themselves, and the physical lineaments of the inhabitants, is the greatest imaginable. The Northern, or Lesser Kurile Islands, are little more than rocky points, lightly covered with a thin sandy soil, scarcely pushing any species of vegetable to perfection, and only valuable, when first occupied by the Russians, on account of the furs of the sea-otter and other animals which they hunted among them, but which have now disappeared before the persecution to which they were thus exposed. The inhabitants are of the pure Kamtschadale or Eastern Tartar race, with lank black hair, and no beard. The Southern, or Great Kurile Islands, are, on the other

hand, mountainous, and tolerably fruitful, clothed in particular with wood, pines, maples, alders, &c. even to the summits; and the inhabitants, otherwise called Mosins, or Hairy Kurilians, are considerably stouter than those to the northward; and combine with much, in other respects, of the Tartar physiognomy, the bushy black beards, and frizzled, but not woolly hair, of the Papuan or Oceanic negro, the inhabitant of New Guinea, New Britain, &c. The manners and customs of the several tribes are equally dissimilar; but for this, a sufficient reason will readily be found in the different comforts and conveniences thus placed at their command.

The importance of the Northern Kuriles, in a commercial point of view, is extremely small; the only intercourse which they maintain being with the Russians, and that even is now so much reduced, in consequence of the extinction of the race of sea-otters, and the remission, accordingly, of the tribute which they had been in the habit of paying, that, in 1806, notwithstanding the usual attention of the Russians to maintain the Greek faith among their subjects, there was no pastor established among them whatever; and a visit at that time paid them by a priest from Petropaulowska, was deemed a special exertion of zeal and intrepidity. The Southern Kuriles are of somewhat more value, partly from their own

productions, which are in some degree valuable, but more from the intercourse maintained by them with the Japanese, and which it might not possibly be difficult to improve. Their exports to Japan are dried fish, dried sea weed, (*fucus saccharinus*), considered as a delicacy by the Japanese, and some few furs of the sea-otter, bear, and fox. To these might be added forest timber, were any demand created for it. The returns made by the Japanese are principally ardent spirits, sugar, beads, and copper instruments.



JESSO.

SOUTH of the Kurile Islands, and comprised between $45^{\circ} 30'$ and 42° north latitude, lies the island of Jesso, long known by name to the European geographer through the medium of Japanese and Jesuit report, but only first given to us in its true form and place by La Peyrouse. It is nearly 500 miles in circuit; and is only separated by the Straits of Sangaar, five leagues wide, from Nippon, one of the principal of the islands composing the Japanese empire, to which it is accordingly subjected. It resembles in nearly every point the Southern or Japanese Kurile Islands, among which indeed it may

without impropriety be classed; being mountainous and woody, and inhabited by the same tribe of Mosins, or Hairy Kurilians, already noticed. Its forests afford a very extended list of woods; nearly all, however, being those peculiar to the colder climes, such as oak, elm, ash, maple, birch, linden yew, silver pine, poplar, chesnuts, &c.; while of esculent vegetables, the enumeration is nearly equally extended, comprising wheat, maize, millet, pease, beans, lentils, turnips, &c. besides hemp, tobacco, and other similar produce. Deer, bears, foxes, and rabbits abound in the interior and sea-coasts; whilst the latter are moreover frequented by seals, sea otters, whales, salmon, &c. in great profusion.

Notwithstanding this varied list of original productions however, it is certain that the view of Jesso the most interesting to the commercial reader, is that which its intimate intercourse and correspondence with Japan presents. Its exports are of the same nature with those of the Southern Kurile Islands; but the whole amount is infinitely greater, the intercourse being facilitated by the establishment of a small Japanese town, Matsumay, on the south side of the island, within the Straits of Sangaar.

JAPANESE ISLANDS.

THE empire of Japan is composed of three principal islands, Niphon, Sikokf, and Kiusiu, and of a multitude of smaller isles, separated from the east coast of China by the Straits and Gulf of Corea, and melting to the northward into the chain of Jesso and the Kurile Isles, with which the whole would seem to form but one group. They are comprised between the parallels of 42° and 31° north latitude, and between those of 129° and 142° east longitude from Greenwich; their extent of sea-coast being about 3000 miles.

Climate, Soil, and Vegetable Productions.—The climate of Japan is very variable, in winter even inclement; and the soil, although diversified, and in some of the lower maritime districts rich and fruitful, is yet on the whole somewhat light and sandy, and in the mountainous interior is understood to be even extremely arid and unproductive. Like the Chinese, however, the Japanese are indefatigable in their agricultural labours; and their returns of rice, in particular, are very abundant, although still insufficient for the effective domestic demand, which, it is understood, presses with great severity on the means of supply, leaving a great part of the inferior classes of population dependant

on casual supplies of fish, &c. for support. Thus situate, it is to be imagined that there are very few vegetable productions destined for export; and we do not accordingly find mention made of other than a few medicinal plants and gums, with some species of fine woods, such as are employed in China in the manufacture of toys and other cabinet-work. Sugar, coffee, and other tropical luxuries are raised for domestic consumption, but only in small comparative quantities; the use of the latter, at least, being by no means general throughout the empire.

Mineral Productions.—The islands of Japan are volcanic in their composition, and teem with metallic substances of great value and variety. Gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead, are the chief objects of mining speculation; and are not only found in great abundance, but also with great ease, being placed at very accessible elevations, and very near the surface. Iron ore is also abundant, but the mines are not wrought with much activity; the steel manufactures constituting the chief demand for it, and these being nearly exclusively confined to the preparation of arms. Sulphur, and generally all the saline earths, are commonly disseminated in the interior plains.

Population, Chief Cities, &c.—Of the amount of the Japanese population, the accounts are extremely vague and contradictory; some writers reducing

it to twenty, and others raising it to fifty millions of souls. All are agreed, however, as to the fact already noticed, of the severe pressure of the population on the effective means of esculent supply; and the miseries which, under any form of government, such a pressure would occasion, are enhanced in Japan by that peculiar policy which prohibits, under the severest penalties, all intercourse with strangers, and thus excludes the possibility of external supply. Nor is this the only evil consequence attending these impolitic prohibitions; the idleness which they occasion in almost all classes of society, is their still more pernicious effect. The fiercest and most vindictive passions are nurtured under its fostering wing, and their deadly operation is attested by the peculiarly sanguinary character of their civil and religious broils. In Japan only in the whole known world, has religious persecution been known to carry her point. The Christian religion was once very extensively disseminated among its population; but it was fairly rooted out upon the scaffold, not a single proselyte remaining to cherish even in secret the recollection of its faith.

There are many populous cities in the Japanese empire; but three only of them are known in detail to the European world. These three are Jedo, the capital, and residence of the emperor, or tem-

poral sovereign; Miaco, the residence of the Dairi, pontiff, or supreme spiritual chief; and Osaca, situate on the great river Jegodawa, in the island of Niphon, and a sea-port of great note for coasting commerce. To these may be added Nangasaki, the only sea-port open to foreign traffic, a town, however, only remarkable from this circumstance, being small, and but thinly inhabited. Jedo, Miaco, and Osaca, on the contrary, are extremely populous and magnificent, equalling, it is said, the first European cities, both in extent and in display.

Means of External Communication.—These, as has been already hinted, are confined to the single port of Nangasaki, situate in $32^{\circ} 44'$ north latitude, and in $129^{\circ} 45'$ east longitude from Greenwich, on the west side of the island of Kiusiu, the most southern of the three principal islands of the group. The mouth of the harbour is narrow, but it is tolerably spacious within; and the town is built in the form of a crescent around its head. As a solitary point of communication with the extensive empire of Japan, the value of the market of Nangasaki might be reasonably considered great; but it is much diminished, if not indeed altogether destroyed, by the insulting and injurious restrictions imposed on all foreign traffic, whether European or Chinese, within its bounds. The Dutch are the only European mer-

chants who have a small privilege of trade here allowed ; a privilege which it has been strenuously asserted by their enemies, and as strenuously denied by themselves, that they purchase by the most degrading and even impious ceremonies. It is certainly not worth such a purchase ; for they are rigorously confined to the small island of Desima within the harbour, and all intercourse with them must pass directly through the chief officers of the port, who are encouraged by their superiors in the most wanton abuse of the power with which they are thus invested. The Chinese are nearly equally harshly treated, being confined within a small fortified suburb, and watched with every precaution which the most jéalous policy can dictate or suggest. These severe restrictions were originally instigated by the repeated attempts made by the Jesuit missionaries in China again to introduce, through the medium of these traders, the Christian faith into Japan ; but they are now sanctioned by custom and habit, and would be equally difficult to alter with those by which European trade is fettered and restrained.

Commerce.—The foreign commerce of Japan is on the most limited scale, consistent with the absolute wants of its inhabitants, and is exclusively maintained in foreign bottoms, Dutch and Chinese. Of the former, two are annually admitted into

Nangasaki, and of the latter 12; each dismantled immediately on entering the port, their arms and ammunition landed, and the crews rigorously shut up in their respective factories.

The exports are gold, refined copper, tin, camphor and other medicinal drugs, and lacquered wares; in the preparation of which last they have attained very great perfection, owing principally to the superior qualities of their varnish, with the composition of which, I believe, we are unacquainted. The imports are spices, provisions, ivory, silk stuffs, furs, and a few woollen and cotton goods, only received from the Chinese. For these however, from the nature of the climate, there is always a very effective demand; a demand indeed greatly beyond the ordinary means of supply, and which would alone constitute Japan a most valuable market for the British merchant, could the severe restrictions by which it is at present fenced round, by any means be palliated or removed.

Before quitting this article, it is impossible not to advert to the very singular civil constitution by which Japan is said to be governed. There are two superior chiefs, the one presiding over temporal, the other over spiritual affairs; and, singular to relate, the authority of the former is the result of encroachment on the hereditary rights of the latter personage, who at one time combined both func-

tions in his own person, and to whom still some external deference is paid by the temporal sovereign. These two potentates have each their own capital, their own hereditary revenues, independent altogether of those of the provinces of their joint empire, which are administered without controul by the viceroys placed over them. The one is the fountain of power, the other of the honour by which it is graced; and such would seem to be the good understanding between both in a long series of ages, that although the empire has been repeatedly convulsed by the pretensions of usurpers, viceroys, and others, the civil and religious authorities do not seem ever to have clashed. The most extraordinary feature of this system of government would seem still to remain untold. Many religious sects exist in Japan; mention is even made of a sect of philosophers, who deride them all alike. Yet however divided among themselves, all are represented as concurring in acknowledging the supreme authority of the Dairi, as their great pontiff is styled; while he on his part proves them by this one test of orthodoxy, in which alone probably the Christians failed, when they excited against themselves that tempest of persecution which ended in the extirpation of their faith.

There are phenomena in the moral as in the physical world; and ignorant as I am of the original

authorities on which these representations are founded, it would be rash to express a doubt of their correctness. I may be allowed, however, to observe, that a system thus composed of contradictory elements, can only be supported by prejudice and force : and that its ruin must therefore be sudden and almost immediate, whenever these outposts are subverted or even seriously assailed. The same generation will probably witness the first successful step taken to overcome Japanese jealousy, and even the last port in its dominions open to foreign speculation. There wants but one keenly maintained civil war, such as has been often witnessed within its limits, and one little experience by one party of the benefits of foreign communication and assistance, to crumble at once this mighty fabric of jealousy and power, and build on its ruins a superstructure of pacific commerce, alike substantial and gaudy, alike beneficial, lucrative, and alluring.

LOO-CHOO ISLANDS.

SOUTH-WEST of the Japanese Archipelago, about 60 miles from its extreme point, and comprised between 30° and 26° north latitude, lies the group of Loo-Choo islands, towards which the visit of his

Majesty's ships *Alceste* and *Lyra* has of late so strongly attracted public attention. In speaking of them in this place, it is not my intention to give any abridgement of the information which that visit has added to what we formerly possessed respecting them; indeed, the deserved popularity of Captain Hall's work, renders any such attempt altogether unnecessary. I propose merely to sum up, in the first place, the principal particulars relative to their statistics with which we are by any means acquainted, and then to give a place to an arranged selection of the most curious portions of the memoir respecting their manners, customs, &c. which was published in the year 1758, in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*. This very curious document professes to be a translation of a similar paper published at Pekin in 1721, by a Chinese ambassador then returned from Loo-Choo; and although the authority is not thus the best, it is yet worthy of remark, that none of the particulars which I shall select have been in any way disproved, while many of them have been indeed otherwise confirmed. The whole account is exceedingly interesting; and may be found at length in the 28th volume of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, page 335.

The Loo-Choo Islands are 36 in number, one only, however, being of considerable extent; and are

divided into two distinct groups, of which the eastern only properly bears the appellation of Loo-Choo, being named after the principal island; the western being by the natives called Madjicosemah. The whole are subject to one sovereign, tributary to the Chinese emperor; the tribute is, however, little more than nominal, being commuted into gifts sent every two years by a solemn deputation to Peking.

Climate, Soil, and Vegetable Productions.—Situate between the Japanese and Indian Archipelagos, the climate among the Loo-Choos is intermediate between the asperity which not unfrequently characterizes the one, and the almost insupportable heat which, for the greater part of the year, prevails in the other rangè, and is, moreover, for the most part serene, this latter attribute, however, as in most places similarly situate, being not unfrequently interrupted by severe hurricanes during the rainy seasons within the neighbouring tropics. The soil in nearly all the islands is fruitful; and yields in return to a very simple system of tillage, very inferior, it would appear, to the Chinese, abundant crops of maize, wheat, rice, cotton, flax, sugar, tea, &c.: while, at the same time, a considerable variety of fine fruits, medicinal plants, dye woods, and forest timber, further distinguishes the list of original vegetable productions. Silk worms are reared in great quantities, but the silk is very inferior

in quality to the Chinese ; pearl oysters are also found among the coral banks which surround nearly all the islands alike ; and, lastly, tortoises are familiarly caught along their shores, their shells, with others similar, affording articles of considerable export to China and Japan. The mineral productions alone seem somewhat scanty ; copper, tin, sulphur, and saline earths, completing the list given by Father Gaubil. Of these, sulphur would seem the most abundant ; one island being indeed named from the great quantities of that mineral drawn from it, the quality of which, it is added, is extremely good.

Manners, Customs, &c.—“ The Loo-choo islanders,” says the memoir to which I alluded above, “ the Loo-Choo islanders are affable to strangers, intelligent, laborious, and cleanly in their houses. Their chiefs are extremely fond of riding on horseback, and have always shewn themselves hostile to the introduction of slavery into their country, to lying, and to deceit. With the exception of the principal families, of the Bonzes or priests, and of the Chinese established in the country, few of the inhabitants can either read or write : indeed, when any of the peasants, artizans, soldiers, or shop-keepers, acquire these accomplishments, they are forced to shave their heads in the same manner as the

Bonzes, physicians, and lacqueys of the palace.* This is quite different from the fashion followed by the others, who all wear a large lock at the top of the head, round which is also left a small circle of very short hair."

" Families are distinguished in Loo-Choo by surnames, as in China; and the men and women of the same surname cannot intermarry. As for the king, he can only marry a daughter of one of three principal families, the representatives of which always occupy the chief posts in the state; and although there is another family of equal importance with them, yet can he not intermarry with it, because it is believed that it has the same extraction with the royal family itself. Plurality of wives is permitted; and when a marriage is proposed, the suitor is always permitted first to speak with his mistress, nor is the ceremony performed without mutual consent. The women are exceeding reserved in their demeanour, and neither paint nor wear ear-rings; their only ornament being long hair pins of gold and silver, round which they twist up their

* This association would leave it almost doubtful whether this regulation were a privilege conferred on learning, or the reverse. It is remarkable, however, both that Father Gaubil's expressions (*on les oblige, &c.*) indicate punishment, and also that Captain Hall should have remarked a degree of contempt attached to the persons of the Bonzes, very different from the respect generally paid the priesthood in comparatively rude states of society.

hair in the form of a ball on the crown of the head. We are assured that there are few or no instances of adultery, robbery, murder, or beggary among them all."

"There are nine ranks of mandarins or nobles, the same as in China; and these are also distinguished by the colours of their bonnet, and by their sash and cushion. The greater number of them enjoy their dignities by virtue of hereditary right; but there are besides others created by the sovereign, who do not transmit their honours to their posterity, and who are dependant on the royal will, even for the stability of their own establishments. The princes and great lords have towns and villages, either in the principal island, or in the others; but they are not allowed to reside in them, or to absent themselves from the court. Mandarins are specially sent by the king to levy all rents; and it is with them the farmers and labourers account for what is due to their landlords, to whom, however, the amount is regularly remitted. Labourers of every description, tenants, &c. are all entitled to one half of the proceeds of their exertions; and as the landlords are besides obliged to pay certain expenses, they do not receive in all above a third of the gross income of their estates."

"The mandarins, nobles, and even princes of the blood-royal, can only have two bearers to their

sedan chairs; the king alone having the privilege of employing as many as he chooses. Their equipages, chairs, &c. are usually made in the Japanese fashion, as also their arms and clothing; but within some little time, the chiefs, both in their palaces and dress, have imitated in a great measure the Chinese."

"The king chiefly resides at Kint-ching, the capital of the principal island, situate about 3 miles from Napakiang" (the port visited by the *Alceste* and *Lyra*). "Kint-ching is of no very great extent, the custom of the country fixing the principal inhabitants in preference in villas adjoining; neither are the houses in general magnificent, being built low, on account of the violent hurricanes to which they are sometimes exposed, and mostly raised too on piles, with a space of 4, 5, or 6 feet left beneath, to preserve them from the damp and wet of the rainy seasons. The principal public buildings are the king's palace, stated to be a mile and a quarter in circuit, and commanding a very fine view of the adjoining country, the port of Napakiang, &c.; the palace of the Chinese ambassador; and a temple dedicated to the goddess Tien-fey, or Destiny, the worship of whom was introduced into Loo-Choo at the instance of the celebrated Cam-hi, emperor of China. All these are built in the Chinese fashion; the Japanese taste

being, however, still universal in ordinary buildings."

"The king has very considerable revenues, arising chiefly from taxes, and from the property of the salt works, mines of copper, tin, sulphur, &c. wrought within his dominions. It is from the revenue arising from these several sources that he pays the salaries of the officers of state and household; and these are assigned in determinate numbers of sacks of rice, by which general sign of value they are indicated, in whatever manner paid, whether in grain, silk, linen, or otherwise.* There are few law-suits respecting either landed property or merchandize; and scarcely any excise or customs."

"There are tribunals established in Kint-ching for all purposes of administration, whether relating to the principal island, or to the others; these last having always agents resident at court. There are

* It is remarkable that the same cumbrous sign of value is also employed at Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands; and the similarity is not less astonishing from its peculiarity, than from the absolute impossibility that it should have resulted from any communication between these two points, or from the common origin of their inhabitants. The whole range of Philippine Islands intervenes between them, and they are each occupied by entirely different races; the Loo-Choo islanders being of Japanese, and the inhabitants of Mindanao of Malay extraction. The country which they inhabit is also fruitful and abundant; the custom is not likely accordingly to have originated in any exaggerated value attached by scarcity to the means of animal subsistence.

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also tribunals of civil and criminal judicature ; of administration of the estates of the nobility resident at court ; for affairs of religion, public granaries, king's revenues, manufactures, civil ceremonies, navigation, public buildings, literature, and war.* Besides these, the king has his own ministers and councillors ; and his own granaries for rice and other grains, and for works in gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, &c."

" Three different languages are spoken in these islands ; none of which are pure Chinese or Japanese, being all corrupt dialects of both. The written language is principally Chinese ; familiar letters, however, together with accounts, king's orders, &c. being in Japanese. The classical literature of China, with the books relating to the religion of Fo, established in Loo-Choo, are in current circulation : the Chinese calendar is also followed, and the expressions used to denote the hours, days, years, signs of the zodiac, &c. are precisely the same."

" Finally, There are in all these islands manufac-

* The tribunals here mentioned, are probably only councils ; but their great number, if they really do exist at all, would seem to indicate a very extraordinary advance in all the arts of civilized life among these people. They were possibly in the first instance dictated by the expediency of finding employment for the crowd of provincial nobility, which a despotic policy chains, as we have seen, about the person of the prince.

tures of silk, linen, paper, arms, and copper; good workmen in gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and other metals; abundance of barks and vessels, not only for the purpose of passing from one island to another, but also qualified to make the voyage to China, and sometimes also to Tonquin, Cochin-China, and other places equally remote; to Corea, Nangasaki, Satsuma, &c. I have been told, also, that the inhabitants of Loo-Choo maintain an active trade with the east coast of Formosa, and that they draw from that island both gold and silver. Their vessels, it is only necessary further to add, are peculiarly esteemed by the inhabitants both of China and Japan."

To the information thus given respecting these islanders, I have but little now to subjoin. The intercourse with China here ascribed to them is further attested by Sir George Staunton, who met their ambassadors proceeding to Peking with the usual gifts; and some particulars relative to their trade with Japan are also afforded us by Captain Broughton, who was shipwrecked amid the Madjicosemah group, and subsequently visited Napa-kiang, in a small schooner which he purchased at Canton, and with which he proceeded to execute the service confided to him of surveying the east coast of Tartary. According to his statements, the trade of the Japanese in this direction must be to-

lerably active and unrestrained, 20 large junks, mostly Japanese, being anchored in the inner harbour of Napakiang when he was there; one of which, indeed, proceeded to sea at the same time, and passed him in the outer road, without suspicion or alarm. It might not be difficult, were this the place for such discussions, to extract a useful lesson from this anecdote, for the regulation of any future intercourse which we may attempt to establish either with the Loo-Choo islands themselves, or with the ulterior market (Japan), with which they would thus appear so well calculated to afford an indirect medium of communication.

INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

BETWEEN the Loo-Choo Islands and New South Wales, the western boundary of the Pacific Ocean is defined by the eastern groups of that immense cluster of islands usually denoted by the general name of the Indian or Asiatic Archipelago. These islands have been generally classed under separate heads, according to some natural or political division, and this method I shall also pursue in the brief summary which I now propose to give of their several statistics. The division I shall follow

is that of Philippine, Sooloo, and Spice Islands, Celebes, Borneo, Sunda Islands, and Sumatra. The three first, in point of fact, denote the boundary of the Pacific, the remainder lying west of them in what is called the Chinese Sea; I include them, however, in my enumeration, in order to be enabled to give that general idea of the existing commerce of the whole, with which I propose to conclude the article devoted to them.

Philippine Islands.—The Philippine Islands are said to exceed 10,000 in number, but of the whole not above a very few hundred deserve the name of islands, the remainder being mere rocks. They are comprised between the latitudes of 19° and 5° north, and the longitudes of 125° and 119° east from Greenwich; and are claimed in sovereignty by Spain, although not more than eight or nine are occupied either in whole or in part by the subjects of that power, the remainder being divided between the Bissayan or native tribes, who acknowledge a partial dependence on the Spanish government, and the Malay or Mahomedan tribes, who swarm throughout the whole Archipelago, and who wage an almost unceasing war with them. Luconia is the most important Spanish island, being indeed the largest of the whole group; on its western side is situate, in Lat. $14^{\circ} 36'$ north, Long. $120^{\circ} 25'$ east of Greenwich, Manilla, the celebrated emporium

of Spanish commerce, and the capital of her dominions in those seas, averaging a permanent population of about 1200 Spaniards, and from 35 to 40,000 Indians and Chinese, these latter obtaining permission to reside, under the condition of conforming externally to the Catholic religion, and engrossing the greatest part of the direct trade between the Spanish Philippines and their native country. Next to Luconia, the island of most use to the Spaniards, although by no means one of the largest, is Cebu, employed by them as a sort of entrepot between Manilla and the tributary Bissayan Islands; and next, Panay, valued by them for its vast supplies of horned cattle, its gold dust, and a pearl fishery in its neighbourhood. Of the Bissayan Islands, Mindoro is noted for its valuable timber, Negros for another pearl fishery, and Leyte for an esteemed breed of horses; and, lastly, of those almost exclusively occupied by the Mahometans, Mindanao is remarkable for its great extent, being the next largest to Luconia of the whole group, and Palawan for its ebony, cacao, bees-wax, &c. A more minute enumeration would be only tedious, the Philippine Islands resembling each other so much in native productions as to admit of being correctly spoken of in the most general terms. Comprised in their whole extent, between the tropic of Cancer and the Equator, their productions are those

exclusively of the torrid zone, disseminated, however, among them in a peculiar abundance and variety. Rice, indigo, cocoa, coffee, pepper, areca nut, logwood, and the most valuable cabinet woods, teak timber, tobacco, gums of various sorts, and, lastly, medicinal plants of nearly infinite variety, are the principal articles : the whole combined with gold, found in dust and in masses, but not of the first quality or touch, rough diamonds, and other precious stones, copper, iron, and other inferior minerals. Several pearl fisheries of considerable value are established near their shores, along which are also found the edible bird's nests, so much in request in the Chinese market. Many varieties of excellent fish are caught in the seas contiguous to their coasts, and cattle, horses, goats, hogs, &c. are abundant in the interior plains. The climate, however, under which all these stores of commercial wealth are found, cannot be characterised in equally favourable terms ; it is periodically wet, and almost always unhealthy ; and heavy tornadoes are also experienced at the change of the monsoons. Volcanoes, eruptions, earthquakes, &c. complete the picture, in which, with much to allure, there is something also to intimidate and deter.

Sooloo Islands.—Off the south-west coast of Mindanao, the most southern of the Philippine islands, lies the small Archipelago of Sooloo, giving name

to the adjoining sea to the southward, sometimes also known by the name of the Sea of Celebes, the coasts of which it also bathes. The principal island of the group, called the Great Sooloo, lies nearly in the middle of the chain; it is 10 leagues long and four broad, and is extremely fertile and productive, particularly in the tropical fruits. The sea washes up considerable quantities of amber along its shores, and there is a large pearl fishery carried on along its eastern side in the west monsoon. But the chief value of Sooloo arises from the judicious encouragement uniformly given by its Sultans to the Chinese commerce established at their capital. This encouragement has constituted it a sort of rendezvous for the whole eastern Malay trade with China; the small coasting vessels which are in the habit of quitting Celebes, Borneo, &c. with the west monsoon, to fish for tripang on the coasts of New Holland and New Guinea, and which at the same time traffic among the out ports in the Moluccas for spices, repairing generally to Sooloo towards the end of the west monsoon, to exchange the produce of their success with the Chinese merchants resident there, for those commodities which may suit their further destination among the western islands, when the change of monsoon enables them to proceed. It is remarkable, however, that with this indulgence for native, or, more properly

speaking, Chinese commerce, the Sooloo Sultans have uniformly shewn themselves treacherous and inimical to their European visitors. In 1773, the English East India Company obtained from the reigning Sultan the cession of the small island of Balambangan in the vicinity of the principal Archipelago, and settled a factory on it for the purposes of trade; but in 1775, only two years after, it was attacked and destroyed by his subjects. In 1803 it was again re-established, but almost immediately again withdrawn.

Spice Islands.—The Spice Islands are comprised between the parallels of 5° north and 6° south latitude, and between 133° and 124° east longitude from Greenwich. They are subject to the Dutch, and are by them divided into three groups; the Moluccas Proper, for this name is sometimes extended to the whole, the Banda, and Amboyna Islands. The Moluccas are 6 in number; Gilolo, the most eastern and largest, which defines accordingly the western boundary of the Pacific between Mindanao and New Guinea; and Ternate, Tidor, Motir, Machian, and Bachian, a chain of smaller islands which skirt the south-west side of Gilolo, of one of which, however, Ternate, the Sultan is considered the chief native prince in the whole group, the principal part of Gilolo being subject to him. On this island the chief Dutch factory is also esta-

blished; established, however, rather for political than commercial views, the Dutch discouraging all sort of trade to these islands, and even subsidizing the native princes to induce them to extirpate the nutmeg trees within their dominions. In this singular policy they have not, however, been successful altogether, the wild nutmegs of Ternate and Gilolo vying even with the finest cultivated produce of Banda; and the other islands are remarkable almost equally with them for the richness and fertility of their soil.—The Banda islands, which lie nearly south of the Moluccas, are also 6 in number, viz. Neira, the seat of government, Lonthoir, or Banda Proper, Pulo-way, Pulo-run, Rosingin, and Gunung-api; this last uninhabited, and containing a volcano constantly emitting smoke and even flame. The Banda Islands have few or no native inhabitants; the Dutch, on taking possession of them, having, with a barbarous policy, nearly exterminated the existing population. Their climate is unhealthy, and their soil in general sandy and arid, producing only nutmegs in abundance, the culture of that spice being confined, by Dutch policy, to this group; and the inhabitants are accordingly dependent for subsistence entirely on the resources of importation from Java, Celebes, &c. Lastly, the Amboyna Islands are 12 in number, of which Amboyna, Ceram, and Bouro, are the lar-

gest and most important. To Amboyna is confined exclusively the culture of the clove spice; extirpators, as they are called, being regularly sent annually to all the other islands to destroy the trees; for their consent to which operation, the native Sultans here, as in the Moluccas, are subsidized. The Amboyna Islands are uniformly mountainous and woody; the interior of all, except Amboyna, being inhabited by native tribes, of whom various ridiculously fabulous stories are told, leaving only the general impression, that they are fierce and cruel, and accordingly, little known. The soil of the whole is unfavourable to the growth of rice, the great esculent grain of the eastern world; the civilized inhabitants are accordingly dependent on importations from Java for this chief article of their subsistence. The natives have, however, an excellent substitute in the pith of the sago tree, which grows abundantly throughout the interior of nearly all the islands in the Archipelago, and which is accordingly much in use as bread throughout the whole.

No minerals of value are anywhere mentioned as having been found in the Spice Islands. Fish are abundant, and of great variety of species, along their shores; and their chief quadrupeds are deer and wild hogs. Snakes are very numerous, but domestic animals exceedingly rare; insomuch so, that

their flesh is only seen at the tables of the richest whites.

Celebes.—North-west of the Spice Islands lies the extensive and important island of Celebes, stretching out from 7° south latitude to 4° north, but of so irregular a shape, no idea of its size can possibly be given by a mere enunciation of the limits, east and west, to which it extends. It is formed by four peninsulas, enclosing three deep gulfs open to the eastward; and on the west, it is separated, in about 129° east of Greenwich, from Borneo by the Straits of Macassar, so well known in the navigation of these seas. On the south-west point of the island is situate the Dutch settlement of Macassar, maintained by means of all sorts of intrigues among the native princes, who are divided into two great nations, the Bugguesses and Macassars, and are considered the bravest and most enterprising among all the Malay tribes. The Bugguesses, so named from Bugguess, or Long Bay, along the shores of which they are settled, or Bugis, as they are also called, are peculiarly noted for the extensive commercial intercourse which they maintain throughout the whole Archipelago, from the Gulf of Carpentaria in New Holland, where they go to fish for tripang, or sea slug, on the one hand; to Pulo Penang in the Straits of Malacca, and Batavia, on the other. The Macassars are rather war-

like than commercial, but are, on the whole, a handsomer and more generous race than the others. They were also once much superior in political importance among themselves to the Bugguesses ; but the wars in which they have been constantly engaged, through the insidious machinations of their Dutch neighbours, have thinned their numbers and diminished their power. Both tribes are subdivided into many lesser parties.

The island of Celebes is in general mountainous, and there are many volcanoes in its interior in a state of eruption ; but the coasts present a smiling appearance of perpetual verdure and rich cultivation. Rice is especially grown in great abundance, forming not only the food of the inhabitants themselves, but exported, in large quantities, from Macassar to the Spice Islands, where, as has been seen, it is entirely wanting. The island abounds, moreover, in all the tropical fruits, and its list of minerals is extensive and valuable ; gold mines existing, particularly in the northern peninsula, and copper, iron, crystals, and sulphur, abounding among the interior mountains of all. One or two pearl fisheries are found along its shores, and considerable quantities of amber are also washed up by the sea against them. Buffaloes, wild hogs, deer, goats, and sheep, are reared in the

interior forests and plains, where also are found many species of monkeys, serpents, &c.

Borneo.—North-west of Celebes, and separated from it, as has been seen, by the Straits of Macassar, lies the vast island of Borneo, the largest in the whole Archipelago, and, next to New Holland, the most extensive also in the world. It is comprised between the parallels of 4° south and 7° north latitude, and between 119° and 109° east longitude from Greenwich; and thus situate, is further separated to the south, from Java and the Sunda Islands, by the Straits of Madura, and to the north-west lies open to the extended Chinese Sea. The Dutch possess a small fort and factory on the south side at Banjarmassing; but their influence does not extend far into the interior, the Sultan of Borneo, as the chief native prince is called, whose territories and capital (Borneo) are on the north side of the island, being quite independent, and even formidable. The total native population is estimated at three millions; besides which, there are said to be upwards of 200,000 Chinese settlers in the island, who are nearly altogether independent of the native chiefs.

The interior of Borneo is also mountainous, but the sea coasts are low, swampy, and exuberantly productive. The climate is sultry and unwholesome, the periodical rains inundating the whole

coast during certain months, and producing, on the return of dry weather, the most noxious exhalations. The coasts are uniformly well wooded, the clove, nutmeg, pepper, gum dragon, camphire, and benzoin trees in an especial manner abounding ; and the rich minerals of the interior complete a list of native productions unrivalled in value and abundance by any other island in the world. Gold and diamonds are the most valuable of these last articles, the former being found in great abundance, and of very superior touch, the latter of great size, but somewhat inferior water to those of Indostan. Elephants, tigers, very large wild oxen, wild hogs, and a species of water deer which grows to a great size among the marshes, are the animals of chief note in its interior. Pearl oysters are found along some of its shores, and fish are abundant in the neighbouring seas.

Sunda Islands.—South of Borneo and Celebes runs a long and narrow chain of islands, extending east and west from 124° to 105° east longitude, but from north to south comprised between 6° and 10° south latitude. The principal islands in this chain are Java, Madura, Sumbava, Flores, and Timor ; the first the chief seat of the Dutch in these seas, the last divided between them and the Portuguese, who have a small settlement, Delly, or Delil, on its north-west coast. The intermediate islands are no-

minally Dutch, but are not otherwise possessed by that people than by the occupation of some detached forts to keep the native princes in awe. They are all rich and fruitful, growing great quantities of rice, most of which is exported, through the agency of the Malay and Chinese proas, from the adjoining spice islands. Horned cattle and horses are abundant among them, and a considerable export of both is also maintained; the tropical fruits are also found in great profusion and variety, but amidst islands teeming for the most part with every different species of these productions, there can be no export of them from any one point.

To return, however, to Java, which merits a more particular account, it is long and narrow, extending 250 leagues east and west, by about 45 north and south, and is separated from Sumatra to the north-west by the well known Straits of Sunda, the direct and most frequented passage between the Indian and Chinese seas, and which at the narrowest point do not exceed five leagues in width. Within these straits is situate Batavia, the celebrated emporium of Dutch oriental commerce, and the residence of the Governor-general of their eastern dominions. From this point they extend their influence in a degree over the whole island, the nearest native princes being altogether tributary

and dependent, and even the most remote rather asserting than maintaining their freedom and independence.

The south coast of Java is mountainous and precipitous, whence, however, the island gradually slopes down to the northward, and for some leagues within the north coast is nearly quite level and marshy. Many rivers traverse it thus in nearly its whole breadth, but none of them are fitted for the purposes of navigation, their mouths being uniformly interrupted by shallow mud bars, and their currents diverted in the interior to irrigate the rice plantations. The soil throughout the whole southern districts is eminently rich and productive, and the most abundant rice harvests repay an agriculture in which little labour but that of irrigation is bestowed. The other principal vegetable productions are pepper, of which the chief growth is in the kingdom of Bantam on the west coast, camphire, cassia, rattans, cotton, sugar, coffee, &c. with a variety of fine gums, procured by bleeding the corresponding trees, which are found of nearly every tropical species in its forests. The most valuable sorts of timber are the teak, of which the supply would seem nearly inexhaustible, iron wood, manchineel, ebony, sassafras, sandal, aloes wood, &c. The finest fruits complete an enumeration which, were it carried to minute particulars, would

comprise nearly every thing most valued among tropical productions.

Sumatra.—Across the Straits of Sunda lies the extensive island of Sumatra, the western boundary of the Chinese seas, and which doubling behind the peninsula of Malacca, from which it is separated by the well known Straits of the same name, would seem scarcely to belong to a summary which professes to be confined rigidly to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. It is usual, however, to include it in the enumeration with those islands which we have already considered in the Chinese Sea, and the few words which I now propose to bestow on it, may not therefore be considered as foreign to my purpose. It is comprised between the parallels of 6° south and $5^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, and runs north-west and south-east, with a medium breadth of about 180 miles. Its eastern coast is claimed in sovereignty by the Dutch, who have a fort and factory at Palembang at the mouth of a navigable river, carrying 16 and 18 feet water a considerable way up the country. The west coast of the island is in like manner claimed by the English, who have the settlement of Bencoolen, nearly directly opposite Palembang, and within a day's journey of the source of its river. But the pretensions of the one and of the other are nearly equally unfounded, the Sumatrans of even the immediately contiguous dis-

tricts to Palembang and Bencoolen being nearly altogether independent of their authority. The English settlers labour besides under a disadvantage from which the Dutch, as we have seen, are exempt, that, viz. of having selected an extremely inconvenient point for all their embarkations, the road of Bencoolen being quite open to the westerly monsoons.

A lofty chain of mountains, sometimes double and even treble, crosses Sumatra in its whole length, approaching within 12 miles of the western, but receding nearly 100 from the eastern coast; and between the ridges which compose its summits extensive longitudinal plains are found, reminding us of those between the Cordilleras of the Andes, where an abundant vegetation and most salubrious climate crown the labours of the industrious husbandman with the most ample returns. The coasts on either side are low, swampy, and unhealthy, covered with wood, but when cleared, eminently productive in all the most choice and valuable tropical produce. The principal articles of vegetable export are pepper, camphire, cassia, cotton, vegetable gums, teak, ebony, sassafras, sandal, and aloes wood, manchineel, &c. and with them, in the native woods, are blended every variety of the choicest tropical fruits. The chief mineral productions are gold, copper, block tin, iron, coal, &c. Elephants

herd together in immense droves in the interior forests, and frequently do great damage by merely walking over the plantations ; the rhinoceros, tiger, and hippopotamus, complete the enumeration of formidable animals ; wild hogs, and deer of several species, (one of which, the hog-deer, yields the bezoar,) with many varieties of monkeys, &c. &c. are abundantly found also in the woods.

We have now summarily traced all the most important islands in this vast Archipelago, two only remaining, deserving some little particular notice. The first, Banka, lies off the east coast of Sumatra, opposite Palembang, separated from it by the narrow Straits of Banka. It is especially noted for its inexhaustible stores of tin, which were discovered only in 1710, and which produce annually 300,000 lbs. of metal, without sensible diminution. Some copper is also found in it. The next island, Pulo Penang, or Prince of Wales' Island, is remarkable, not so much for its own produce, as for being the staple mart for the whole British trade with the Malays. It is situate within the Straits of Malacca, and possesses a most excellent harbour, with 14 fathoms water in most places, and no where less than 4, even on the mud bank which protects it to the northward, to which point alone it lies open. The town, named George Town, is regularly built, and healthily situated ; and a building

yard, in which ships of 1000 tons burthen have been constructed, attests the attention of the East India Company to improve its natural advantages to the uttermost. It has one serious disadvantage, however, as an entrepot; it is too remote from the principal sources of native traffic, and is in this decidedly inferior to Batavia, its great rival in the Malay trade.

Commerce.—In treating of the several islands, and groups of islands, which have necessarily passed under review in this article, I have studiously avoided any allusion to the extensive traffic maintained by them, desirous to condense under one head all the information on this topic, with which the public has any where been favoured. To that task I now proceed; and shall commence with a general enumeration of the chief articles of native produce exported by these islands, and of which I shall only subsequently speak in the most general terms. These are gold dust, rough diamonds, ivory, tin, tutenague, tripang, or sea slug, edible bird's nests, bees wax, dammer, (a resin used all over India in the composition of pitch,) rice, rattans, shark's fins and maws, (a dainty for Chinese tables,) terra japonica, pepper, dragon's blood, camphire, areca nuts, sago, cloves and nutmegs, balachang, benzoin, copper, eagle, sandal, aloes, and other cabinet woods, and vegetable oils of many sorts and varieties. These are not, as we have seen, all pro-

duced alike in every island ; but these and even more, for a minute enumeration is not pretended, are meant, when I shall have occasion in future, to allude to the varied produce of those islands.

The trade of the whole Archipelago will be most distinctly elucidated, by dividing it under the several heads of domestic traffic, trade with the Pacific Ocean, with China, with the Hindu Chinese nations, as Dr. Leyden terms them, resident between China and Bengal, with India, with the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia, and round the Cape of Good Hope. For in so many directions does their varied traffic diverge. Its value, under each particular head, will be attempted to be conjectured, according to the data with which we may be supplied ; only further now observing in general, that the whole population of the Archipelago is probably under-stated at twenty millions, Borneo, Celebes, and Java, alone giving ten, according to the best surmise of their respective historians. Of these, more than one half may be considered as opulent and luxurious consumers, well supplied with the necessary equivalents their own native produce, able and willing, accordingly, to indulge in every foreign gratification, whether of clothing or of food. Add to this, that their climate is variable, their respective islands being for the most part mountainous, and their interior accordingly

cool, sometimes even cold, although so near the equator. These last considerations more peculiarly apply to the trade in woollens, maintained with them by English and Dutch merchants; but they are better placed here than under that particular head, as they indirectly also influence that extensive trade with China and British India in cotton goods, which it will be seen that they maintain.

1. *Domestic Commerce.*—The domestic commerce of the Archipelago is principally in the hands of the Buggesses or Bugis, (the Malay natives of Celebes,) and of the Chinese settlers, who are disseminated throughout the whole. It consists in the exchange of their several commodities, particularly rice, which, as it is in universal demand, and only grows in the western islands, Celebes, Borneo, Java, &c. is almost every where a staple commodity. Freighted with this, and some other articles, particularly Chinese cottons, the Buggess and Chinese traders leave their homes with the westerly monsoons, and having made the tour of the eastern islands, as far even as New Guinea in the Pacific, and the Gulf of Carpentaria in New Holland, off which coasts they fish also for tripang; they either proceed finally to Sooloo, where they dispose of the cargo which they may have accumulated, for Chinese wares, suited to their own market, or to Batavia, when the north-east monsoon sets in,

there to meet their European customers. The extent of this desultory traffic is incredible; it may be surmised, however, from the fact, that not less than 2000 tons of Malay proas leave annually the port of Macassar alone on these expeditions, and a still greater, but uncertain number, it is well known, sail from Buggess or Boni Bay. The Chinese engaged in them are those chiefly of Borneo and Sooloo.

2. *Commerce with the Pacific.*—The commerce of the Archipelago with the Pacific, is confined exclusively to the port of Manilla, whence two annual ships sail for Acapulco and Lima, the one public property, the other belonging to the Philippine Company. The export cargoes of each are assorted in nearly the same proportions; four-fifths Chinese produce, raw and manufactured silks, &c. the remainder in the more valuable spices, and some Bengal cloths. The value of the Acapulco ships, as we have elsewhere seen, is limited by law to 500,000 dollars, but generally amounts to 2,000,000; that of the second is indefinite, but does not average above half as much. They are both depressed by heavy import duties in America, not however both in the same proportion, those levied at Acapulco being 33 per cent. *ad valorem*, and at Lima only 18; the duty on the returns, which consist almost exclusively of specie, being at both 6. But they

are still more kept down, by the multiplied regulations which confine each in particular channels, to be entered only by Spanish subjects ; these latter, at Manilla, being in a peculiar manner infected with that listless apathy and indifference towards commercial speculation, which has so long been a leading feature in the Spanish national character.

3. *Commerce with China.*—This is almost entirely engrossed by Dutch, English, and still more than either, or even both, by the Chinese themselves, whose junks swarm throughout the whole Archipelago. Of the varied produce of its islands, every article is suited to the Chinese markets, while some, as tripang, shark's fins and maws, bird's nests, &c. in these alone find a sale.

The trade of the Archipelago with China, maintained by the Dutch and English, is only by the way ; the ships of the one touching at Batavia, the other at Pulo Penang, on their passage from Holland or India to Canton, and there taking in whatever their respective agents may have by them of island produce suited for that market. That maintained by the Chinese themselves is much more extensive, and centres principally at Emouy, although extending both north and west, as far as Nankin and Canton. Their principal rendezvous points among the islands are Sooloo and Batavia, where their imports consist for the most part of coarse

silks, cottons, parasols, iron culinary instruments, gongs,* &c. The returns, in all the varied produce of the Archipelago, circulate through China, and from Ning-po reach even Japan, where the demand for some of the articles, particularly ambergris, birds' nests, elephants' teeth, spices, camphire, and tortoise-shell, is always much beyond the means of supply which that jealous people admit into their ports.

4. *Commerce with the Hindu-Chinese, the natives, viz. of Tonquin, Cochin-China, Cambodia, Siam, Malacca, &c.*—The trade with these several nations is divided between the Chinese settlers and Buggesses; the former engrossing that with the two first, the more easterly tribes conterminous with their own empire; the latter that with the last. They each leave the islands with assorted cargoes; the Chinese towards the end of the easterly monsoon, at the entire termination of which, when they have concluded their traffic, they proceed to their own ports with cargoes of rice, salt, areca nuts, &c. received in exchange, together with teak junks, in building which the Cochin-Chinese are allowed a superiority over them. The Buggess merchants,

* For the proportion in which a Chinese junk is generally laden with articles suited for the island market, and for a minute list of these articles themselves, see Forrest's *Voyage to New Guinea*, p. 325.

on the other hand, quit the islands at the very beginning of the same monsoon, and trade coastways to the westward, concluding their voyages at Pulo Penang, where they dispose of the cargoes which they may have accumulated, for the English cloths, India cottons, opium, &c. with which that market is always plentifully supplied from Calcutta and Madras. The value of this last branch of trade may be surmised from the fact, that not less than half a million of dollars in bullion are left annually at Pulo Penang by these desultory traders, in exchange for the single article of opium, for which there is a constant demand among their native islands.

5. *Commerce with India.*—While Java was in our possession, the commerce of the Archipelago with India was divided between the two ports of Batavia and Pulo Penang: since its restoration, however, to the Dutch, it will doubtless have reverted to its original channel, the last mentioned, viz. of these two places. Its mode of prosecution has been anticipated in the preceding article, in which the desultory traffic of the Malays has been seen to terminate at Pulo Penang, where they complete return cargoes of those supplies in demand at their native ports, particularly English broad cloths, Bombay, Madras, and Bengal piece goods, iron and steel manufactures, opium, &c. The united va-

lues are nearly as follows : Bombay imports annually into Pulo Penang for about L. 30,000 in goods, and exports for about L. 60,000 ; Madras imports for about L. 120,000, and exports for about L. 80,000 ; and Bengal imports for about 270,000, and exports for nearly L. 110,000 ; the respective balances being paid in specie. Besides this, a circulation has been always maintained with Batavia also, amounting to about L. 70,000 ; but, with the exception of a little opium from Calcutta, their exports at this point have been almost constantly paid for by the English in specie, except during the short interval when Java was in our hands, when this vent for our Indian and English manufactures was very great indeed. The difference in the amount of returns was principally made up in teak wood, of which not less than 10,000 tons were shipped, unwrought, during the short period in which this extended intercourse was maintained, besides about 8000 tons of shipping constructed on British account. Whether this most advantageous traffic to both parties be now altogether superseded, or whether it is only diminished and restricted by the re-occupation of Java by its former masters, is, I believe, as yet unknown in this country.

6. *Commerce with the Persian and Arabian Gulfs.*

—The direct trade of the Archipelago with the Persian and Arabian markets is extremely minute,

and is maintained principally through the agency of Arab merchants, who, besides the profits on their cargoes of dried fruits, salt, Mocha coffee, gold, elephants' teeth, &c. exchanged for island produce, derived also a certain advantage from the passage of pilgrims to and from the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, previous to their destruction by the Wahabees in 1804. But the indirect trade maintained still by the English of Bombay, the Portuguese of Mozambique, and formerly also by the Dutch at Surat, is much more considerable. Muscat, a port nearly at the extreme southern point of the peninsula of Arabia, has been now long declared a free port by the policy of the Imaum, as the native prince is styled, to whom it is subject. Hither, accordingly, European vessels almost exclusively repair; and from this point the spices, and other produce of the Indian Archipelago, circulate, together with its continental produce and manufactures, in the Arabian trankeys, as the native coasting vessels are called, along all the shores of Persia, Arabia, and Abyssinia, in the Gulf of Persia, and in the Red Sea.

7. *Commerce round the Cape of Good Hope.*—The commerce of the Indian Archipelago round the Cape of Good Hope is engrossed by the English, Spanish, Dutch, and American traders. The emporium of the first is, as we have already seen,

Pulo Penang, whence the produce of the islands finds its way through Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in small quantities only to the home markets; that of the second is Manilla; of the third, Batavia and Amboyna; the last only, viz. the Americans, trafficking about in person throughout the whole Archipelago, doing that themselves which the others entrust to the Malay traders. The Spanish share in the whole trade is very minute, never having exceeded two annual ships, and having been, besides, now long interrupted by the convulsions of the parent state. Twenty-five years ago, the Dutch share was infinitely the most considerable, and the jealousy with which they guarded their monopoly is familiar to every reader. Since that period, however, their possessions in these seas have all for a time changed masters; and although they are now again restored, and the attempt has been made to replace every thing on its former footing, the wheels of the mighty machine have been found, it is said, to be rusted; and the monopoly of trade claimed by their company, to be a monopoly of loss instead of gain. Report adds, that it will accordingly be thrown open; and it is then only that it will become truly formidable to us, and profitable to its new masters. It has been already remarked, that as an emporium, Batavia is nearer and more convenient to the Malay mer-

chants than Pulo Penang ; and so sensible were we of the fact, that when Java was in our hands, we actually transferred thither the greater part of our whole connections with these islands, abandoning our own national emporium, Pulo Penang, as comparatively insignificant. The consequence was, that Batavia became even a more confirmed emporium than before ; and although it is very possible, that should it continue confined, as heretofore, exclusively to the use of the Dutch company, the advantages of free trade may easily recal the Malay merchants to Penang ; yet if, on the other hand, it should also be declared free, then will this latter have little or no chance in the competition. Perhaps there is nothing so much wanted by us in these seas—the observation is not original, I quote it almost verbatim from a very recent publication—as a nearer and more central emporium among the oriental islands, possessing the same advantages of accommodation with our own Pulo Penang.

Before quitting the subject of the commerce of these islands, I would notice the very scandalous license allowed to the freebooters and pirates who lurk among their several groups, particularly about the east coast of Sumatra, Banka, Bally ; among the Sunda and Sooloo Islands, about Mindanao, and among the Ladrone Islands on the coast of China.

These ruffians embark in proas carrying 20 men each, with 2 carriage guns, six or twelve-pounders, and wall pieces, muskets, &c. They assemble sometimes in fleets of 200 sail, and respect neither property nor life; generally murdering Europeans and Chinese who fall into their hands, and stripping and selling Malays for slaves. These are the fellows who besieged the remnant of the Alceste's people wrecked in the Straits of Gaspar; and by such also is that trading intercourse which we have contemplated among the islands, harassed and interrupted. Surely their chastisement and dispersion would be a worthy exercise of that maritime power, of which Great Britain is at once so jealous and so proud.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

DIRECTLY south of the Indian Archipelago lies the vast island or continent of New Holland, the eastern or Pacific Ocean coast of which was first traced and delineated in its whole extent by Captain Cook, and by him named New South Wales. In this article, I shall first notice its limits and native produce, and then consider the English colony established in it somewhat more in detail.

I. The north and south boundaries of New South Wales are Torres Straits on the one hand, which separate it, in about 10° south latitude, from the Indian Archipelago; and on the other, Bass's Straits, which, in 39° south, divide it from Van Diemen's Land, the last and concluding point of the broken chain of islands which define the western boundary of the Pacific Ocean, and separate it from the Indian Seas. Its extreme eastern point, Cape Moreton, is situate in $153^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude from Greenwich; and his Majesty's commission to the governor of the English colony extends his authority to the westward as far as 135° east. This western boundary is, however, a mere illusion. A lofty chain of mountains traverses the whole island from north to south, at an irregular distance of from 40 to 60 miles from the east coast; and by this barrier accordingly, till within the last two years, the extension of English dominion to the westward had been constantly opposed. It was then at last overcome by the zeal and perseverance of one of the colonial officers, fertile plains have been discovered, and a magnificent river, gently flowing to the westward, has been named after the governor, General Macquarrie, at whose instigation the attempt had been made, and who had in person witnessed its success. The 135^{th} parallel will now be equally illusory, on the other hand,

This river will be probably soon traced to its mouth ; and if found navigable in its whole extent, the English flag will equally wave, and her dominion be equally asserted, on the west as on the east coast. The discovery will be indeed a most important one, in every point of view, both for the improvement of our own commercial speculations, and for the defence of our eastern trade against foreign machination. The west coast of New Holland is for the most part placed within that current of westerly winds which prevails in all the high latitudes, whether north or south, and which is independent of that variation in seasons and monsoons, by which the navigation of the Indian Archipelago is facilitated in some respects, but embarrassed in others. A military position within its limits is accordingly desirable, from the facility with which at all seasons it may be communicated with, as well as from the command which it derives, from its proximity and bearing, over the navigation both of the Straits of Sunda, and of that exterior passage to the southward of Java by which the port of Canton is sought, when the favourable monsoon has been lost for the more direct course. Such a point it may not be very material for us to occupy ourselves, our maritime ascendancy being, for the present at least, adequate to all demands of protection ; but it is most exceedingly important that

it should not be possessed by any other ; and the hope that the discovery of the magnitude of the Macquarrie in the interior may have stimulated to its indefatigable investigation quite to its termination, gives thus a dignity and importance to these labours of our colonial brethren, which the mere discovery of a new tract of country, however rich or fertile, could not certainly possess without these associations.

To return to New South Wales however, from which these remarks are some deviation. It presents, as may be expected in a country comprising so many degrees of latitude within its limits, a very considerable diversity both in quality of soil and character of vegetable produce ; a diversity which seems to be whimsically opposite to what is generally remarked, the tropical portions of it being strikingly more sterile and unproductive than those situate in the higher latitudes. In coasting along from Cape York, its north-eastern extremity, to Cape Moreton, a harsh and rocky coast is only diversified by shifting sandy plains, salt morasses overgrown with mangroves, and a thinly wooded mountainous interior, the principal trees of which are the red gum and a species of pine resembling the *alorse* wood found on the opposite shores of South America, and considerably harder and heavier than those of a colder clime. From Cape More-

ton southwards the aspect of the country sensibly improves, and the vicinity of the English settlements has been found suitable to the culture of nearly every species of esculent grain, as well as of the finest tropical and temperate region fruits. Scarcely any of these are however indigenous in the country, and exclusive of that multitude and variety of shrubs and plants which procured for Botany Bay its peculiar appellation, the whole seems nearly altogether deficient in original vegetable produce of either positive or relative value to the commercial world. Of the several species of timber may be named however an oak, the bark of which is said to possess peculiarly superior properties for the purposes of tanning; and very good pines and cedars are also stated in the usual enumeration of the resources of the English colony in the way of trade. No minerals of value have been discovered; coal alone is found in abundance, and wrought to a sufficient extent to cover the whole domestic demand, and even to admit of some trifling export. Spermaceti and black or blubber whales are found in abundance along the coast; and a great many most beautiful varieties of the parrot and pigeon tribe, with the emu or cassiowary, black swan, eagles, herons, hawks, &c. swarm in the interior forests. Very few species of quadrupeds have ever been found among them however, and of them all only

the kangaroo possesses a fur of sufficient value to form an article of profitable export.

The natives of New South Wales rank particularly low in the enumeration of the human species, and have withstood moreover nearly every attempt which has been made by the English settlers to humanize them. Sullen, ferocious, and revengeful, they cling to their original habits with a pertinacity evidently the fruit rather of obstinacy than of stupidity, for they are very good mimics, and readily seize and expose any characteristic foible or singularity in those with whom they converse. They go about nearly in a state of nature, although their climate is by no means a warm one; and subsist chiefly on fish, which they catch with the spear, in the use of which they display very considerable address. This address they are however too fond of exhibiting on other occasions; and it has been acutely observed by a much lamented and hardly-used navigator, the late Captain Flinders, that to the habits of solitary existence, and to the confidence in their individual dexterity which they acquire from this method of procuring their food, may be traced much of that ferocity for which they are distinguished. Having said so much of its evil consequences, it would be unfair to close this sketch of the character of these native tribes without adverting also to that judicial combat or duel which

so remarkably distinguishes them from every other race of savages with which we are acquainted, and which may be traced to the same cause. When one of their number is accused of any crime, as murder or otherwise, of sufficient importance to interest a number in its punishment, he is not immediately sacrificed to their resentment, however violently that may be excited, but is challenged by them to a combat in the presence of some neighbouring tribes. At the appointed time he appears before his judges and antagonists, armed with a spear and round buckler such as they usually wear, and is required to stand the united discharge at the same moment of the spears of all his accusers. Such are the dexterity and quickness which characterise nearly all of them however, it is not uncommon for a champion, thus placed, to escape either altogether unhurt or very slightly wounded, and he is thus secure from the future open vengeance at least of his antagonists, being deemed to have expiated his offence by this perilous exhibition of activity and skill.

II. Of the peculiar object and purpose for which an English colony was first established in New South Wales, it is not necessary to speak at length ; it is sufficiently well known, that it was intended to serve as a place of reception for such felons as might be deemed suitable objects of conditional forgive-

ness; the punishment due to whose offences might accordingly be commuted into periods of exile, during which it was hoped, not only that their labours might be made productive to the public, but also that measures might be taken for the gradual and effectual reformation of their own evil propensities. Such a purpose was most laudable in its pursuit, and the interest which accompanied the earlier progress of the experiment, is attested in some measure by the numerous minute publications which for a time placed the events of every successive day at Paramatta and Sydney Cove familiarly before the eyes of the British public at home. Some little disapprobation was however at length expressed by political economists; disapprobation partly suggested by the striking want of success which seemed to attend the whole experiment as far as its object was reformation not punishment, and partly by the very obvious impolicy of some of the measures of administration resorted to by the colonial government. Since that time the chronicle of New South Wales has been shut up, public attention and curiosity have acquired different directions, and the individual inquirer who would now wish to trace the connection between cause and effect in political administration, is here at least left completely in the dark, and can only guess at the present state of this interesting colony by dint of

considerations regarding its former condition, and the probable consequences of more modern improvements. The latest minute information we possess, indeed, only bears the date of 1810, being contained in a very masterly report made by a committee of the House of Commons in 1812; besides which a gentleman of the name of Mann, who held at one time an official situation in the colony, published, on his return to England, a very well digested summary of its state in 1809, when he left it. To these a very recent publication has added a short notice of the alterations made in 1812, in some parts of the constitution, by which the colony was administered, together with long extracts from the Sydney Gazette, illustrative of the habits, public feeling, and amusements of that town. But in this last compilation a lamentable silence is maintained as to the chief fact of which we should be curious. What are now the habits and general state of morals among the convicts? Do they for the most part reform, or do they still persist in those acts of desperate and uncontrollable wickedness which characterize so painfully the earlier history of the establishment? These are the points on which we want information; they are points, too, into which it might again be worthy of our representatives in Parliament to inquire; the rather as every reasoning by induction and analogy would

seem to contradict the hope in which we would yet gladly indulge, that a favourable and satisfactory answer would reward the investigation.

In considering the whole subject with which the mention of this colony is almost inseparably connected, I propose to deviate from the rigid plan on which I have conducted this summary, in every other point of the limits which it embraces. I shall, first, endeavour to furnish a clue to the present state of the colony of New South Wales, by a comparison of former statements with each other: I shall then consider the political constitution under which it was first administered, and the changes introduced into it in 1812: and I shall conclude by giving my reasons for considering it nearly quite certain, that the original and principal purpose of its establishment—the reform as well as punishment of convicts—is quite unattainable by any modification of which it is susceptible, and that the whole subject most imperiously requires revision and reconsideration, upon every principle of policy, humanity, and even justice, which are all, I think, outraged by the further maintenance of New South Wales as a receptacle for the outcast felons, whom we may deem it expedient to exile from their native land. I shall make no apology for entering into the subject so largely in this place: it is one of too much interest and importance, not to give

weight to even the humblest suggestions which regard it.

1. *Statistical Summary.*—The English colony of New South Wales is accumulated between the 30th and 34th parallels of south latitude, and being confined to the westward by the mountainous barrier already noticed, contains in all only about 14,000 square miles of territory. These are divided into two counties, Cumberland and Northumberland, of which the 32d parallel is the common boundary ; and contain four principal townships, Sydney and Paramatta in Port Jackson, Hawkesbury or Richmond, on the river of the former name, falling into Broken Bay ; and Newcastle, on the river Hunter, joining the Pacific near the northern limit of the colony, and traversing the principal coal district within its bounds. The whole population, in 1809, is stated by Mr. Mann to have consisted of 9356 souls, of whom about 6000 were free settlers, the remainder being on the public lists for rations, either as civil and military servants of the crown, or as convicts. In 1810, the population is generally stated in the Parliamentary Report at 10,454. At the same rate of increase, it may be deemed now to exceed 20,000, of whom from 15 to 18,000 will probably be free settlers, subsisting by their own industry and exertion, a large proportion of them indeed the descendants of convicts, not men who have themselves incurred the penalties of the law.

Vegetable Productions, Agriculture, &c.—It has been already noticed, that nearly all the esculent grains and fruits return abundantly in this portion of New South Wales. The following, then, is a statement of the proportions in which, according to Mr. Mann, they were cultivated in 1809: Wheat, 6887 acres; maize, 3889; barley, 534; oats, 92; pease and beans, 100; potatoes, 301; turnips, 13; orchard ground, 536; flax, hemp, and hops, 34. The whole amount of ground in cultivation is 11,896 acres. The report for 1810 states generally the whole similar amount to have then been 21,000 acres in cultivation, and 74,000 in pasture. There is undoubtedly an inconsistency in these statements; this measure of increase being equally at variance with that already noticed in the population, and with that which is also furnished during the same period in agricultural stock;* but it is

* The following is the Statement of Stock within the same periods:

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Horses.</i>	<i>Mares.</i>	<i>Bulls.</i>	<i>Cows.</i>	<i>Oxen.</i>	<i>Sheep.</i>	<i>Goats.</i>	<i>Swine.</i>
1809.....	411	529	118	5115	3771	33,258	2975	18,823
1810.....	521	593	193	6351	4732	33,818	1732	8,992
Difference	+110	+64	+75	+1236	+961	+560	-1243	-9,831

It may here be remarked, that the diminution found in this

impossible to attempt to adjust or reconcile them by mere surmise. It may be observed, however, that the amount of lands in cultivation probably now considerably exceeds the proportion furnished by the medium of these numbers, viz. $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres per head; inasmuch as the increased proportion of a free population to that working and subsisting under bonds, will increase the relative consumption; and also as there is now much more foreign intercourse maintained with the colony, than at those periods, when a very oppressive system of monopoly and restriction was imposed on all mercantile pursuits within its limits. There are probably now fully 40,000 acres of land in constant cultivation in its whole extent; and indeed we may gather, from several hints in the recent publication to which I have alluded, (O'Hara's State of New South Wales) that the demand for farms and settlements begins to press on the governor's power of bestowing them within the limits to which roads are as yet carried, and which possess, accordingly, a ready intercourse with the chief settlement. This last, it must be observed however, is a very uncertain measure of

Table in the number of goats, is accounted for by the accompanying assertion, that they were not found to thrive; but hogs are said to have answered well, and yet they are found to have decreased one half. There must be some mistake in the original figures.

improvement, being liable to almost indefinite modification, from local circumstances of soil, exposure, means of communication, &c. with which we are not sufficiently acquainted to enable us to estimate their value.

Means of Communication.—None of the rivers in New South Wales are navigable; such indeed are the tremendous inundations to which they are liable, (the Hawkesbury, among others, averaging 70, and attaining sometimes 85 and 86 feet perpendicular elevation above its usual level,) that they are incapable of being adapted generally to any purpose of inland communication. This however is, notwithstanding, easy and commodious, very good roads having been made in every direction within the inhabited limits.

Of the numerous creeks and bays into which the coast is broken, one only, Port Jackson, is open to external intercourse, the remainder being prohibited from being entered by strangers, through fear of the convicts effecting their escape. Port Jackson is situate in $38^{\circ} 47'$ south, and is a most excellent and commodious port, carrying from 10 to 4 fathoms water alongside the wharfs of the town of Sydney, and shooting up thence to Paramatta, navigable for small craft quite up to that settlement. It is completely landlocked for some miles

below Sydney, and before that town is at all times smooth and secure.

Manufactures and Commerce.—In 1809, a system of monopoly prevailed to such extent, as to have enabled the merchants, it was said, to demand occasionally as far as 1000 per cent. profit on their European importations; notwithstanding which, such was the general insecurity of property arising from the lawless state of the colony, the domestic manufactures, in spite of every encouragement which was given them, were also in a state of utter inferiority and depression. In 1810, the firmer rule of the present governor, General Macquarrie, had already begun to produce some effect; but its operation, together with that of the greater facility subsequently afforded to importation from Europe, has been rather injurious perhaps to the manufactures, which are still extremely coarse, and consist exclusively of some flannel and linen cloths, the native flax employed in the latter being found, however, of most excellent quality; together with the preparation of leather, pottery, and salt, for the domestic market, of kangaroo skins for exportation, and of the coarse machinery, as wind and water mills, &c. used in the agricultural labours of the settlers. In 1810, the commerce was still also very limited indeed, consisting principally of importations from England in the government

transports, all other English vessels being excluded, unless under peculiar circumstances, by the terms of the East India Company's charter; together with some direct trade with India, and some occasional supplies obtained from an American with an assorted cargo looking for a market, or from a whaler prepared to purchase refreshments wherever she might touch, here as elsewhere, with equivalents suited to the anticipated demands. The articles from England were principally public stores for the use of the colony, with some private ventures of haberdashery, &c. laid in by the crews of the vessels conveying them; those from India were piece goods, spirits, and refuse European wares; while those finally procured from desultory visitors, were chiefly articles of luxury, as superior sorts of wearing apparel, wine, sweetmeats, &c. The staple returns were kangaroo skins, whale and seal oil, and wool; together with such articles of naval equipment, as provisions, spars, coal, &c. as the trading vessels themselves might require; to which some trifling and occasional traffic with the islands of the Pacific, added a small uncertain supply of sandal and other cabinet woods, chiefly bought up, together with the kangaroo skins, by the masters of such transports as were subsequently bound to Canton. The whole average value of the trade is nowhere mentioned; it forms, indeed, a very im-

portant desideratum in Mr. Mann's otherwise well digested work, which, with this and some other additions, would yet serve as an excellent model for the labours of any other gentleman possessed of similar opportunities of original information, and who might choose to devote his time and talents to the important purpose of supplying the gap now left in our information respecting New South Wales.

Such, then, was the state of commerce and manufactures in this colony in 1810. Since that time, although we have no minute details, we have been frequently assured, through the medium of the public prints, that both have progressively improved; and we are in possession, indeed, of some facts, which render this very certain in some degree. The East India Company's charter has been relaxed, within these few years, on this as on so many other points, and the facilities of communication with England have been proportionally increased; the state of society in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney at least, has become gradually more stable in its organization, new comers being now necessarily exiled to the more remote settlements; and, lastly, the distinguished talents of Sir Lachlan Macquarrie, testified in a great many difficult and delicate situations, particularly at the commencement of his administration, cannot have been altogether without their effect. There are, however,

some other circumstances and considerations, which somewhat contradict the flattering assertion; indeed, there is a slight incongruity in its own terms, which forbid us to give it implicit belief; for it is not very probable, that the domestic manufactures would flourish in opposition to the increased competition of home made articles, necessarily consequent on an enlarged communication. The large exportations of wool, but very lately announced, would seem indeed to confirm, beyond question, the surmise of their progressive decline; but on this surmise I shall not now insist: I shall again have occasion to allude to it, when stating some other reasons on which, it would appear to me, it may with even greater certainty be founded.

2. *Political Constitution.*—The government of New South Wales is administered by a governor in chief, to whom are also subordinate the out settlements in Van Diemen's Land, which will be further noticed in a following article. He is absolute in his authority, there being no colonial council, or representative body of any sort; and in him was also at first vested the supreme judicial authority, appeals to him in person having been competent even in civil cases. This latter power has been, however, since limited, as we shall see in the next paragraph. He is, by his commission, vice-admiral of the territory, and can accordingly convene

at pleasure a vice-admiralty court. All sentences of courts martial, as well as of criminal judicature, are subject to his revisal ; and, finally, his proclamations have in all cases the force of laws, and must be recognised and acted on as such in all the courts.

The judicial was originally not less summary and arbitrary than is this administrative authority ; and in all the three branches of civil, criminal, and admiralty judicature, was constituted in a very different manner from what we are accustomed to see in this country. An officer called a judge advocate, the legal adviser and recorder in England of certain courts, was in New South Wales the supreme head both of civil and criminal judicature, assisted in the first " by two inhabitants of the settlement appointed by the governor ;" and in the second, " by such six officers of the sea and land service, as the governor, by a precept under his hand and seal, shall require to assemble for that purpose." No juries were convened in either case ; a majority of voices condemned even to death, nor was any local appeal competent from the first summary decision, unless to the unassisted good sense of the governor himself, who was uniformly a naval or military officer, without preparation, from previous study, for the wholesome and judicious exercise of such an authority. Such an arrangement as this, how-

ever, could not last long after the colony was composed, as in 1808 it was already composed, of a community in which the convicts, for whom alone such summary forms of justice could have been contemplated, bore only a small relative proportion to the free population. One instance of individual oppression then occurred under this system, which led finally to the arrest of the governor, Admiral Bligh, by the subordinate colonial authorities; and the agitation produced by such an event, fixed at length the attention of his Majesty's ministers on the necessity of constructing a new frame of judicial authority. This was, however, done with extreme caution; and even yet, although we are ignorant as to the fact of the success of these alterations, some very plausible objections may be made to some parts of the principle on which the constitution of the courts in this settlement is founded. The cognizance of civil cases is divided between two, the governor's and the supreme courts; neither, however, a court of appeal, but each final within its sphere. The judge advocate presides in the first, the jurisdiction of which is limited to actions under L.50 value; neither has it any power, like the supreme court, of attaching real property by writ; but from its decision, on the other hand, there is no appeal, not even to the governor. The supreme court is composed of a chief justice,

assisted by two magistrates in rotation as they stand on the list ; and its jurisdiction extends to all cases of civil and criminal judicature whatever. In the former, the decision is determined by a majority of voices, with this proviso, that if the chief justice himself form the minority, he may protest against the award, and appeal then lies to the governor in person, assisted by the judge advocate. In cases where the contested value exceeds L.3000, appeal also lies, under any circumstances, to the King in council, with a further most judicious proviso, that if the appellant be the person from whom the money in dispute is claimed, he must, on the first decision against him, pay it into court. Such a provision would be most wholesomely extended to all our colonial judicatures, particularly to those in the East Indies, where the system of ultimate appeal to England is one of the most intolerable hardship and inconvenience ; but in New South Wales, the error in principle seems to be on the other side, and to consist in limiting too rigidly the power of local revision and appeal. Many doubtful and particular cases must even daily occur, in which it would be most satisfactory, and even necessary for the ends of substantial justice, to have a second opinion emanating from a second authority. But for this purpose, the constitution contemplated has made little or no provision.

The supreme court sitting in criminal cases is not assisted by a jury, but unanimity in the judges is required to condemn to death, and its capital sentences are moreover subject to the revision of the governor, and can only be carried into execution under his special authority. In the Vice Admiralty Court the lieutenant-governor is sole judge, and the only other officers attached to it are the registrar and marshal. This Court has been so seldom convened, no particular inconvenience has ever yet been experienced from this imperfect organization; but were it ever to become a court of common jurisdiction in prize cases, it would absolutely require revision and amendment. The judicial functions which exercise the talents and legal learning of a Sir William Scott, could not be administered by a naval or military officer, such as the lieutenant-governor of New South Wales has always been; and who, without previous study, would find himself in a very novel and embarrassing situation if called on to solve any knotty question of the law of nations. In this very situation, however, one lieutenant-governor has in a degree been already placed, two prize questions having been decided in the year 1799 in this court.

It may very fairly, I think, be argued, from this brief summary of the existing constitution of the colony of New South Wales, that it is incomplete

in many respects, and that even its principle is incorrect and injudicious in some. The want of a representative assembly, the paramount authority of the governor's proclamations, and the summary and insufficient administration of justice within its limits, are three causes which, even as a colony, would seem to condemn it irremediably to a state of comparative depression and insignificance. As a corrective prison, other circumstances, such as I now proceed to consider, would seem still more signally to disqualify it; and as over these circumstances we can have no controul, their consideration, and the consequent removal of this object from among those, which we may still think likely to be answered by its maintenance as a colony, become pressing subjects of discussion and deliberation, among those who, with the will, have also the power to make themselves heard in such a cause.

3. Before proceeding to consider the peculiar incompetence of New South Wales as a corrective prison, it will not be amiss slightly to review some of those first principles, which would seem inseparable from the very constitution of a prison, at all likely to attain that principal and most important object—the reform of convicts, not their punishment only, and still less their exile. Of these, the following four would appear to me quite indispen-

sable ; and by them accordingly, I propose to try and weigh the merits of New South Wales.

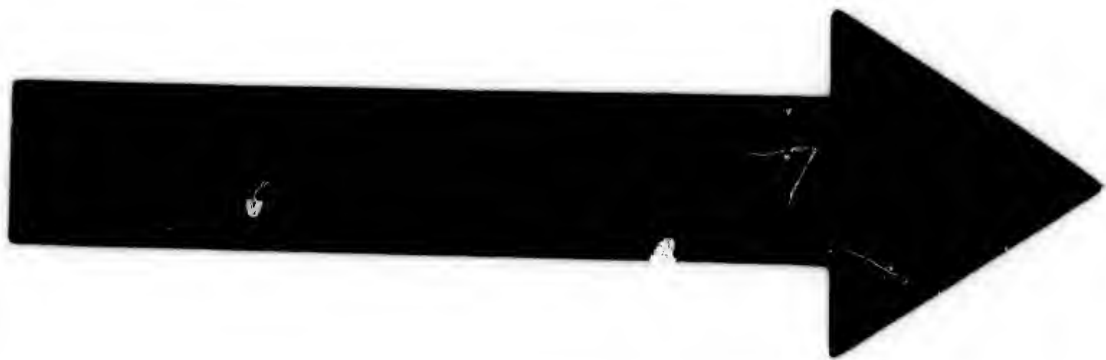
1. The barriers confining convicts should be of that insurmountable nature, as not to leave a single hope of escape to agitate their minds. They will never be brought to a true sense of their condition, nor to any proper or permanent desire of ameliorating it by systematic industrious exertion, while the smallest chance remains, or seems to remain, to them, of at once extricating themselves by a violent exertion.

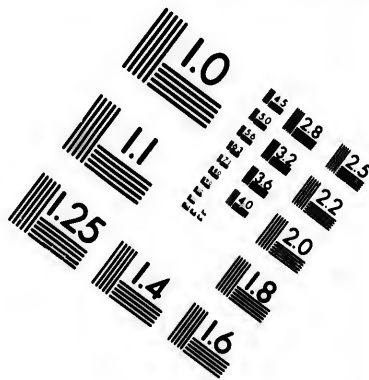
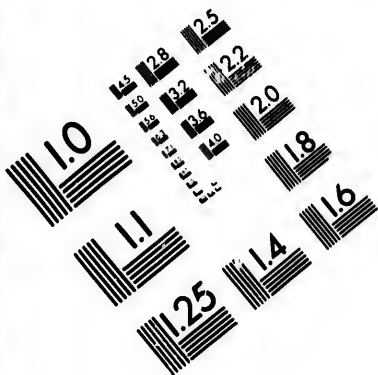
2. Convicts ought to be placed in such circumstances, as will admit of maintaining over them a rigorous but paternal superintendence, such as may check in their first buds the shoots of vice, and may cultivate and encourage the ends of returning industry and virtue. They must, from their very situation, be pre-supposed vicious, and almost hardened ; they must not, therefore, be left to themselves hardly for a moment, least the continuance of depraved indulgence should nourish its baneful consequences in their minds.

3. They should be kept as much as possible separate ; at the least, a rigid separation of the two sexes should be maintained. Upon the minds of the female convicts particularly, the most wholesome consequences might be anticipated, from even a constrained interval of moral habits.

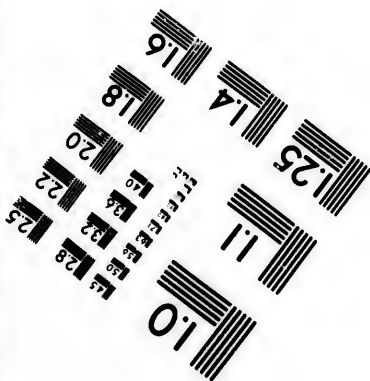
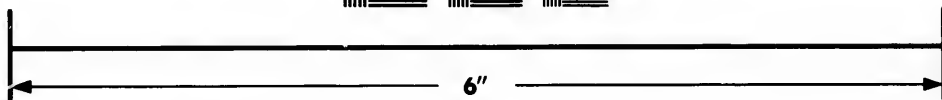
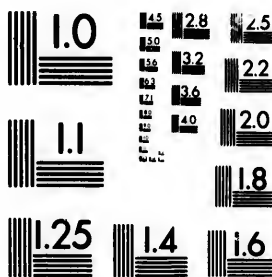
And, *lastly*, a strong, permanent, and springing stimulus should be furnished to their industry; their very liberation ought to depend upon their own exertion, not solely upon the lapse of time. Indeed, I think time alone is the worst conceivable measure of punishment, particularly when lengthened out to 7 and 14 years, as is common in our judicial sentences. These periods make no impression whatever on the surrounding mob, for whose edification more than for that of the criminal himself, all punishments should be directed; while they only strike despair into the heart of the poor convict, and deaden, not excite laudable exertion. They are passed, accordingly, for the most part, in rioting, vice, and immorality, and when survived at all, only return the culprit to his native country, a worse member of society than when he left it.

It is unnecessary, I think, to argue in favour of maintaining these several objects as first principles in the constitution of corrective prisons; their propriety may be assumed, and I shall therefore only compare the actual state of the colony of New South Wales, with their several requisitions. It is situate on the extremity of an extensive continent, rich, and luxuriant in native productions, affording accordingly every apparent facility for escape. The inevitable effects of such a local position, may be traced accordingly in the first, as in the last page





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of its history; desertions are ever frequent, and the minds of even those convicts who remain, are distracted by conflicting anxieties, and withdrawn altogether from those industrious pursuits, from the habit of which alone their reform is to be anticipated. In the next place, its only means of employment is agriculture; the convict population is accordingly dispersed promiscuously over its plains, far from the eye either of temporal or spiritual guide. To such extent was this dispersion carried in the first instance, that nothing was more common than for convicts to draw rations of provisions at several different depots; nor was there even sufficient check upon their conduct to remedy so glaring an irregularity as this, without having recourse to severe examples among themselves, instead of depending on the probity and punctuality of the storekeepers and their clerks. It is probably much better now; but no one will believe that even yet the morals of these poor victims of early excess can be looked after with that minuteness with which they ought to be watched, when they are dispersed over a plain of 14,000 square miles, inhabited by a population inured themselves, from early habit, to make light of every villany which does not compromise their own individual interests and pursuits. In the third place, the notorious prostitution of the female convicts, and the general laxity of mo-

erals absolutely inseparable from a colony composed of such elements, and organized upon such principles of dissolution as is that of New South Wales, are each among the worst and most melancholy features of its character. They alone lay the axe to the root of every hope which might be entertained of its answering its original purpose ; while, to crown all the objections which might be multiplied without end to every part of this most expensive of all our fiscal institutions, it provides no stimulus to industrious perseverance, no excitement to reformation, no temptation whatever to abandon original evil propensities, or to adopt and cherish good and moral habits. The convicts themselves are, in the first instance, well fed at the public expense, and have no interest whatever in the works in which they are employed ; their first object accordingly is to loiter away their time as much as possible : but were even this altered, as it might easily be, the soil being fertile and productive, there is no market for surplus produce, and it is well known that agricultural labours will always find subsistence for a much greater number of individuals than they will employ. In a word, nothing can be conceived much less suited for all its original purposes than is this colony, and its selection at all as a means for their attainment, is indeed one of those remarkable events in the history

of mankind, which attest the slender influence of general principles on political administration.

But if it was ill suited, in the first instance, for the purpose of its establishment, it is even less so now ; and indeed its maintenance so long in this capacity, is a striking proof how much the attention of politicians has been called away, during the last twenty-five years, to other and more important objects of consideration, than those of colonial administration. For be it remarked, that now not merely the moral character of the guilty, but also of the comparatively innocent, is compromised by the policy of retaining New South Wales on its present establishment as a corrective prison. Its free, and as yet guiltless population, probably exceeds that number at which I have stated it, of 16,000 souls ; and their moral and religious habits should be a sacred consideration with us, no longer to be tampered and trifled with by the contaminating vicinity of infamy and vice. Our political sovereignty over them gives us, in fact, no right to inundate them annually with the sweepings and offscourings of our prisons—those channels and canals by which that worst of jail fevers, a moral pestilence, is conveyed. We are guilty of an injustice towards these people in this instance alone, which no political or commercial advantages could compensate, were they even bestowed. But here

again we oppress and injure them. The convicts must be controlled by an arbitrary and summary authority; they have forfeited their claim to more ceremonious treatment; and, in fact, this very coercion is a part of their allotted punishment. But, in restraining them, we also cast the fetters over their free brethren, and subject them and their property to the same summary, and, it must necessarily be sometimes, capricious and ill-directed authority. Every page of the history of the colony teems with instances of the evil consequences, not to individuals only, but to the state in general, arising from this very circumstance. The military and naval officers entrusted with the government, have been suddenly called on to legislate for a civil society, the intricate nature of whose domestic relations they had no previous means of studying. They carried with them to their new task the habits of their early life, that passion for minute regulation which constitutes the very essence of military discipline, and that straight forward pursuit of a particular object, indifferent to the passions of mankind, and relying only on their obedience, which peculiarly characterize such a school. And what have been the consequences? Why, truly, just what might have been expected from the association of such elements. All sorts of bad laws have been enacted by proclamation; the indivi-

dual administration of justice has been repeatedly invaded ; a maximum of price has been affixed to every species of produce, as well as labour ; the property of coal and timber has been engrossed by the crown : in a word, an example has been set of every species of oppression, paralleled, and only paralleled, in the Spanish American and Dutch East Indian colonies, so long the byewords for every gradation of misrule.* It is such circumstances as these which must have, I think, prevented commerce from flourishing, or manufactures improving within their reach ; nor can they ever be systematically prevented themselves, while any necessity continues, or is supposed to continue, to exist, for entrusting despotic authority in the hands of any single individual, whatever may be his talents ; and while he is accordingly exempt from that salutary controul which the existence of a legislative assembly, and its right to be heard and listened to in his presence, can alone permanently bestow.

These words are strong, but the subject under

* In these remarks I cannot be supposed to mean to make any invidious or disrespectful allusions to the gallant and able officers who have successively filled the situation of Governor of New South Wales. For them all individually I can feel nothing but respect ; and if I instance their failure in attaining the great objects which must have been within their contemplation, it is to illustrate the peculiar difficulty of their situation, not in the most remote degree to reflect on their conduct while so placed.

discussion is important, and the results which I would draw from the whole are in every point of view worthy of mature consideration. Not only then would I argue, that New South Wales is unfit for the attainment of its original objects; I would add, that, in my opinion, no convict colony ever can have the smallest chance of success in reforming generally the individuals sent to it. Some may of themselves amend; and as a colony, the whole, if more favourably situate and better organized than New South Wales, may increase in consequence and wealth. But its state of morals must always be relaxed; and of the convicts annually sent to it, it is dreadful to think how few have the smallest chance of amendment; how many, on the contrary, must grow worse and worse, until at length the gallows redeem its victims, after a short and aggravated reprieve. For the important purpose of individual amendment, penitentiary houses would alone appear to me to have a chance of success; and these might, I think, be regulated so as even to insure it. Let them be so established as that every individual convict may be separately confined at night; and let their usual commons be excessively bare indeed, such as by scarcely any means can support life. On the other hand, let the keeper enjoy the benefits of their labour, but let him have no means of constraining it, other than by the

temptation of reasonable wages. Let not these, however, be regulated ; let them find their own level. Let free admission be given to reputable hucksters, with permission to sell, at the outside of certain established windows, every species of refreshment, even spirits, for a constrained temperance is no gain at all ; but, on the other hand, let the term of confinement depend on the convicts' amassing a certain sum, on the production of which they shall be permitted immediately to quit the prison, carrying with them, of course, this sum, which, as it has thus once served as a proof of consistent exertion, so will it probably enable them to persevere in the same course. If any convict is not already an artist, let his acquisition of a handicraft trade reckon as a portion of this sum, if he chooses it ; and if he is, let the competent instruction of one or more pupils count in like manner. Let the men and women convicts never come near each other on any pretence whatever ; and let them be both alike secured from that unfeeling curiosity which daily carries visitors to such scenes, and which hardens the culprit, and seems to himself to mark him out for ever to the recognition of his fellow men. On the other hand, to prevent individual oppression, if such can exist where the keeper's interest would be thus identified with that of his prisoners, let each ward have a sort of post-of-

fice, into which any complaint may be conveyed without the possibility of being intercepted; and let the public officers, whose duty it will be to superintend the whole, examine into every signed complaint with a scrupulous minuteness, alike suggested by the sacred nature of their charge, and by the responsibility under which it will be administered.

Such a sketch of a penitentiary house is undoubtedly incomplete, but even as thus thrown off, it would seem to answer all the most important objects of its institution. If properly constructed and contrived, it may leave no hopes of immediate escape, and may subject every individual to the most rigorous superintendence even during those hours of labour when it may be necessary that some number of them should be together. The separation of the sexes is an integral part of it, and the stimulus furnished to industrious exertion would be the strongest imaginable, for it would be founded on the concurrent operation of hunger, desire of present comfort, and aspiring after future emancipation. The ability to dissipate their gains at once would be checked in its abuse by the natural desire for liberty which would animate every bosom, and the habit of self-denial which would be thus acquired would be the most valuable of all the gifts which such an institution could bestow on the

wretched victims whom we now annually condemn to infamy and vice, while we abuse the real meaning of the word by calling the exchange for immediate death which we thus confer, "mercy!" Thus far the argument for the proposed innovation holds as it regards the culprit himself; it is not less cogent at it applies to the state. In the first place, the convict would return to society an useful member of it, not a poisonous and infectious limb; while the knowledge he would have acquired, and the habits of industry he would have obtained, would fit him to resume that place in its ranks of which early vicious practice and example had defrauded him. In the next place, the expenses of his schooling and reformation would not be thrown away, they would at least compass their end, which now it is but too apparent they do not. And, lastly, these expenses would be most materially retrenched. A thousand penitentiary houses constituted as I propose, would not equal in a lapse of years the expense of New South Wales, as a place of exile, for a single season: If properly managed, they might even become sources of revenue; for keepers who are to enjoy the fruits of the labour of their prisoners, would willingly pay a rent for their places, not stipulate for a reward. But these are petty and sordid calculations, altogether unworthy the great object which they are adduced to

support. No man of liberal spirit would grudge twice the expense of the colony of New South Wales, aye thrice and four times told, if it could be proved that the great object of its institution, the reform of convicts, neither their punishment nor yet still less their exile, was in the smallest degree answered by it. But this is not, cannot be the case, while a promiscuous intercourse of all denominations of guilty is not merely an anomalous abuse and excrescence, but an integral portion of its whole system ; and when in addition to this most crying error in it, the noxious current in which these elements are blended, is annually poured into the bosom of a free and permanently settled British population, bone of our own bone, flesh of our own flesh, our brothers, not our slaves. We have not even the right, collectively speaking, to call them our subjects, they are only our fellow subjects ; with ourselves the subjects of a paternal administration composed of the three estates of our realm, an administration under which we enjoy all of us the same equal privileges, and are maintained in them not upon toleration or sufferance, but by virtue of the share which we ourselves and our representatives possess in its composition ; an administration, in a word, which, thus constituted, has in principle and in fact precisely the same abstract

right to direct this noxious and pestilential stream to the metropolis of Scotland, as to the free townships of New South Wales. How should we relish, I would ask my countrymen, the importation, or what stand, do we imagine, would the moral habits of the lower classes of our population, high as they are generally and justly rated, what stand, I say, would they make against its poisonous influence on every feature of their character? We recoil with aversion from even the mention of such a thing; some of my readers, I doubt not, will indeed reject it altogether as an even extravagant illustration of the true jet of the argument I would maintain. But I do not hesitate to say, that in enormity even this extravagant supposition is not a parallel case with that which we have been contemplating in New South Wales; for here, as in the first place, the amount of vice thus annually imported would bear but a very small proportion to the sum and degree of moral feeling which it would have to encounter, so also would its operation be incalculably more repressed by that indefatigable and well organized administration of criminal justice which characterizes our Scottish system of jurisprudence. In New South Wales, on the contrary, it is quite evident that neither of these checks can have attained the same efficiency, that neither the counterpoise of moral feel-

ing can be so strong, nor the administration of justice so matured; the burden we impose accordingly on our colonial brethren is infinitely heavier than it possibly could be on ourselves even in its first state, while many of its remote consequences, the loss of trial by jury, &c. which press the heaviest on them, could not, by possibility even, be thus entailed upon us.

I cannot here say more, and I could not say less on this important subject, which I now, therefore, quit, with a sincere hope that whatever may be wanting in these hints for its consideration, may soon be supplied from some other quarter better qualified to undertake the task of its complete elucidation.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

NEW South Wales had been eleven years in the occupation of the English settlers before it was suspected that the southern point of land round which they had first arrived, and then daily communicated with their native country, was not a part of the same island with that on which they resided, but the head land of a detached cluster divided from the main by a strait in the 39th parallel of south latitude. In the year 1799, however, this discovery

was at length made; and Mr. Bass, after whom the strait was named, then first reconnoitred it in a whale boat, and subsequently in the Norfolk colonial vessel, commanded by Lieutenant, afterwards Captain, Flinders, explored and traced both its shores. The portion of land cut off by it to the southward was found to consist of one large and many smaller islands. To the large was continued that name of Van Diemen's Land, given in 1642 by Tasman to its south-west extremity; to the smaller groups different appellations were attached at the choice of these first discoverers of their number, nature, and extent.

Van Diemen's Land then, the principal of the whole, is bounded to the north by Bass' Straits, situate in 39° , and extends thence as far as $43^{\circ} 40'$ south. In exploring it minutely, two considerable rivers were found, the one on the south east, the other on the north side, the adjoining territory to both being also rich, fertile, and convenient. No immediate use was however made of the discovery; but in 1804, when the settlement on Norfolk Island was broken up, in consequence of the great loss and inconvenience experienced by its total want of a sea port, it was determined to remove its materials to these several points, to which the names of Derwent and Tamar Rivers had been attached. Several townships were accordingly founded

in their neighbourhood, of which the chief are now Hobart's Town and Port Dalrymple; the whole island was then divided into two counties, named Cornwall and Buckinghamshire, of which the 42d parallel of latitude was declared to be the common boundary; and every means was adopted to give consistency and stability to the nascent establishments. Lieutenant-governors were appointed to each, and a proportion has ever since continued to be allotted them, at the discretion of the successive Governors in chief, of the several importations from England of stores as of prisoners, of the means of support and coercion, as of the elements of turbulence, riot, and excess. With the particulars we are not however acquainted; we are only summarily told, that in 1810 the whole population amounted to 1321 souls, and that the settlements had every prospect of flourishing. The total amount now probably exceeds 3000; and it is also probable that the proportion of free settlers to convicts is here considerably smaller than in New South Wales, a circumstance likely to arise, both from the more recent establishment of the settlement in Van Diemen's Land, and from the desire which it will be most natural for every Governor in chief to feel, to disperse new importations to the distant points, instead of receiving them into the bosom of the chief settlement. These surmises are, however,

extremely vague ; and the only apology for their insertion here as elsewhere, is founded on that actual want of authentic information respecting the present state of these interesting colonies, which I have already regretted, and of which the public has much reason to complain. It is an effect perhaps much beyond what is likely to be produced by such slender means, but it would infinitely repay whatever trouble or responsibility these two articles have cost me, were they to call forth such plain, unornamented, and concise information on all the principal topics of inquiry which they embrace, such as that of which Mr. Mann's book, as I have elsewhere observed, furnishes an example ; together with that still more interesting addition than all, which can only be obtained from a brief review and comparison of their Newgate Calendars with those of other countries,—I mean the necessary information for judging of the state of moral feeling, disseminated among the population of which they treat.

ARCHIPELAGO OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

WE have now traced all the principal shores bounding the Pacific Ocean ; and of this portion

of the task which I allotted myself, it only remains therefore briefly to notice the various and scattered groups of islands which cover and diversify its bosom. These are as yet comparatively uninteresting to the commercial reader; yet something may be gleaned even for his purposes from their consideration. They may be generally classed as follows:

Marian, or Ladrone Islands.—Nearly due east of the principal range of Philippine Islands, in 144° east longitude from Greenwich, and comprised between the parallels of 20° and 13° north latitude, lie the Marian or Ladrone Islands, 16 in number, and of which the principal, Tinian, Guam, Saypan, &c. are well known, from the refreshments they were long in the habit of supplying to the Acapulco galleons, as well as from the shelter and succour which they have afforded, at different times, to many of our principal navigators in these seas, Dampier, Anson, Byron, Wallis, &c. Situate in a tropical climate, their principal vegetable productions are those of the torrid zone; rice and Indian corn being, however, the chief objects of the rude and imperfect agriculture of their inhabitants, who, although now long under immediate subjection to the Spaniards, have learned but little from them except those Catholic observances, in which, in nearly all their remote colonies, these rulers have made their religion to consist. In return, however, for

this ignorance of all the most useful arts in which the natives of the Ladrone Islands have been allowed to remain, they have to boast of a much more gentle yoke than any the Spaniards have been in the habit of imposing elsewhere; and although rigorously repressed whenever they have shewn any disposition to revolt, have not otherwise been oppressed. The whole group has only been occupied from the convenience of obtaining refreshments for the galleons in their long passage. It contains no mines, nor is any hard labour requisite to obtain from the soil the necessary agricultural returns. Where no temptation to tyranny existed, even the Spaniards did not step aside to seek the opportunity of inflicting it.

The Spanish population in the Ladrone Islands does not exceed, the garrison included, a very few hundred souls; and the mean and paltry town of St. Ignatio de Agana, in the island of Guam, is the only collection of houses in the whole group deserving that name. The harbours in all the islands are open and inconvenient; and to this cause it was owing, that at length the galleons gave up altogether the practice of touching at this point. Since that time, the Spanish settlement has become daily more insignificant; and I think it even doubtful, whether it is now at all more than nominally maintained. The only inducement was, perhaps,

a small pearl fishery on the west side of Saypan, and the value of that was not likely to be commensurate with that of the supplies of men and stores which would be required to be constantly furnished by Manilla, however itself weakened by the long interruption, of late years sustained, to its intercourse with the mother country.

Caroline and Pelew Islands.—Immediately south of the Marian Islands, and extending in a line from 13° to 7° north latitude, and from 155° east of Greenwich, quite down to Gilolo, the easternmost of the Molucca Islands, lie the contiguous groups of Caroline and Pelew Islands; the first nearly entirely unknown to us, and even the latter, however familiar in our ears, from the popular narrative of the loss of the Antelope packet, and the visit of Prince Lee Boo to England, yet very imperfectly explored. They are known to be each, for the most part, of small extent, but very numerous; and they are said to abound in the ordinary productions of the South Sea Islands, cocoa nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, &c. no valuable objects of trade having, however, been discovered among them by the crew of the Antelope, nor any such being mentioned either by their still more recent visitor, Captain Delano, of the American merchant service, whose very curious and interesting voyages have only very lately reached this country. The natives, according to

his account, still retain that frankness and sincerity in their demeanour to strangers, which so essentially served the crew of the Antelope after their melancholy shipwreck, and which, many years afterwards, induced the master of an English merchant ship, Maclure, to abandon his country and his connexions, and take up his residence among them. The good Abba Thulle was indeed no more, and the miseries of a disputed succession pressed heavy on the domestic comforts and organization of the Pelew islanders ; but the leading features of their character still subsisted, such as they are delineated by Mr. Keate ; and it is pleasing to witness, in the affectionate terms in which Delano mentions them, the effect of such unsophisticated worth on the shrewdest and most interested of mankind, such as are, for the most part, the masters of those American cockboats, to which I have elsewhere alluded, which are launched and equipped at the expense, and manned and navigated through the personal services of one or more adventurous families, who thus make or mar their fortunes together, and scarcely seek to return unless successful. Of this class was Delano, of whose work, however, I am happy to have this opportunity of speaking with approbation, as in many respects most interesting even from the information which it contains ; but which appears to me even still more valuable, as

it illustrates the extent of knowledge, enterprise, and sagacity which so eminently distinguish these desultory traders, of whom he may be considered as the representative.

Papuan Archipelago.—South of the Caroline and Pelew Islands, and comprised between the Equator and 12° south latitude, lies a widely extended Archipelago, confining to the west with the Spice Islands and New Holland, and extending to the east as far as 163° east longitude. The islands composing it are thus classed from the race of native tribes by which they are all inhabited, and which, approaching to the negro, is therefore called Papua or Woolly, by the Malay tribes in the neighbouring Indian Islands.

The principal islands in this Archipelago are to the west, New Guinea confining with the Moluccas and New Holland, New Ireland, New Britain, Admiralty Isles, &c. &c.; to the southward, the islands of Louisiade, an archipelago so named by Bougainville, who first discovered it; and to the eastward, Solomon's Islands, Terre des Arsacides or New Georgia, a cluster to which these several names have been attached by successive navigators who have at different times visited it, and who by this means have attached an almost endless confusion to the nomenclature of the group. The whole archipelago is strikingly alike in its principal

features of climate, soil, and vegetable productions ; the first being sultry on the coasts, and cooling gradually in ascending the mountains, which everywhere characterise the interior ; the second rich and fertile ; and the last forming a mixture of the bread-fruit, cocoa nut, and plantain of the Pacific, with the areca, wild nutmeg, iron-wood, ebony, and other forest woods of the Indian Archipelago. New Guinea is almost the only island among the whole which enjoys the advantages of foreign trade. It has been already noticed, that the Bugguess and Chinese traders of the Indian islands push their trading voyages to its western coast, whence they embark ambergris cast up on its shores, birds of paradise which abound in its forests, tortoise-shell, pearls, mother of pearl, birds' nests, and tri-pang ; leaving in exchange, Chinese cotton cloths, iron and brass utensils, toys, beads, &c. The amount is not very great, but the trade is improvable, were it only vested in hands who would not be afraid to quit the shelter of the islands, and penetrate among the more eastern groups, who as yet neither know nor value the advantages it might confer.

Isles of Santa Cruz, or Queen Charlotte Islands.— East of Solomon's Islands, and in about 11° mean latitude, and 166° east longitude from Greenwich, lies the small group of Santa Cruz, so named by

Mendana, but to which the name of Queen Charlotte's Islands was also subsequently attached by Carteret, who visited it in 1769. This cluster claims to be enumerated next after the Papuan Archipelago, being inhabited by a race of people in whom the features of the Papuan and Malay, or Polynesian tribes, are evidently blended, and who may therefore be considered as sprung from both. It has been successively visited, since Carteret, by D'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere, by each of whom the islands composing it have been minutely described. They are of moderate elevation, thickly wooded up to their summits, abounding chiefly with cocoa nut and cabbage trees. The chief island, the Santa Cruz of Mendana, Egmont Isle of Carteret, has several good ports, and the inhabitants at most of them shewed themselves friendly to their visitors, whom they did not however permit to penetrate into the interior.

New Hebrides.—South of the islands of Santa Cruz, and comprised within the parallels of 14° and 20° south latitude, and 168° and 177° east longitude from Greenwich, lies a group of islands, supposed to be a southern continent by Quiros, the first discoverer, and named accordingly by him, La Tierra del Espiritu Santo; but minutely explored, and the islands of which it is composed enumerated, by Captain Cook, by whom

the above appellation, now universally received, was also first bestowed. The group is composed of 19 islands of tolerable extent, to the largest of which Captain Cook continued the name of *Espiritu Santo*, while to the remainder he affixed others at his choice. They are all extremely beautiful and productive, the choicest tropical fruits, together with many varieties of excellent timber, composing extensive forests along their shores. The natives, without being hostile, are yet jealous and distrustful, and evinced strong marks of dissatisfaction at every attempt made by Captain Cook's people to penetrate into the interior of their country. These attempts were not accordingly persevered in; and it is only from rumour and vague information that we are told, that the richness and fertility of the interior correspond with those of the sea shore. The natives of two adjoining islands have been particularly noticed in Captain Cook's narrative, from the very remarkable dissimilarity, or rather contrast, observable in their persons; the one, the inhabitants of *Tanna*, being as remarkable for their beauty, as the others, those of *Malicolo*, for their extreme deformity. No signs of the precious metals were discovered among any of them; but pearl oyster-shells, and some small seed pearl, were common ornaments of their persons.

New Caledonia.—South-west of Espiritu Santo, and comprised within the parallels of 20° and $22^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, and 164° and $167^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude of Greenwich, lies the large island of New Caledonia, discovered by Captain Cook, and represented by him to be inhabited by a superior set of savages to any he had elsewhere found in the Pacific Ocean, tall, strong, friendly, and humane. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile this account of their moral, and still less that of their physical character, with the unfavourable description of both given by M. D'Entrecasteaux in his voyage; and it is only surmise which would seek to impute a portion of the diversity to the different character and talents of the two observers. The supposition is however plausible. Of all modern navigators, none seems to have carried the talent of conciliating the savage tribes whom he visited, so far as our much lamented Cook; and it is natural to believe, that his indulgence for their peculiarities grew with his success in managing them. M. D'Entrecasteaux's observations are all, on the other hand, caustic and severe; and even the poor ignorant and debased New Hollanders, whose habits are so simple one might almost run and read them, afforded him and some of his officers scope for injurious misconception. The difference between the two is not less prominent and marked, than is that between

their several representations of the inhabitants of New Caledonia.

The soil and climate of this extensive island bear a very strong resemblance to those of New Holland; and it is, on the whole, the least favoured by nature of all those islands in the Pacific included in this article, and situate within the tropics. Extensive rocky mountains are only partially intersected with plains of some considerable fertility, and the thinness of the population, respecting which all seem alike agreed, would appear to warrant an unfavourable conjecture respecting the qualities of the interior produce. Some extensive forests of valuable timber, however, exist within its limits, and its more minute examination might disclose other sources of wealth, various indications of minerals having been found along the coasts.

New Zealand.—The two islands of New Zealand extend from 34° to 48° south latitude, and from 181° east to 186° west longitude of London, crossing thus its meridian, and comprising about 13° of longitude within their limits. These islands, although separated only by a very narrow strait, differ materially in their appearance and conformation. The northern and lesser is rich and fertile, covered with wood, and abounding in the productions of the temperate regions, particularly flax, which the inhabitants regularly cultivate and ma-

nufacture. The southern and largest is on the contrary extremely lofty and mountainous, comparatively thinly wooded, and far less vigorous in its productions. The peak of one mountain in its interior has been vaguely estimated at 14,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is covered with snow in even the height of summer.

The jealousy and ferocity which we have seen more or less to characterize the natives of so many of the islands which have just passed under review, peculiarly mark also the New Zealanders, and have been signally exemplified in the treacherous assault and cruel murder of many of their visitants. They have contributed to prevent also all minute acquaintance with the interior of the country, although, from the neighbourhood of the English colonial settlement at Norfolk Island while it was yet maintained, and the assiduity and perseverance which Governor King when at that station applied to the cultivation of some intimacy with them, a considerable mass of desultory information has been obtained. They are anthropophagi, neither affecting to conceal nor anticipating the condemnation of such a practice; and although fierce and implacable towards their enemies, are yet mild and gentle in their domestic relations. Divided, however, into many distinct tribes, they live in a constant state of mutual hostility, and accordingly fix their

abodes by way of precaution in fortified towns or Hippahs, as they are called, which are secured with considerable skill. They cultivate sweet potatoes, eddas, (another species of esculent root,) and gourds; but their chief vegetable is the bruised root of the fern, which, with fish, composes the greatest portion of their diet. From the flax, which springs up indigenous in the country, they manufacture a species of linen with which they clothe themselves, and they have notions of decency in almost all the relations of life very superior to those generally found among savages. With this they present, however, a sad mixture of some of their most barbarous propensities; and in treachery and cruelty seem unfortunately second to none with which we are acquainted.

Tonga, or Friendly Islands.—N. N. E. of New Zealand, and nearly in the same parallel of latitude with the New Hebrides and Caledonia, lie the Tonga or Friendly Islands, the inhabitants of which have been lately introduced so particularly to the acquaintance of the English reader by Mr. Mariner's interesting narrative of his residence among them. The number of islands exceeds 100, extending between $16^{\circ} 30'$ and $21^{\circ} 30'$ south latitude, and $176^{\circ} 30'$ and $174^{\circ} 10'$ west longitude of London. They are rich and productive, and the inhabitants are to a certain degree civilized, although

fierce and treacherous in their intercourse with strangers. The vessel in which Mr. Mariner arrived among them was thus unexpectedly seized by them, and the greater part of the crew murdered; yet such were their ideas of moral fitness, that when it was suggested to Finow the chief, that some revenge might be taken on them if any of the English were allowed to escape to tell their story, his reply was, that the ship having possessed many articles of which he himself stood in need, he had a *right* to take them if he could, and that he was sure the king of England was too *just* to take any revenge on him for his exercise of that right. In this reasoning he pretended to be confirmed by past experience; and thus the very impunity with which a morbid humanity has induced us to allow these and other savages in the Pacific to exercise their outrages on our defenceless or unguarded merchant ships, is interpreted by them as a proof of their right to avail themselves of such opportunities. It is painful to find in another part of this same work, that the very feast and entertainment bestowed by these natives on Captain Cook, and which procured for their islands the name by which he designated them, (Friendly Islands,) were, in fact, meant as snares for his prudence; and that, had he relaxed in his precautions, he also was doomed a victim to this right.

The Tonga Islands, it has been observed, are rich and fertile, principally, however, in tropical produce, cocoa nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, plantains, limes, sugar-canes, sweet potatoes, &c. Unlike the New Zealanders, the inhabitants have no towns, but are scattered abroad in separate plantations, all of which are improved with great assiduity. This circumstance must not however be interpreted into an indication of pacific habits. They are equally restless with the inhabitants of New Zealand, and nearly equally ferocious in their mutual hostilities; but being separated, each tribe from the other, in detached islands and groups of islands, the same minute caution is not necessary to guard against surprise. A singular point of honour indeed exists on this subject among them; they will never attack their enemy by surprise, and always notify their intended hostilities in a manner somewhat resembling that followed by the heralds in the chivalrous days of Europe. In many other respects, both of internal and foreign polity, they are far advanced in civilization, or at least in a conception of its usages and advantages; and the very amiable character which Mr. Mariner attributes to Finow Fiji the present chief, contributes to lend additional interest and probability to the hope that these people may at some not remote period acquire the additional lights which Christianity and per-

manent commerce are alone calculated to bestow on them.

Navigators' Isles.—North-east of the Tonga Islands, in the medium latitude of 12° south, and comprised between 173° and 169° west longitude of Greenwich, lie Navigators' Isles, ten in number, each of considerable extent, and abounding in all the usual refreshments found in the islands of the Pacific, hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, oranges, &c. The same ferocity of temper, however, which we have seen to characterize the natives of New Zealand, the Tonga Islands, &c. has been also signally evidenced by those of this group; the unfortunate expedition of M. de la Peyrouse having here sustained a most severe and unexpected loss, unprovoked, as it would appear, unless by the imprudence with which M. de Langle, commanding the detachment, confided in their professions. He himself, with the naturalist of the expedition, and nine seamen, paid the penalty of their fatal confidence.*

* With all his eminent professional and scientific attainments, M. de la Peyrouse does not seem to have either exacted from his followers that implicit obedience, nor to have received from them that unbounded respect, which in our service are so justly deemed of the very essence of good discipline. Whether this was owing to the extreme ease and benevolence of his own temper, or to the general relaxed state of discipline then prevalent in the French marine as in every other branch of their administration, I shall

Navigators' Isles, as has been observed, abound in refreshments ; but, independently of the feroci-

not pretend to determine ; but that it really was the case I might prove by a great many circumstances in the narrative of his voyage, by none, however, so signally as by those which characterized the two most fatal events of it previous to its mysterious conclusion—I mean the severe loss of men sustained at Port des François, and here again at Navigators' Islands. On the first occasion we find one of M. de la Peyrouse's officers making a most grossly insolent reply to some part of the instructions he was receiving for the conduct of a detached service ; and in pursuing the narrative, we ascertain, that instead of his being immediately recalled to the recollection of that duty from which he had thus strangely wandered, he was continued in charge of the very party, for the command of which he had shewn himself thus unfit. The event might have been predicted with almost as much certainty before, as it was recorded after the catastrophe : this officer had already staked his own self-sufficiency against his commander's instructions ; he neglected accordingly every prescribed precaution, and his own life and the lives of all those with him fell a sacrifice to his presumption. Again, at Navigators' Islands, M. de la Peyrouse expressly tells us himself, that the whole fatal watering party was undertaken contrary to his own judgment, and that he assented to it merely to avoid quarrelling with M. de Langle, who was bent on it. Had he been thoroughly imbued with the principles of discipline which as yet, thank heaven ! characterize in an especial manner our school of tactic, he would never have hazarded such an expression, far less would he have allowed his conduct to be guided by such a motive. The attempt thus made by an inferior to dictate to him, would have been instantly met with the sharp reproof and firm refusal which it was so peculiarly calculated to excite, and the lives thus lost would never even have been compromised.

These observations are not thrown out at random ; they are not meant either to convey a trite compliment to my own profession, still less is it their object to strip even one single leaf from the

ty of the inhabitants, another inconvenience is experienced in touching at them, from the entire

wreath, hallowed by misfortune, which graces the memory of the illustrious De la Peyrouse. This last purpose I would indeed most particularly disclaim ; but the truth is, the subject of naval and military discipline has been of late years a favourite topic of desultory discussion ; and the rigorous canons and summary administration which alike characterize both, have been in an especial manner the object of invective to a certain petty party in our state, which scarcely seeks to recommend itself to its constituents but by its sweeping denunciation of all existing institutions. To the declamation by which it would endeavour to excite a morbid and irritable sensibility against these, no reply can be made by reasoning ; that is alike foreign from the manner in which the subject is treated by it, and to the assembly for which the speeches alluded to are intended. The appeal must be made to facts ; and surely when the fate of one of the most eminent, but most unfortunate, of all modern navigators, can thus be traced, in a degree, to this one speck in his professional character, whoever has any regard for the British name and reputation, would pause before he would allow even an effervescence of humanity rudely to assail that by which these have been preserved in the most perilous periods of our national existence. This, however, is still only a general remark ; but I am not afraid to give the subject yet a closer grasp. Corporal punishment, considered abstractly, is perhaps in some respects to be deprecated ; but in societies composed for the most part of refractory elements, cooped up in a narrow and confined space, and placed almost hourly in situations where only the most extreme promptitude in command and in obedience can ward off impending danger, the most rigorous coercion, I will maintain, is indispensable ;—indispensable indeed, not less for the comfort and happiness of these little bands, than for their union and security ; nor ought any lever to be rashly assailed with invective, whatever party or individual purposes such declamation may be supposed to serve, when for so many ages nearly the whole mighty machine has been kept in motion through its agency. It

want, as far as has yet at least been discovered, of a secure anchorage in the group. Coral reefs sur-

is of this invective that I would particularly complain, and I scarcely hesitate to add, that the most mischievous effects were even already becoming perceptible in many of the minor details of our service through its operation, when fortunately the mortifications which characterized the early progress of the late American war scoured away some of the vile rust, and restored the springs to their usual elasticity. But even now these same effects may be traced in that fashion which I think rather gains than loses ground in both services, but against which I would enter a most serious protest; that fashion, I mean, which would seek to estimate an officer's character by the gross sum of punishment which he may have been called on to inflict, perhaps with the greatest pain to his own feelings, rather than by the general success of his system of discipline, whatever that may be, in keeping his people together, and in maintaining their spirit and efficiency. It surely can require but little acquaintance with the real nature of *our* task at least to see the fallacy of such a measure of ability as the former, or to anticipate the effects which its permanent employment is but too well calculated to produce. The first step of its progress is to introduce the habitual infliction of arbitrary confinement and extra labour in lieu of other punishment; and these, as in the first place, they are not calculated to strike forcibly on the imagination of others, and consequently make no example, so can they not either be apportioned with the same nicety to the amount of offence, and they are therefore for the most part much more oppressive, much more susceptible of abuse, and much more easily perverted from their proper destination, to minister to the gratification of private dislike. Their direct consequences are then insubordination and tyranny, while their remote effects are inefficiency and discontent;—poor substitutes for the vigour which a former system gave to our naval force; a system of which the debasing moral effect would seem to exist only in the imagination of those who wish to serve their own ends by inveighing against it; while it is contradicted absolutely, by the experience of every past time,—by the va-

round them all alike, uninterrupted by those breaches which, in almost every other island in the Pacific, characterised by this natural barrier, form the entrances to secure harbours within their line.

Society Islands.—East and north-east of Navigators' Islands, numerous groups of others are scattered at random over the vast face of the Great Ocean. It is not my purpose, however, to encumber this portion of my work with a tedious nomenclature; these islands being so uniformly similar to each other, and to Navigators' Islands, in all the leading features of soil, climate, and production, the account of each successive series would be only another reading of the same tale. From among their whole number, I shall only select therefore the Society, Marquesas, and Sandwich Islands, as the subjects each of a short separate article.

The Society Islands, including Otaheite and its accompanying group, are eleven in number, divided into two distinct clusters, of which Bolabola

four of the Roman legions, before the leaders of which the instrument of chastisement was carried even as a badge of authority, — as by the spirit, enthusiasm, and intrepidity, which have illustrated the annals of every age of the British marine, the pride of its own country, the terror of that country's foes, and which can only cease to merit these appellations, when civilians, who can know nothing at all about the matter, shall have succeeded in ingrafting, by dint of public opinion, their own abstract notions upon the practice and detail of its most ancient institutions.

is the chief island of one, and Otaheite of the other; the first, however, being only 30 miles in entire circumference, while the last extends to 130, being in every respect equal besides in quality of soil and produce. They are all comprised between the parallels of 16° and 17° south latitude, in the mean longitude of $149^{\circ} 30'$ west; are all surrounded by coral reefs, in which, however, are numerous breaches opening to large and capacious harbours, within which, to use Captain Cook's words, "there is room and depth for any number of the largest vessels;" and are so extremely alike indeed, in every original character of climate, soil, and produce, that to describe one is to give a summary idea of all. I shall dilate therefore on Otaheite in particular, without further noticing the other islands.

Otaheite, or King George's Island, as it was called by Captain Wallis, is composed of two great peninsulas, connected together by an isthmus of low land, not more than three miles wide. Each peninsula rises into lofty hills, surrounded by a border of low land of the medium breadth of three miles. To copy again nearly the words of Captain Cook, "The view which it affords is the most luxuriant imaginable; the hills are high, steep, and even craggy, but are covered to the very summits with trees and shrubs, in such a

manner that the spectator can scarcely help thinking that the very rocks possess the property of producing and supporting their verdant clothing. The flat land which bounds these hills towards the sea, and the interjacent vallies, also teem with various productions, that grow with the most exuberant vigour, and at once fill the mind of the beholder with the idea, that no place upon earth can outdo this in the strength and beauty of vegetation." The principal vegetable productions are yams, taro root, sugar cane, kava, plantains, bread fruit, cocoa nuts, &c. Sandal wood is also found in the interior, together with many other species of valuable cabinet timber. Every sort of European and tropical vegetable introduced by the successive visitors of the island, has been found to spring up and return abundantly : in a word, nature seems to have left nothing undone on her part to render this favoured island the chosen seat of happiness and of abundance.

The experience of all ages, however, concurs in the testimony, that the gifts of nature are not inseparably connected with the happiness of mankind, but that, on the contrary, her liberality, by superinducing idleness and debauchery, but too often taints and corrupts both the moral and physical qualities of the species. The Otaheiteans, even when first discovered, bore the incontestible

marks of habitual sensual indulgence; and the Arreoyo, or societies established among them, the individuals composing which bind themselves to maintain their freedom from incumbrance by the public murder of their own offspring, afford an anecdote of the depravity resulting from the abuse of prosperity, which we shall in vain seek to parallel among the atrocities produced by famine and starvation. These excesses had not however, at that time, very materially affected either their physical constitution or their numbers; they were still active, cheerful, clean limbed, hospitable, and humane; and their numbers must, at the lowest computation, have approached to 30,000, since, as Captain Cook informs us, their fighting men alone amounted to 6780. But since that period, melancholy have been their descent and degradation. Enervated by luxury; tainted by disease; their cheerfulness sunk in gloom and despondence; their hospitality in avarice and deceit; even the personal cleanliness for which they were before remarkable, is represented by Mr. Turnbull, in 1804, to have deserted them in this their last stage of political existence. They were reduced to the number of 5000; and as the same causes still prevail among them to the same extent, it seems probable, that at no very distant time their name itself will be extinguished among the nations.

This picture is truly deplorable, and it requires no extraordinary degree of sensibility to feel acutely for the share which we ourselves have had in throwing in its darker shades. From us and from our countrymen have the wretched Otaheiteans received many a noxious gift, the taint of disease, the knowledge of factitious wants and conveniences, for the regular supply of which they can devise no permanent resource, and which, accordingly, have only destroyed their relish for former comforts, without instilling into their minds the smallest spirit of industrious application. It is scarcely romance to say, that we are bound to make what reparation is in our power; and in another part of this work, I shall again, therefore, recur to this subject, and again endeavour to appeal to common justice and humanity in behalf of these wretched victims of depravity and disease.

Marquesas Islands.—North-east of the Society Islands, in the mean latitude of $9^{\circ} 40'$ south, and in 139° west longitude from Greenwich, lie the Marquesas, or Washington's Islands, also composed of two groups. Of these the south-eastern was discovered in 1765 by Mendana, and by him the first and most generally received of these appellations was bestowed; the north-western was not discovered till 1795, when Ingraham, the master

of an American merchant ship, touched at it, in the course of a speculative voyage in these seas.

The Marquesas are extremely numerous, the principal islands being high, volcanic, and rocky; abounding, however, in the usual vegetable productions of the islands of the Pacific, the vallies being well watered by rivulets descending from the mountains. The smaller islands are for the most part low, and evidently formed by the growth of coral, many of them being yet in that unfinished state, which deserves rather the name of reef than island. There are many good ports among the more considerable islands; but hogs and other animals are more rare and higher priced in all of them, than in either the Society or Navigators' Islands; the convenience of touching at them is accordingly more limited.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas are represented as among the handsomest of all the eastern islanders; fierce, however, and untractable in their tempers, and equally given up with the Otaheiteans to the excesses of sensual indulgence. They have received also some small taint of disease from their European visitors; but the ferocity of their temper has saved them from that general and unreserved intercourse which has been so signally prejudicial to the others. We have accordingly no reason to believe, that their numbers have suffered any re-

duction since their first discovery—a most striking proof, if proof were wanting, that the original taint of licentiousness and debauchery, with all its horrid consequences of prostitution, infanticide, &c. would not have sufficed to produce this deplorable effect among the Otaheiteans, had it not been assisted in its operation by the desultory and unprofitable communication of civilized visitors with their shores.

Sandwich Islands.—Had we had no other instance of European communication with the savages of the Pacific, than what we have thus shortly considered in the southern hemisphere, we could have deemed it only a scourge, in all cases pernicious in exact proportion to the extent of its infliction. Crossing, however, the equator, we find an example of its benefits, instructive both as to the cause of the evil, and as to its relief. The advantages which the Sandwich islanders have derived from their acquaintance with us, are altogether as prominent as are the miseries and misfortunes which we have heaped on the devoted heads of the wretched Otaheiteans; their consideration will appropriately wind up accordingly this whole summary, and conclude it with the most thoroughly agreeable object which it has come within its limits to present.

The Sandwich Islands, eleven in number, are comprised within the parallels of 19° and 22° north

latitude, and between 154° and 161° west longitude from Greenwich. Several of them are of very considerable extent, particularly Owlyhee, so noted as the scene of Captain Cook's death; they are also generally mountainous, Mouna Kaah and Mouna Roah, two volcanic peaks in the same island of Owlyhec, shooting up their summits above the limits of perpetual snow, even in a tropical climate. They are only partially fertile, the interior and mountainous districts being even strikingly cold and arid; but this is more than compensated to the inhabitants by the exuberant fertility of the lower grounds, nearly all of which are subjected to a rude tillage, which has even yet borrowed almost nothing from European improvements. The principal object of this cultivation is taro root, which the natives prepare in various ways, and which forms the principal article of their vegetable food; but besides this, bread-fruit, cocoa nuts, plantains, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, and every other variety of tropical produce yield abundantly to the slightest cultivation. Sandal wood, and many other species of valuable timber, grow luxuriantly in their forests, and pearl oysters are found on several portions of the coral reefs which surround each island to even an inconvenient degree, neither the space within, nor the breaches in the outer barrier, being so ample as those in Otaheite.

The want of commodious sea-ports is indeed the only boon which nature seems to have denied to these islands ; the growth of the coral, unless prevented by mechanical power, such as was applied by the French at Madagascar, threatening to fill up even those harbours which they possess.

When the Sandwich Islands were first discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, the natives were found to be strong, active, and well limbed ; inferior, however, somewhat, in physical organization, to the Friendly or Tonga islanders, and in arts and manufactures decidedly also behind the Otaheiteans. Although not absolutely hostile to strangers, they were yet however somewhat fierce and untractable ; and the premature death at their hands of the great man who first introduced them to the knowledge of the European world, seemed to stamp on them the distinguishing characteristics of jealousy and precipitation. The beginning of Captain Vancouver's long maintained intercourse with them seemed to confirm too this prepossession ; for he had scarcely known them, ere the treacherous murder of two of the officers attached to his expedition, seemed to belie that late repentance which they had professed for that of Captain Cook, and that superstition which had consecrated his bones, like those of the famous Scander Beg in the estimation of another enemy, as the assured pledges of pros-

perity and triumph. The firmness and genuine courage of Captain Vancouver were not, however, to be thus baffled : he prosecuted to conviction before their own chiefs three of the accomplices in the assassination ; and in their execution he read the natives a salutary lesson, which they have never since forgotten. His severity was tempered by acts of kindness and beneficence. He instructed them in ship-building, and several other useful arts ; laid down for them the keel of their first decked vessel ; and, finally, received from their chiefs that express resignation of the sovereignty of their islands, which constitutes the whole group, in reference at least to European powers, an integral portion of the British empire. His memory is still revered by them ; and even this last act, the benefit of which to them may be perhaps questioned, is yet quoted by them to their visitors as their privilege and acquisition. They constantly display English colours ; and the zeal with which they have imbibed some of our prejudices, is one instance among many, how easily the lesson of hatred is infused into the savage breast.

But all Captain Vancouver's gifts and instruction would have been useless, had it not been for the central position which these islands occupy in the Northern Pacific, and which has made them, ever since their first discovery, a common rendezvous

to various branches of permanent traffic, alike profitable to themselves and others. From them the fur traders on the shores of New Albion draw their supplies, and in their ports also such of them winter, as are obliged to pass two seasons on that bleak inhospitable coast to complete their cargoes. From the same point, the Russian settlers, both on the coast of Asia and America, recruit their stock of provisions, but inadequately supplied from their own resources : it is even reported, that one of the group has been lately occupied by them for this very purpose. And, lastly, the trading Americans, whom I have already noticed as swarming in these seas, have long made these islands a place of constant rendezvous and resort, and have now at length organized, according to Delano, a trading firm, of which some of the partners reside in the Sandwich Islands, the others at New York. It is by means of these, and such as these visitors, that the Sandwich islanders have thriven and improved, and made an absolute leap towards civilization, such as never perhaps before was witnessed in so short a period. In 1794, Captain Vancouver, as has been mentioned, laid down the keel, 36 feet long, of their first decked vessel ; in 1803, Mr. Turnbull found Tamaahmaah, their principal chief, (a very singular character, the Napoleon Bonaparte of the Pacific Ocean,) in posses-

sion of 25 vessels of from 25 to 70 tons burthen each ; and in 1810, Campbell describes him as numbering a navy of 50 sail, one of which was a vessel of 200 tons burthen, purchased from the Americans. In 1794, Captain Vancouver bought of them, as of every other savage tribe, his supplies of provisions, &c. in retail, for the usual equivalents of nails, beads, hatchets, and the like ; but in 1813, when Captain Tucker, commanding his Majesty's ship *Cherub*, touched at the same place, Tamaah-maah caused him to be at once supplied without exchange—a compliment, as he expressed it, due by him to the public servants of his own superior lord. And, lastly, while, in 1794, the dwellings of this interesting people were the same leafy coverings which are found generally among the natives of all tropical climates, in 1810, Tamaah-maah resided in a brick building fitted with glass windows, and ostentatiously displaying too, along its front, a regularly mounted train of brass guns. Nor was this magnificence confined exclusively to his own person ; the inferior chiefs vied with each other in the appointment of their households, and even the meanest of the people exerted their talents in competition with their European visitors, in all the most useful arts of life, a separation of professions, the first signal of improvement, having already taken place among them. To conclude, in

the words of a British seaman, (Campbell), who was more than a year resident among them, "They are distinguished by great art and ingenuity in all their arts and manufactures, as well as by a most persevering industry. Many of them are employed as carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, and tailors, and do their work as perfectly as Europeans. In the king's forge, there are indeed none but native blacksmiths ; they had been taught by the armourer of a ship, who quitted the island when I was there. It is astonishing how soon they acquire the useful arts from their visitors."

A minute detail respecting these people would fill a volume, and I have already trespassed on my allotted limits. I shall not, therefore, now pursue the topic, but shall here close this portion of my task by the expression of a heartfelt wish, that such a picture may not long remain an anomaly in the Pacific Ocean, but that a participation of the benefits and advantages enjoyed by these islanders may lead others in the same course ; and that thus the dark cloud which has settled over the political infancy of Otaheite, may soon be dispelled by the same bright sun of commerce and civilization which has thus early chased away the mists from the summits of Owhyhee.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES WHICH
WOULD SEEM CONNECTED WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
A CENTRAL FREE PORT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE PA-
CIFIC OCEAN.

WE have now summarily traced the principal shores of the Pacific Ocean, and without entering into any very minute details, for which indeed the sources of information within the reach of the ordinary reader are inadequate, we have acquired, I trust, such a general knowledge of their statistics, means of foreign communication, &c. as will enable us to comprehend the full scope of any conjecture as to the consequences likely to arise from the establishment of a colony on one of those innumerable islands with which the surface of the whole ocean is studded, together with the general grounds on which such conjectures may be founded. To that portion of my task then I now proceed, which, as is explained in the prefatory introduction, is to

be devoted to the purpose of classing and elucidating a series of these conjectures ; and in the intrinsic interest of the subject itself, as well as the means which I have thus previously afforded of correctly estimating it, I hope to find some indulgence for that incapacity which I do not hesitate to acknowledge in myself, to treat it with the entire depth and variety of which it is yet evidently susceptible.

It will be in the recollection of my readers that the specific proposal, which I thus submit to general consideration, is not only to establish a central colony within the limits of the Pacific, but also to constitute its port or ports free to all and every traffic within its horizon ; and to make it thus not only an emporium whence our own exports will readily diverge to their several destinations, but also a conduit by which the whole speculations of these seas shall be conveyed to the European and other Atlantic markets. Before therefore considering the peculiar application of such a measure to the circumstances of the Pacific Ocean, I conceive it will be expedient to set before the reader a distinct picture of such a port, with its usual circumstances and consequences, as detailed in the positive history of a similar establishment in another quarter ; that in reasoning subsequently respecting its operation on this point, he may have a clear

conception both of its own nature, and of the vivifying commercial powers with which it is endowed. This illustration, this picture, I most happily find in a work of great celebrity and undoubted authority in matters of commercial history, a work besides, which no one will accuse of a disposition to aggravate or embellish the features of any subject of which it treats, but which is written throughout with that simplicity which best befitted its purpose, that purpose, viz. of supplying the commercial world with an unvarnished narrative of the facts and incidents inscribed in its record.

“The Dutch island of St. Eustatius,” says Mr. Macpherson in his *Annals of Commerce*, “the Dutch island of St. Eustatius is not above six miles long. It consists of two hills of rock with very little soil upon them, and has not a single rivulet or spring of fresh water; so that it is not worth occupying for any purpose of cultivation or comfortable residence. Yet the wonderful industry and commercial spirit of the Dutch have made it a most valuable possession, and of at least as much importance as any other of the windward islands in the West Indies. By giving the greatest possible accommodation to strangers of whatever nation, this barren island soon became an universal repository for the produce and manufactures of every quarter of the globe; and as the Dutch were not so often

engaged in hostilities as the other maritime powers of Europe, the season of war has always been their peculiar and richest harvest. There the Americans with their cargoes of provisions, tobacco, lumber, and naval stores, the French with their wines, brandies, and manufactures, the British with their innumerable manufactures, and the merchants and planters of almost all the neighbouring islands flying with their produce to elude the grasp of monopoly, or shun the dangers of warfare, as well as the Dutch, whose stores were filled with every description of commodity, met as in a great fair, and without any restraint transacted their sales and purchases in this truly free port, and general magazine of all nations. Hence an island which produces almost nothing, used to ship more produce for Europe than many of the most fertile sugar colonies in its neighbourhood, and a prodigious stream of wealth flowed in upon the Dutch, through whose agency most of the business was transacted."

Such is the picture afforded us in the history of this celebrated Dutch colony,—a colony placed in the most ineligible situation possible, and which had but this one spark of life and prosperity, freedom of trade, in its whole composition. In applying the lesson which it inculcates to the circumstances of the Pacific Ocean, I shall first again summarily trace its principal shores, and then contemplate the

more general prospects which such an establishment within its limits would seem calculated to open to us.

I. *Spanish Colonies.*—The Spanish colonies on the shores of the Pacific are at present in that dubious state, that in reasoning respecting them it is necessary to contemplate them under the several aspects of being in a state of war with the mother country, reduced again under her authority, and, finally, altogether emancipated from her controul. Under the first aspect, which is that which they now present, they afford us the picture of a country a prey to faction and misrule, its manufactures interrupted, and its expenditure increased by the ordinary operations of violence and confiscation. Under the second, which is still a supposable although unlikely case, they will place before us the image of a country still bleeding under many and severe wounds, but yet beginning to experience some of those advantages which are peculiarly attached to intestine warfare, and which act as a sort of healing balm to its worst inflictions. The minds of its population will have been freed from those local and superstitious shackles by which they were formerly fettered; the habit of political discussion will have enlightened them to their true interests; and even the government itself, if endowed with any perception of the precepts for future guidance

which the events of the passing times are so well calculated to instil, will have opened its eyes to that true connexion which inseparably subsists between its own welfare and security, and the wealth and prosperity of its recovered subjects. It will have read the instructive lesson afforded by the loyalty of Mexico and of Lima, and it will study to extend over its more remote provinces that circulation of mercantile capital and industry by which these have been kept together, while all was anarchy, and revolution and revolt around them. With minds thus disposed, the means of improvement will readily suggest themselves, some of them even will have been created, as it were, by domestic warfare. Their roads will have been improved,* their

* If we would seek an example of this necessary effect of civil dissension and of its ulterior consequences, we shall find it in a portion of even our own domestic empire. Previous to the rebellion of 1745 not a single road traversed the Highlands of Scotland in any quarter; and the state of society amid their pathless wilds vied accordingly in rudeness and anarchy with any on even the most remote feudal record. Since that period they have been pierced in every direction by practicable highways, some few of them constructed at the expence of a government made sensible by recent experience of the extent and nature of the evil, but more of them cut by individuals, as the convenience and advantage of easy mutual communication became progressively familiar to their understandings. The improvement in manners I need not even mention; it is well known that within less than 40 years of the period to which I first alluded, even the acrimonious Johnson relaxed, in favour of his Highland hosts, from a portion of that inveterate prejudice which jaunciced the eye he cast on almost all our northern habits and institutions.

habits of remote mutual communication will have been formed, and a spirit of individual as well as public enterprise will have been engendered. And, finally, the Spanish colonies emancipated altogether from the controul of the mother country, will present the same aspect nearly, but with an infinitely more vivid colouring. The ardour and emulation of youth will be substituted for the tardy and cautious prudence of a yet hesitating and doubtful old age ; the flush of victory and triumph will animate councils, which would have been otherwise deadened in some measure by the suspicion and jealousy inseparable from the restitution of a government to authority, which had been shaken to its furthest base by anarchy and revolt ; and the views which in the former case would have been divided between internal and external policy and administration, will in this be carried abroad with an intensity corresponding to the enthusiasm by which alone the numerous sufferings and privations to which they are now subject can be endured, or this consummation of liberty ever be attained.

Such then are the several views in which the Spanish western colonies must either actually or prospectively be regarded, if we would give them that comprehensive consideration by which alone our own policy respecting them should be guided. The advantageous application of a contiguous free port

to them in all these circumstances is very obvious. While yet contending in the field and mutually interrupting those manufactures by which their population has been hitherto for the most part clothed and subsisted, each party will be able to receive from it the supplies of which it may stand in need, contraband or not contraband of war as may be judged fit, for these ought to be either given or refused indifferently to both; and thus those commercial connexions will be gradually and progressively forming, which on the return of peace and tranquillity would mature into such a harvest as it would be impossible for almost any restrictions, or any success on the part of the mother country, however complete, altogether again to destroy. In the next place, should these colonies continue under the dominion of the mother country, and her government acquire, in addition, those more liberal views of commercial policy which the events of the passing war are so well calculated to inculcate on it, then would such a settlement as this, for a time at least, engross nearly all the indulgence which might be granted, and all the benefit arising from those facilities of internal communication, which have been already considered as the inseparable consequences of the present war, let its termination be what it may. Its proximity

alone would give it this monopoly, whatever might be the character of the Spanish population for mercantile enterprise; but with the known indolence and inactivity of that, heightened as these qualities would necessarily be by the sensation of recent defeat, for we cannot but believe that the restoration of the authority of the mother country over these distant provinces would be felt by all of them as a defeat, there can be no doubt that an ultimate market, teeming, as this would necessarily be, with every species of suitable equivalent, placed too at so convenient a distance, and which might be approached by so safe and easy a navigation, would long engross every particle of commercial enterprise which these colonies would supply.

But the application of the measure proposed, to the last aspect in which these Spanish colonies have been contemplated, is infinitely the most important of all, both as being by much the most likely to be realized, and as combining, together with all these preceding views of advantage arising from an enlarged intercourse with these colonies themselves, other and even inestimably higher interests. The Spanish colonies emancipated will be in the further limits of our globe the same infuriated apostles of liberty and revolution, intemperate with success, and thirsting to extend its limits, whom, under another name, we have witnessed in our own days

convulsing Europe, and drenching it with blood. The Pacific Ocean they would call their domestic sea; the assumption is familiar to them, it has been already loudly avowed, though feebly maintained, by Old Spain; and their first commercial, and through them their military views, would carry them to India, unless checked in their career by the facility of obtaining every species of Indian produce at a more convenient distance, and at an easier rate than any for which they could themselves make the whole voyage. It is this last most important service which the establishment of a central free port in the Pacific would perform; this, and also that other, of familiarizing the inhabitants of its shores to the existence of a British settlement within its limits, before they are in the situation to dispute our rights; while, in fact, they would rather hail our approach to them as a favour, than question it as an usurpation.

II. *New Albion*.—The advantages of establishing a central free port in the Pacific, as they would apply to New Albion, are of two different sorts. In the first place, such a settlement would give the fur traders a new and lucrative market, through the medium of which they could all approach Canton on equal terms, at the same time that it would probably, or rather certainly, lead to the opening of a communication with other points of the Pa-

cific shores, the Spanish colonies in particular, where their wares would be certain of finding a ready sale. This particular object requires no illustration; the advantages to the fur traders, connected with their acquisition of an ultimate market in their immediate vicinity, whence too their imports would readily diverge in other hands, and at other risk, are self-evident. The next object, however, which this settlement would seem calculated to attain with respect to New Albion, is of a wider and somewhat more intricate nature, and will require, accordingly, a more specific elucidation. It consists of the facilities which the fur traders would acquire through its means, of embarking return cargoes of South American and East Indian produce, in such proportions as would enable them first to introduce progressively the taste for these articles of luxury among the savage tribes adjoining the Columbia; and, finally, to supply Upper Canada, and even the back settlements of the United States, with them, through the medium of their inland navigation across the continent of America. It will be in the recollection of my reader, as being stated in the preceding summary, that the Canadian or North-west Fur Company, has, within the last few years, carried its factories along the line of the Columbia quite to the Pacific Ocean, with which accordingly it main-

tains a regular communication. This communication, it was also stated, is however embarrassed by the heavy expenses attending the water-carriage—expenses arising principally from the strong convoys necessary to protect it against the natives. Now the expenses of these convoys would, in the first place, be very much diminished, relatively to the fur trade, if they could be made to protect, together with it, another branch also of commerce; while, at the same time, it is probable that the dissemination of the taste for the rich fruits and other luxuries of tropical countries among the savage tribes contiguous to the Columbia, might in a little time wean them from that hostility towards the traders which at present characterises them, and which must be rather exasperated than allayed by military array. But these considerations, important as they are, are by no means those which, in my opinion, give the most interest to this idea: the object of giving to Upper Canada a new branch of external commerce, entirely dependent on our sufferance and permission, and which it can only, therefore, hope to enjoy while a province of our empire, appears to me an object of even incalculably greater weight. The situation of Canada, both Upper and Lower, is one which cannot be too seriously considered by every one interested in its preservation to this country. It is, in its whole

boundary, directly conterminous with our most active and most insidious rival, while, on the other hand, it is for some months in every season cut off from all communication with us, by the severities of an inclement winter. A still greater misfortune than either of these, consists in its want of any branch of lucrative external traffic, which it might not almost equally well maintain without us ; its trade in timber by no means deserving the appellation of lucrative, and even the privileges conferred on that having been but very lately menaced by Government, and even now only temporarily assured. Now this want is that precisely which the improvement of the navigation of the Columbia, and its employment as a means of supplying Upper Canada with tropical produce, would supply ; and the facilities again for doing that, would be furnished by the establishment of a central free port in the Pacific Ocean. Nor would the vent for tropical produce in this way be limited by the mere consumption of Upper Canada. The Mississippi rises almost within its limits, and skirts the United States in their whole length as far as the Gulf of Mexico ; there never can exist, accordingly, a point offering more temptations to the establishment of an extensive inland communication, nor where the inducement to the government to which it belongs, to fos-

ter and encourage such an undertaking, would seem so numerous and so strong.

I do not doubt but that many of my readers will consider this idea extremely wild and viſionary ; but to these I can only answer, that so at one period must have equally appeared a proposal to connect Buenos Ayres and Lima, Petersburg and Ochotsk ; and yet the most precious tropical commodities have now long familiarly traversed the almost interminable wilds which separate these points. There is no wildness in the idea itself ; there is only an appearance of it, in consequence of the whole measure being thus at once presented to the imagination on this point, while, on the others, its details were progressively added, as ambition advanced the limits of territorial acquisition in these several directions. I might add, indeed, yet another observation, which is, that if we do not ourselves do something of this kind soon, we shall in all probability be anticipated. The Rocky Mountains have been crossed on more points than that indicated by M^rKenzie to the Canadian Fur Company ; Captains Clarke and Lewis were equally successful with him, and with less apparent difficulty and danger too, than he encountered ; and it is certainly not a little remarkable, that their steps have not been even already habitually followed by their countrymen.

III. *Russian Settlements.*—In considering the Russian settlements on the Pacific Ocean, the most prominently remarkable feature which they present, is the immense distance at which they are placed from the more populous districts of the empire, and the almost interminable land journies by which all communication with them is accordingly maintained. The ordinary operation of this distance on the price of all sorts of goods will very readily be surmised, but its exact extent will be best illustrated by a comparison of the prices of some of the principal articles in an enumeration now lying before me, and containing a minute specification of prices at Kasan and at Kamtschatka in 1798. Among other articles, the yard of linen sold at the former place for 21 roubles, fetched at the latter 139; a pair of boots, which were 3 roubles at Kasan, rose to 12 and 18 at Kamtschatka; a pound of candles, which at Kasan had sold for 8 kopecks, at Kamtschatka were currently disposed of at from 80 to 100; and every other article was in the same extravagant proportion. The expenses on the returns must necessarily be at the same rate; the whole indeed affording a specimen of difference between prime and ultimate cost, quite unparalleled in any other branch of trade.

The opening to improvement likely to be afforded by the establishment of an ultimate market in

the immediate vicinity of these remote regions, will not require a laboured illustration. Its first effect would be, undoubtedly, that of drawing the whole fur trade of the Russian settlements to its marketplace, dividing thus the profits on its prosecution, in nearly equal proportions, between the original speculators and the intermediate British merchant, who would charge himself with the subsequent disposal of the furs. But the political consequences of this contiguity of ultimate market, would be infinitely more important than this. The value of imported produce of every description would fall at Kamtschatka, while that of exportable produce would necessarily rise with the facility for its disposal. That wretched poverty, accordingly, would disappear, by which these remote settlers are at present characterised; and a portion of the dominions of Russia, which, except as a mere conduit for trade, is now absolutely useless to her empire, would become an efficient portion of her dominions, able and willing to contribute alike to her foreign and domestic resources. The benefit, too, would be reciprocal to ourselves: in peace, a civilized population of consumers would replace a horde of meagre savages, whose demands scarcely rise to the level of what we would consider necessary to their preservation; while, on the menace of war, the value of the remote colony, and its dependence on

our support, would give a higher tone to our language and demands.

In 1786 and in 1792, single vessels from Bengal arrived at Kamtschatka, and were disappointed in the hopes their owners had entertained of the success of the voyage, having only been able to sell small portions of their cargoes; while, on the other hand, it was announced very lately in the public newspapers, that another vessel fitted out on the same speculation had made a most advantageous trip. The truth is, no exact judgment with regard to the general question can possibly be drawn at all from these isolated experiments: desultory traders may or may not find the inhabitants of a particular point prepared to trade with them. But is it probable, that a permanent opportunity of improving the comforts of life would be permanently rejected? That is the true question; and it admits but of one answer, as I should think, and that a decided negative.

IV. *China and Japan.*—The markets of China and Japan are shut to us by the same system of jealous vigilance and exclusion, in the one case modified, it is true, by a local exemption, but, in the other, absolute and entire. Thus situate, they may appropriately be considered together, the operation of a free contiguous port being equal and alike on both.

Two centuries, then, have now elapsed since the markets of China and Japan have been known to the European world; and, during the whole period, they have been the undeviating object of pursuit to every trading nation which has successively acquired the ascendancy in the Indian Seas, the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, &c. It is not less singular, however, than true, that the success of all their endeavours has but little corresponded to the zeal with which they have been prosecuted. With respect to China, we are now all of us nearly equally limited and restricted in our communications, in a degree too quite unknown in the more early history of the trade; indeed, the nation which has made the smallest exertion, viz. Spain, is yet the farthest advanced, the port of Emouy, as well as Canton, being still open to her subjects alone of all Europeans: while, with respect to Japan, the Company the most abjectly complaisant has alone any admission at all. Would not this very remarkable fact seem to instruct us in the true lesson to be derived from this long course of experience? Would it not seem to indicate, that the blindness to what we consider their real interests, which thus secludes these nations from the benefits of a fair and equal intercourse, is not so much the effect of their constitutional prejudices, as of the haughty, arrogant, and offensive manner in which we have en-

deavoured to convey our information, and inculcate our precepts? Every successive attempt which has ever been made to overcome the barriers placed to our encroachments, has been urged by a powerful Company, vaunting its resources, and emulous to be received itself, and to have its agents acknowledged, as the depositaries of sovereign authority. Is it astonishing that such attempts should have failed, or that, witnessing the barbaric splendour with which these pretended merchants have sought to approach them, and listening, at the same time, to the tales of their usurpations industriously told of all alike by their rivals in the same race, the natives of China and Japan should have shrunk from their insidious embrace, and recoiled from the participation of even the most alluring benefits, which seemed but the snares and blandishments by which sovereign ambition, the ambition of territorial not of commercial acquisition, sought to varnish over and conceal the purpose of its soul?

It is not astonishing that such should have been the inference of these native princes; and thus situate, it is still less extraordinary that the most solemn embassies should have failed to excite even the smallest disposition in the minds of any of them to depart from their rooted maxims. In Japan, these have indeed been peculiarly unsuccessful; the last attempt of the sort—that made by Russia

in 1806—having forfeited those privileges which had been even gratuitously granted to the unsupported request of a private individual, Laxmann, a few years before. Would not this circumstance, then, seem still more to strengthen the argument which I would now introduce by these preliminary observations; the argument, I mean, in favour of trying the experiment of a free port contiguous to these shores so long shut to our exclusive Companies, and of leaving that to make its own way by dint of the small traders who would soon make a common rendezvous of its market? The produce of the several shores of the Pacific is known to bear a high price in the dominions alike of China and Japan. The silver of the Spanish colonies, the furs of the more northern coasts, the varied produce of the several archipelagos which extend in every direction along its western boundary, and within its bosom, are all objects of extreme desire in these markets, and have already various circuitous ways of attaining them. Even the slightest intermixture of European produce and manufacture is rejected now, when circulating through the hands of powerful Companies, and exhibited for sale only by 1200 ton ships, arrayed in all the panoply of military pomp, and commanded by men claiming, even from their own fellow subjects, a superior rank to that allowed to ordinary merchant seamen. But it is

impossible to say that this would equally be the case, were the same temptations held out by men assuming no other character than that of traders, and with whose equipment it would be impossible to associate any other views: on the contrary, it may almost be advanced as a certainty, that these would be in time received with ever open arms, and encouraged in the prosecution of objects of trading barter, the very idea of which has not yet occurred to the overgrown Companies by which the intercourse has hitherto been maintained, and which ever view with indifference every minute detail of trade, the immediate prospect of which offers nothing gigantic to the eye, however improvable it may in fact be. That such would almost infallibly be the result, needs no laboured illustration: the success of the petty American traders in these very seas, and along these very shores—a success which, in relation to the Mediterranean alone, has, as we have seen in the Introduction to this work, already excited the jealousy of our merchants—the success of the petty American traders alone, I say, in these very seas, is the proof and example of its accuracy and truth.

V. *Loo-Choo Islands, Indian Archipelago.*—The commerce of the Indian Archipelago, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, diverges already in almost every conceivable direction; and partly through the industry and enterprise of the inhabi-

tants of its islands themselves, partly through the avidity and commercial skill of their foreign visitors, has acquired a degree of activity and dissemination which singularly contrasts with the state of trade in the immediately contiguous Loo-Choo islands, the very existence of which has been hitherto known only, I may say, to the minute geographical student, and now seems to dawn on the more general reader with all the freshness of a recent discovery. Thus different in apparent circumstances, in what do they then agree, that they should be thus classed under one head in this enumeration? In one only point, I answer, are they similar—in the unrestrained intercourse, namely, which they each maintain with China and Japan; and it is in the point of view suggested by this circumstance alone, accordingly, that I now propose to consider them, the more immediate and direct benefits which an improved commerce with each would afford, being sufficiently evident on even the slightest review of their several statistics. This peculiar consideration, then, which I now propose to follow out, forms a sort of sequel to what is contained in the immediately preceding paragraphs respecting China and Japan themselves, those vast and important markets, from which I would maintain we most essentially contribute, ourselves, to exclude our trade.

The process then by which, I should conceive, we might convert these several points into indirect avenues to an extended Chinese and Japanese trade, is by gradually overflowing them with our commodities to produce a species of glut, which would interest their inhabitants themselves in the further dissemination of these articles among their friends and allies. This effect, if we will only trade in such a manner as shall excite no jealousy of our further views, it would not be difficult to produce, particularly among the Loo-Choo Islanders, in whose untutored minds our productions must necessarily for a time bear a higher comparative value than they do in those which have been long familiarized with them; but it would be easy, I think, to produce it nearly equally in both, if we would but agree to be buyers as well as sellers, and receive in exchange the Chinese silks, &c. which alone our intermediate agents, as these natives would thus be, could obtain in return for the wares they will have received from us, and which we would thus force through their means into these ulterior markets. Now this is the stumbling block which has hitherto prevented our employing the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago in this very way, and which, if we do not remove it, must equally prevent us from improving any other indirect medium of communication with China and

Japan. We have silk manufactories of our own at Spitalfields; and, in defiance of every principle of sound and effective policy, we attempt to maintain these in the exclusive possession of our home market by a series of legislative enactments, the pernicious effects of which we reap in full measure from the exclusion of our more peculiar manufactures from those markets in which they might be exchanged for other silks; while the individual benefits which they are supposed, and only supposed, to confer, (for be it remarked that the superior value of silk over woollen manufactures arises merely from the superior value of the raw commodity; yard for yard, they neither pay the master nor workman better, while, value for value, they pay them in an almost infinite ratio worse, inasmuch as they do not furnish either with the same extent of employment, or the same circulation of capital;) while the individual benefits, I say, which they are supposed to confer, are frittered away by the daily and hourly success of the contraband pursuits which such enactments are most especially calculated to excite. And while we thus contribute ourselves to the exclusion of our manufactures from the Chinese and Japanese markets, we presume to call these several nations short-sighted and blind to their true interests, which, as we pretend, would be promoted by our liberal admission into their ports. Have

not these nations then, equally with ourselves, a superabundant population to maintain, and have they not a right, accordingly, to maintain it by the exclusion of those who would inundate their markets with every species of supply, while they refuse to take in exchange any but crude productions of the soil, which support but one class of society within their dominions? Most certainly they have; but I will take yet higher ground. Is not the very exclusion of which we complain supported thus almost entirely by our own act, for were these wished for ports open to us to-morrow, what would they avail us if we refuse the manufactures which are their staple article of exchange? China in particular has few or no crude productions sufficiently valuable to increase materially our exports to it, let the facilities of trading intercourse be what they might; and although Japan is in some measure differently situate, exporting principally the crude produce of its mines, together with camphire and other vegetable gums, still were we on any enlarged intercourse to refuse the lacquered ware, in the manufacture of which the ingenuity of its inhabitants is principally exercised, the effect would be in time precisely the same; we should ourselves impose the limits beyond which our trading intercourse could not possibly extend, whatever indul-

gences or whatever means of direct or indirect communication we might obtain.

If we really, then, have a desire to improve our intercourse with China and Japan, let us use the means which are actually in our possession, which promise to lead to the acquisition of the object. Let us open that lock the key of which is in our own hands, and then we shall deprive the enclosed treasure of at least one of its protecting securities; time and opportunity will not fail to remove the rest; and those barriers which have for such an almost incredible period sequestered these nations from our minute examination, will crumble even to their base before, first the anticipation, and then the actual enjoyment of those mutual advantages, the true nature of which would seem to have been ever misunderstood nearly alike by each party interested in their pursuit.

VI. *New South Wales*.—In considering the colony of New South Wales in the preceding summary, I deviated so far from the rigid method which I prescribed to myself on every other point, as not only to consider its actual state, as far as we may conjecture it from the most recent publications, but also to go at some length into the argument respecting the propriety of now at last altogether changing its destination, and bestowing on it the full privileges of a British colony. To that argu-

ment I do not now refer with any view of resuming the consideration of the several topics which it discusses; I only propose quoting one inference which I endeavoured to draw from it, that namely, that while New South Wales continues a convict colony, and subject accordingly to the summary and arbitrary administration by which it is now governed, it never can become a flourishing commercial establishment,—not even the settlement of a contiguous free port could give it such a character, powerful as I consider such a measure for almost any purpose to which it can be directed. But though it cannot, in my opinion, be thus made a flourishing commercial settlement, I am yet far from thinking that it may not be most essentially benefited by such an establishment. By its means it would, in the first place, acquire a certain market for its surplus agricultural produce; an additional stimulus to industrious exertion would be accordingly supplied to the convict. It would moreover be placed within the immediate reach of assistance should any unexpected calamity ever reduce it, as heretofore, to a state of absolute dependence on foreign supply; and more than this, as being a benefit of more permanent operation, a greater variety of sensual indulgences would thus be placed within the competence of the lower classes of its population, in consequence of the reduced prices at

which the merchants of a contiguous free port would be enabled to offer every species of luxury for sale at its market. The great advantage of this last acquisition would consist in the probability it would hold out of weaning the convicts from that immoderate love of intoxication which now characterizes them. We behold daily in England the benefit in this respect, which the cheapness of tea has produced ; the same weed has been productive of precisely the same effects in Kamtschatka, where the use of spiritous liquors was at one time more confirmed by habit, and apparently still more consonant to the necessities of climate. The lower classes of society are nearly every where composed of the same original elements, nor would those of New South Wales long be proof against a similar experiment. They are, it is true, placed under one peculiar disadvantage ; their good dispositions are liable to be constantly overpowered and mastered by a fresh importation from head quarters, of immorality and vice. But I cannot persuade myself that such a system can long prevail, by whatever prejudices of habit or education it may now be supported. The destination of New South Wales must soon be altered ; all the sympathy of Britons cannot be confined to the physical wrongs of Africans, while the moral and religious character of a portion of their own countrymen cry aloud to them for rescue and

release from the bondage of contagious example in which they are enthralled, and by which their throes of repentance and reformation are kept down. When that shall be removed, then will the establishment of a free port in their neighbourhood have its full effect on these victims of impolicy; then will it re-organize their moral character, and stimulate their industry, by affording them profitable directions in which it may be embarked, the sale of their fine woods, of their coal, their whale oil, their wool, their flax, their corn—in a word, of all the varied productions for which the circumstances of their soil, climate, and character are appropriate. And then, and not till then, shall we too be able to consider New South Wales as a profitable possession,—as a sinew of strength and power in the southern hemisphere, not as a load upon our pecuniary resources, and a most foul blot and stain upon our political administration.

VII. *Archipelago of the Pacific*.—It is not my intention, under this head, to consider at length the numerous objects of mercantile speculation with which the islands of the Pacific abound; their pearls, sandal wood, &c. are well known to the commercial world, and the opportunities will readily suggest themselves, which the establishment of a free port in their immediate vicinity would afford, both for prosecuting these to the uttermost,

and for discovering other sources of lucrative traffic among them. But what will be the consequence of such a settlement to the natives themselves of these islands? In some one of them our free port will be itself established: what will be the return to the inhabitants of that island in particular, and to the others more generally, which shall requite to them this apparent usurpation of their territorial rights? In considering questions of this nature, it has not been usual to regard them in this point of view; too long, indeed, has it been customary to examine them only as they refer to ourselves, and to rank the native inhabitants of any proposed point of settlement but as the live stock, or even sometimes but as the wild beasts on the estate, to be employed or extirpated as suited our convenience. So were Mexico and Peru invaded, and thus too, more recently still, were Indostan and the Indian islands occupied; and from these examples, a sort of discredit has been thrown in the estimation of generous minds on every similar proposal. Let us not however, on this occasion, overlook this important point, but let us recur again to the question, What will be the consequence of the proposed measure to the natives themselves of those islands in which its first steps must be traced?

To this question I have no hesitation in giving the most brief and comprehensive answer: it is

easy to prevent their sustaining the smallest injury from even its most immediate operation, while its ultimate consequences must be in the highest degree beneficial ; must be, indeed, precisely those which will repair to them some part of that mischief which our desultory intercourse has entailed on them. In the first place, they are placed in very different circumstances from those which characterized the Mexicans, Peruvians, Hindoos, &c. and do not, consequently, run the same risk from our neighbourhood; they are wretchedly poor, while the others possessed immense accumulations of wealth ; and they are parted and broken into different islands, and groups of islands, with each their fixed and limited boundary, which nothing but an avowed spirit of violence can tempt either party to violate ; while those other nations alluded to were scattered and dispersed over immense continents, connected and intermingled together by a variety of discordant interests, into which whosoever entered even ever so little, was almost inevitably drawn on *ad infinitum*. Thus far, then, the two cases are different, however the circumstances of invasion may resemble ; but even these would essentially vary. Our fathers acted under a political creed which sanctioned every act of violence, so that gain was its object ; we, their offspring, have been warned by the odium attached to their exam-

ple, and have, besides, an improved moral and political feeling among ourselves, to preserve us from treading in their steps. We have it in our power to purchase the site of our proposed establishment—the whole island indeed on which we may wish to place it—inch by inch, from its present possessors ; and in the humanity of our military servants alone, we might have a well-founded guarantee against every act of violence and oppression. But we need not even depend on that ; we may prohibit, in the most rigid manner, every attempt at further territorial acquisition, and every, even the smallest, encroachment on the freedom of the surrounding natives. Such as choose to reside on the island we shall have purchased, will of course be amenable to our laws, and subject to whatever discipline we may think proper to impose on them for our convenience and security ; but the privilege to depart, whenever they conceive themselves aggrieved, may be rigidly maintained to them, and will alone prove ample security against oppression.

The fountain-head being thus pure, let us now consider in what direction its waters will flow, whether they will tend, what will be the remote consequences which they will superinduce. These will most undoubtedly be good ; they will consist in the industry, order, economy, moral and religious habits, which the neighbourhood and exam-

ple of a rich, productive, and permanent market, will naturally and progressively inculcate on the surrounding population. The natives will acquire the knowledge of many objects now unknown to them; a system of presents will either never prevail, or will at least speedily cease in a mercantile community; and they will soon learn, that these objects are only to be acquired by industry and assiduity, either in rearing stock and bringing produce to market, or in labouring in the service of the possessors of these valued articles. The germ of industry thus sown will not be defrauded of its appropriate harvest; its progressive steps towards maturity need not be here stated, they will be familiar to the political economist, and to every other reader will be best illustrated by a direct reference to the opposite scenes which different corners of the Pacific Ocean already exhibit, from the operation of this very cause. When Otaheite and the Sandwich Islands were each first discovered, the natives of the former somewhat bore away the palm from those of the latter in the estimation of our voyagers; yet, what is now the relative situation of both, and to what is the marked difference owing? The Sandwich Islands happened to lie convenient for a particular branch of traffic, by no means very lucrative in itself, nor yet conducted on those systematic principles which could alone

give it full developement and effect. The natives, however, were by its means early familiarized with the principles of trade and barter; and the consequence has been, that, without the aid of missionaries, they have acquired all the most valuable notions of morality, the effects of which may indeed be distinctly traced in every feature of their character, in every step of a progress towards civilization, which, abstractedly considered, seems little less than a prodigy and a miracle. The Otaheiteans, on the contrary, have lain remote from the course of regular traffic, and have only received the benefit of the Missionary Societies. Their presents, their abstract notions, their very assiduity in collecting the inhabitants in idleness around them to listen to their exhortations, have poisoned the sacred volume itself which it was their object to impart, but which can only worthily and profitably be received, when, with it, is also received the opportunity of carrying its moral precepts steadily and systematically into effect, and when the spiritual benefit of these is reinforced to the worldly mind of the savage by the experience and example of their temporal advantages. That opportunity, that comment on the text, the Otaheiteans have never had: they are sunk, accordingly, in idleness, vice, and debauchery, are becoming annually fewer in number, and in a short time, if no steps be

taken to reclaim them, must disappear altogether as a nation from our sight.*

* The Missionaries of Otaheite have lately given considerable publicity to a letter purporting to have been sent them by Pomarre, the principal chief or king on the island, in which he acknowledges, in the most unreserved terms, the conversion of himself and people; transmitting to them, at the same time, the symbols of his former worship, to be burnt at the Missionaries' pleasure, or sent to their country, "for the inspection of the people of Europe, that they may satisfy their curiosity, and know Tahiti's (Otaheite's) foolish gods." Of such a document it is impossible not to speak in contemptuous terms, whatever good wishes for the acquisition of the great object pursued by the Missionaries we may profess, or whatever respect we may entertain for that entire abrogation of self which characterizes their exertions. Even supposing it to be the genuine record of Pomarre's sentiments, (it may, in fact, either be dictated by the most sordid motives, or it may be an entire fabrication, for no set of men have a right to demand implicit belief on the part of the public, where the internal evidence affords so strong a presumption against them,) but supposing even, I say, that it were the genuine record of Pomarre's sentiments, what does it prove? It proves certainly enough, that whatever moral obligations may have been imposed by his former religion must be now dissolved, since he can not only treat its symbols with disrespect himself, but even court the ridicule of others with regard to them. But does this make him a Christian, or does it in any degree heighten the degrading opinion we had obtained from other sources of his character? To my mind it most certainly does neither; indeed I think it nearly self-evident, that at no time, probably, were the Otaheiteans ever less likely to be actuated by correct moral principle than at this moment, when it seems thus proved, that they consider themselves released from the obligations imposed on them by their former worship, and when, as yet, their new belief can have made but little impression on their habits and conversation. If the Missionaries would controvert this presumption, let them favour us with the

I do not mean to dilate on this topic at greater length, but I could not allow that the humanity, to which I would appeal in behalf of my argument, should be enlisted in opposition to it, by overlooking these most important considerations. I shall now only further observe, that our interference on such an occasion need not be altogether disinterested, for the success of our endeavours to civilize the inhabitants of these islands would almost instantly repay us, through the improved market which they would afford us for our manufactures. Their demands on us at present in this way are nothing, or next to nothing; but with industry to provide equivalents must also come discernment in the choice of objects of desire, contempt for the trifles which have been hitherto bestowed on them

only assured test by which their success can be estimated—detailed statements, I mean, respecting the progress and actual amount of Otaheitean population; respecting its moral habits, and the disappearance of Arreyism, with all its horrible accompaniments of unreserved prostitution, infanticide, &c. from among its members. Until these are given us, and while our impression of Pomarre's own character, of that of his subjects, and of the state of the Missionaries among them, is the result of the details respecting each given us by Mr. Turnbull in his Voyage round the World, it cannot even be believed possible, by any means short of a direct miracle, that of such elements a religious and moral community could have been formed, without the application of an external impulse to that spirit of industry, honesty, and sobriety, by whose fruits alone a true Christian spirit can be recognized among these savage tribes.

in their exchanges, and a craving after more valuable sources of gratification. Our home manufacturers will thus be admitted to a share in the profits of the whole communication ; while the merchant, in the rapidity of circulation which the vicinity of an ultimate market will insure him, will equally find his account in the prosecution of these pursuits.

VIII. *Economy of Outfit.*—The preceding advantages, it will be observed, are purely local, and peculiar to distinct portions of the shores of the Pacific: it now remains briefly to consider those of more general application. The first of these which I shall mention is the greater economy which an establishment of the nature proposed would introduce into the outfit in England of all vessels, without exception, bound to these seas. This is at present of the most expensive nature, whether of men, of provisions, or of stores. Preparation of men must be made to meet the usual casualties of death and desertion—casualties which, in a distant, precarious, and unpopular voyage of nearly three years duration, are both more numerous than on ordinary occasions, and are besides irremediable. The same observation applies to naval stores and provisions. Of these, the first cannot anywhere be supplied, and must therefore be embarked in a profusion, of which the first consequence is waste,

and the last decay. Every seaman knows, that, in these distant voyages, the loss by rot is not less severe than that by service; while of the stores which survive both, half the efficiency is probably lost, through the want of some corresponding article of equipment—a few nails, a little twine—by which they require to be applied. Of provisions, again, some uncertain supply may, it is true, be for the most part obtained among the islands of this great ocean; but the quality is generally inferior, and as they must be cured down by the crews themselves, this is frequently done in a slovenly and insufficient manner, and their entire loss forms another item in the complicated expenses of these voyages.

All this would be prevented by the establishment of a central free port within the limits of the sea itself, which is the theatre of these speculations. At such a point, supplies of every description, of men as of stores, would be readily obtained; and thus a first step would be gained for facilitating every separate pursuit within its horizon, which will equally enter into our consideration of all, however it be thus separately stated and otherwise overlooked.

IX. *Whale Fishery*.—Among the topics of general application to the whole scope of the Pacific Ocean, none more readily presents itself to our recollection than the whale fishery, nor is there any

more deplorably in want of the assistance which the establishment of a central mart within the limits of these seas would so abundantly confer. The national value of the object pursued by the South Sea whalers is recognised by the legislature, which has granted bounties for their encouragement ; but the mode in which they are compelled to prosecute their speculations, in a great measure defeats the operation of these aids. Their vessels must receive in England an equipment for two or three years, the expense and loss attending which have just been adverted to ; and they must be manned by a disproportionate and excessive number of the best seamen, who will only be lured into this dangerous and most disagreeable service by the reward of shares in the proceeds of the voyage. The necessary equipment of provisions and water for such a ship's company precludes the possibility of embarking also a cargo, even if there were a market ; the outward-bound voyage is therefore entirely unproductive, and from 12 to 14 months elapse before any thing is done for the owners' behoof. When the fishery does begin it is exceedingly precarious, and only the spermaceti whale can be an object of pursuit, the black or blubber whale not being sufficiently valuable to make a return adequate to such expenses. A single material casualty, whether by death or desertion, annihilates the speculation,

and the vessel herself is perhaps with difficulty brought home, her seamen having been kept together only by the hopes of her success.

The change which the establishment of a free port in the Pacific would produce on all this, is sufficiently obvious. The fishery would gradually devolve on resident seamen, and vessels would leave England freightéd with cargoes for this port, secure of being able to purchase there, oil, spermaceti, or whatever other return they preferred, by means of its proceeds. They would be navigated thither by only the usual proportion of seamen, who would receive only the usual remuneration; and their supplies would be recruited with such ease at this port, it would be unnecessary to bestow on them in the first instance more than the ordinary equipment. The black equally with the spermaceti whale would reward such a speculation, and the necessity of bounties would be altogether superseded.

X. *Piracy*.—The merchants of Jamaica have lately, it is said, presented a memorial to government, soliciting and inviting its attention to the acts of piracy committed in the Pacific Ocean. Their representations are of a merely local and peculiar nature, but the subject is well deserving a more general and more complete elucidation.

Three different sets of outlaws infest the waters of the Great Ocean and neighbouring coasts, and exercise their depredations with an impunity at our hands the more remarkable, as they shew no respect or regard for our flag more than another, but freely violate it wherever they have the power. The first are the Malay and Chinese pirates, who infest the coasts of China and the Indian Archipelago; and who, but the other day, were only frustrated in their schemes of murdering and plundering the survivors of the wreck of one of our men of war by the skill and spirit which they displayed in their defence. While mentioning these ruffians, it is impossible not to remark on our singular apathy and forbearance towards them for so many years that we have navigated these seas, considering too, that the river of Canton itself is hourly subjected to their insults, and that the Portuguese owe their settlement at Macao to that identical service of checking and repressing their violence along the coast of China, which we are called on by so many other reasons at any rate to perform. The next class of pirates, for so they may be styled, which I shall mention, are the inhabitants themselves of some of the islands of the Pacific, particularly New Zealand, the Tongas, and Marquesas, who have repeatedly seized our merchant ships, murdered their crews, and even drawn, as we have

seen in one instance, an *a posteriori* argument in favour of their right to commit such excesses founded on a long impunity. Here, again, our forbearance is somewhat surprising, considering the record with which we are furnished of the beneficial effect on the Sandwich islanders produced by Captain Vancouver's prosecution unto death, before their own chiefs, of the murderers of Messrs. Hergest and Gooch. Since that period, scarcely a single instance is mentioned of the smallest act of violence offered by them to any of their numerous European visitors ; and if, which is extremely probable, this forbearance be as much influenced by a sense of interest as by a remembrance of punishment, so much the better for my principal argument in favour of forming such an establishment among them as shall convey to all those islanders the same motives for respecting the lives of their visitors, as are here proved to have been so powerful.

The last class of lawless invaders of individual rights and property in the Pacific, is composed of those men, the privateers fitted out by the insurgent Spanish colonies, against whom the memorial of the merchants of Jamaica is addressed, but who, as yet, are somewhat improperly stigmatised as pirates. Acting under commissions issued by governments, self constituted it is true, but yet with some plausible pretexts of right and reason on their

side, it yet remains to be proved, by success, whether that coarse appellation is to be applied to them or not. The policy of this country respecting them is however sufficiently apparent and indispensable; they must be jealously watched, and most rigorously curbed whenever they attempt to travel out of their record, to violate or to insult the British flag. They must be more vigilantly watched than ordinary belligerents. The ultimate success of their cause may rank them with the acknowledged nations of the earth; but their defeat condemns them irredeemably to piracy and rapine for the means of subsistence. History gives us again the illustration and example. The outcast English fugitives from Honduras became the butchering buccaneers of the Caribbean Sea; and with many a bitter tear of blood and humiliation did Spain regret that first success, and the cruelty with which it had been stained.

Let not England then forget the precautions by which alone she can purchase her own exemption, and the exemption of her subjects from those disasters of which almost every sea for a time will be the scene should the Spanish colonies be finally subdued. In the Pacific Ocean they must longer predominate than in any other, both from the distance and the convenience of its innumerable ports; and such a predominance is peculiarly interesting

to us from the proximity of the Indian Seas. Let us first, then, occupy the ground, let us mingle a preventive with the corrective which we may be called on to administer. The appearance of the British flag now in these seas, the rather if floating on the walls of a permanent settlement, would be accepted and submitted to as a warning,—it would be deemed even a favour. A little time and it may be resented as an encroachment; and a distant and doubtful warfare may alone vindicate its authority and its power.

XI. *Science*.—Such are the vicissitudes in popular estimation of relative values, that the interests of scientific research—for the promotion of which, in the beginning of his present Majesty's reign, scarcely any sacrifice seemed too great—can scarcely now find any suitable place amid the important political and commercial objects with which they are thus associated. It is true that, in the interim, even their intrinsic value has been impaired, the grand outline of the shores of the Pacific having been now long traced, and even of the minute details, only a few still remaining for examination. But in return I would observe, in the first place, that some little chivalrous feeling might, with infinite propriety, be attached to the prosecution of inquiries, with the history of the outset of which, the youthful patronage of our now

aged Sovereign, and the names of some of the most illustrious of our countrymen are inseparably connected; and we might fairly and creditably protest against yielding up to France and Russia, neither of them maritime powers, the honour exclusively of bringing them to a conclusion. But, in the next place, even allowing that the hydrography of the Pacific were nearly complete, (be it noted that this is really hardly the case, many minute details being yet wanting,) but allowing, I say, even that it were the case, it must by no means thence be inferred, that no objects of curious inquiry still remain within its limits. Its meteorology is as yet entirely in its infancy; I may remark, indeed, by the way, that so it must remain until science do at length acquire a permanent home within its limits, for meteorological information can only be depended on, when it is the result of the comparison of long continued observations, not the vague surmise founded on a few casual and desultory remarks. The magnetical and barometrical inquiries accordingly, which it would be curious to have satisfied in this ocean, occur in a profusion of which I shall not now pretend to offer an outline: indeed, any list which it would be within my competence to supply, would be, to say the least, unsatisfactory to the scholar, while, to the general reader, it would be only tedious and unintelligible. But there is

one consideration to which I may with safety advert, as being equally obvious to every capacity—that, I mean, which regards the facilities for scientific inquiry, afforded by the immense extent, and easy, certain navigation of this great ocean. A few weeks sail within its limits will place the inquirer into any branch of physical science in precisely similar, or precisely opposite circumstances, in either hemisphere, as the nature of his experiment may require; and this convenience, which certainly does not exist in any quarter of our whole globe even, to the same extent, as it will be sufficiently appreciated by all students, as it relates to investigations connected with astronomy, natural history, geology, mineralogy, &c. so, may I remark, is it peculiarly favourable to inquiries into the great questions of variation, * &c. the solution of

* I cannot avoid taking this opportunity of recommending in the strongest terms, to my brother officers, and generally to all interested in keeping a ship's reckoning, a little work on the Variation of the Compass, lately published by Mr. Bain, a Master in the Navy. The object of it is to illustrate, by a variety of examples, taken in part from his own experience, not only the existence of the fact, that a difference exists in the result of observations for variation taken with the ship's head east and west, a phenomenon first observed by Captain Flinders, but also the dangers in which a neglect of the rules for calculating this difference, may involve the navigator. Such a work was become the more necessary, from the existence of a very general prejudice, in the minds of practical seamen, against the result of Captain Flinders' experiments.

which forms at present so great a desideratum in nautical science. Such as it is, however, it can never be adequately improved by occasional desultory visits, but must ever lay waste and in abeyance, until, as I have already said, science shall have acquired a permanent and conveniently central home within the limits of the horizon which her inquiries would thus pervade.

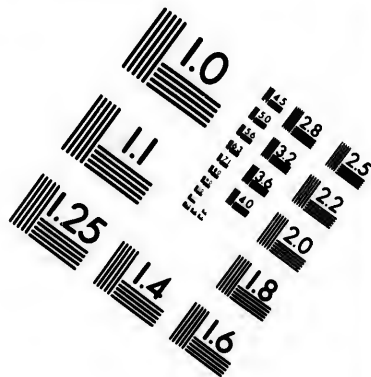
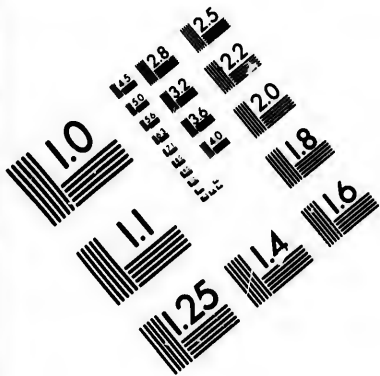
XII. In the next place, a free British port in the Pacific would draw towards it those detached and isolated American traders, who now nearly occupy every corner of its shores, their thoughts filled with home, and their minds strongly bent on acquiring useful information, and imparting it on their return to their fellow citizens, who thus reason with respect to these distant objects with a precision which

It was asked by them, with some apparent plausibility, how that could be affected by the direction of a ship's head, which was peculiar to her place in the water, not to her position? Such an argument is, however, extremely shallow, and may be put down at once, by supposing, that something in the accumulation or direction of the iron-work in either a ship's head or stern, produces an effect on the compasses. This effect will draw the needle towards the true north, with the ship's head one way, and from it when it is the other; and, as it operates therefore in both, twice its actual amount, whatever it may be, will be the difference between the observations. But it is absurd to argue in a physical question of any sort, but above all in one which regards the variation of the compass, of the theory of which we do not possess even the first elements.

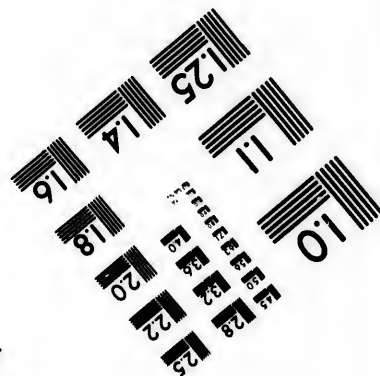
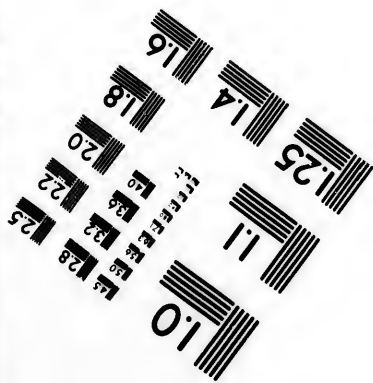
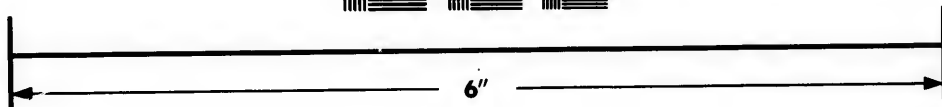
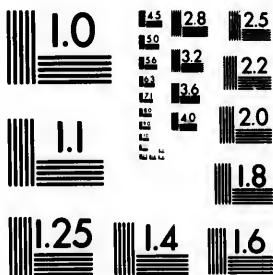
we cannot attain. By drawing these men towards it, it will weaken those domestic ties which now make them so exclusively national and anti-British in all their thoughts and communications with the savage tribes, and will at any rate enable our resident merchants to procure a knowledge of the objects of their traffic, and a participation in its benefits, such as at present no British subjects can acquire.

When American independence was first acknowledged, the advantages attending commercial speculations were already so thoroughly understood, that although still in a state when agricultural pursuits were the most natural and congenial to their resources, while labour yet bore a high price, and agricultural produce found a ready demand, the subjects of the United States notwithstanding, threw themselves at once into commercial speculations, and have prosecuted them ever since with a success corresponding to the zeal and intelligence which are their noted characteristics. Among other points, the Pacific Ocean did not escape their observation, they were even among the first who profited by the instructions regarding its resources afforded by Captain Cook's third voyage. Its desultory traffic, and the small original capital requisite for embarking in it, suited the state of their individual resources; and the economy which, from





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necessity, they introduced into the detail of their voyages, together with the superior advantages with which, through the operations of our East India Company's privileges, they entered the port of Canton, the only neighbouring market then open to them, enabled them to prosecute their several pursuits in these seas with a success which is best illustrated by the fact, that of twelve ships which touched at the Sandwich Islands in 1810, only two were English, and these, too, whalers, not coasting traders, one was Russian, and the remaining nine were all Americans. These men, as we have elsewhere seen, are in the habit of leaving their own country with trifling cargoes of provisions, &c. altogether on speculation, and passing from port to port, and from sea to sea, they accumulate as they proceed, their eyes still intent on home, their minds still filled with domestic prejudices and animosities. Every thing English is in a peculiar manner their aversion; and to instil the same feelings into the several tribes with which they traffic, is their choicest gratification.

Let no one despise an enemy because apparently insignificant, nor let us undervalue this one because the poison which he imparts is not immediately followed by inflammation. These desultory traders are of all men the most likely to open the out-ports of China and Japan, and they are at this mo-

ment familiarly to be seen in every insurgent port in Spanish America. Let not these important points be pre-occupied by those who, however apparently insignificant, are yet avowedly opposed to us and to our interests. I do not ask that they shall be attacked, far from it, let them be encouraged ; but, in the encouragement, let the venom be subdued which alone makes them dangerous. Give them a civilized home within the scope of their usual pursuits ; accustom them to look to it for their market, to it for their supplies, to it for the means of realising past, and of organising future speculations. Let them form domestic ties among your subjects, they will themselves soon swell their list ; let them find their own account in making a home of your dominions, thither will they soon carry their sympathies, and thither convey their information. They will identify their own interests with its prosperity, and neither scowl at its flag, nor murmur at its fees.

XIII. *Revenue.*—These fees, and the revenue they would produce, form, then, the last subject on which I shall now touch in recommendation of this portion of my scheme. They will naturally consist in the levy of a small transit duty on every species of commodity passing through the warehouses of this port, on its way to the ultimate market, whether European, American, or Asiatic ; and, in

the genuine spirit of a free port, will be levied on all alike, without favour and without drawback of any sort. The total amount must necessarily depend on the degree of developement which the whole measure might be able to bestow on the commerce of the Pacific; for, whatever that may be, it must almost necessarily centre in this point. No resident merchant within the limits of the whole sea, whatever might be his circumstances, would be able to trade direct with any Atlantic port on the terms with which he might communicate with this market, which, at scarcely a tenth of the distance, would combine every variety of produce, European, American, and Asiatic; while, *vice versa*, the Atlantic merchant would be unable to find united on any other point of the Pacific the same advantages which he would meet here. The result would seem demonstrable, nor shall I now farther dilate on the topic; finally observing only, that the revenue thus acquired would be interesting to us not merely as might regard the amount of pecuniary gain which we might derive from it, but as its details, together with the exchanges on the market place of the free port itself where it would be levied, would afford us a sort of political barometer for the whole ocean and the various interests which it involves, such as the independence of the Spanish colonies in particular, may make it most

especially desirable for us to possess, and which by no other means we should seem likely to attain. This last consideration almost deserves a separate place in the enumeration which I now conclude; but I suppress a particular illustration of it, partly because its application is so nearly akin to what we are in the daily habit of employing as a guide for our political conduct in Europe, that it appears superfluous to do more than thus to name it; and partly from my desire now to bring to a close these observations respecting the Pacific, and respecting the various sources of political and commercial ascendancy which the due improvement of the natural advantages possessed by its principal shores so abundantly presents. Their elucidation has already drawn me indeed, to trespass materially on the limits which I had wished to assign to this particular portion of my work; and as some little recurrence to the entire topic will necessarily form a portion of both the following chapters, but more especially of the last, to the opportunities afforded by them, I now reserve whatever little addition I still wish to make to them.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POLICY OF FORMING A SIMILAR ESTABLISHMENT ALSO IN THE SOUTHERN ATLANTIC (WITHIN THE TERRITORY, NAMELY, OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE), AND OF CONFERRING ON IT PARTICULARLY THE SAME PRIVILEGE OF TRADE WITH INDIA LATELY BESTOWED ON MALTA AND GIBALTAR.

IN the preceding chapter I have summarily laid down what I consider the chief advantages connected with the establishment of a central free port in the Pacific Ocean ; I am now to follow out the plan of this work by considering those identified, as it would appear to me, with the formation of a similar establishment within the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, bestowing at the same time on the port selected, the same privilege of unlimited trade with India and the Atlantic markets, in other words, the same privilege of receiving the transit duty on East Indian produce imported in

British bottoms, conferred only last session of Parliament on Malta and Gibraltar.

In carrying the reader's mind at once to a subject so remote, alike as it regards place and interest, from that to which I have hitherto endeavoured to confine his attention, I am aware some preface would be necessary, had I not already anticipated that task in the introduction which I have prefixed to the whole work. In that I have detailed at length the *prima facie* argument in favour, at least, of the last of these proposals; that argument, I mean, which is drawn from the proximity of the Cape of Good Hope ports to the track from India alike to every Atlantic market, and the little comparative inconvenience which would accordingly be imposed on the British merchant by the exaction of a transit duty at them, to that now inflicted by the necessity of touching at a Mediterranean or British domestic port on his way to his ultimate destination. To that I shall not therefore now again recur; but combining the whole proposal into one,—that is, adding to it as therein originally contained, the further ingredient of free trade,—shall proceed at once to develop what would appear to me the most striking and important consequences with which it would seem likely to be attended.

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f. The first of these then is the extreme facility which the establishment of an intermediate free port between Europe and India would confer on their mutual communications ; a facility which I scarcely characterize too strongly, when I consider its effect as tantamount, or very nearly tantamount, to the entire annihilation of half the whole distance which divides them. The view of the subject which suggests to me so strong an expression, I cannot better elucidate than by an illustration which must be familiar to every one accustomed to travel post in this country, and who has had his horses changed between two stages, giving up those belonging to that he has left, and taking in lieu those of that towards which he is proceeding. The effect of this very simple operation is that two parties or travellers are equally forwarded to their respective destinations, and two postmasters derive full benefit from their passage, while the horses employed do at the same time but half the work which was originally cut out for them. Even so would be the effect were an intermediate port established between us and India. The respective produce of each hemisphere would get under way from both extremities at the same time, and, meeting at a point in the middle, would there be exchanged ; each vessel employed in its conveyance deriving precisely the same advantages from a voyage of

only half the usual duration, and attended consequently with only half the risk, expense, and delay in realizing the profits of the speculation, that she does now by completing the whole.

It is unnecessary, I think, to dilate at greater length on the moral certainty of the superior economy of this method to that now employed; still less is it possible for me, in this place, to enter into minute particulars respecting the immediate commercial advantages necessarily consequent on thus ameliorating the means of communication between Europe and India. There is one particular effect of it, however, which I cannot altogether overlook; the increased extent, I mean, which it would give to the exchange of British manufactured against Indian crude produce. The banks of the Ganges have already witnessed the prodigy, the commercial miracle, of their native produce being transported to England in the crude state, there manufactured, and at last consumed on its native shores; and if that can be done with the present method of communication, its occurrence must be multiplied indefinitely when that shall come to be improved. This is so obvious, I should hardly have thought it necessary to notice it, were it not for my desire to make the following remark on it. An objection may be anticipated to the whole scheme, from consideration for the domestic capital and industry at present embarked in the

transit of East Indian produce through the home market. This objection will, I think, fall to the ground, when a comparison is instituted between the value and sort of these embarked in that speculation, and those engaged in manufacturing pursuits. The capital engaged in the transit of East Indian produce through the home market, is for the most part supplied by a few wealthy individuals, who, when this source of its employment shall be withdrawn, will easily find another—will find another indeed immediately, in the more active exchange of manufactured and crude produce which is anticipated. The labour is in the same manner furnished by the sturdy porters of half a dozen of our principal sea ports, who, in the same consequence, will find the same resource. But the capital and labour engaged in manufactures are very differently situate. Of the first, a very heavy outlay must be made before even commencing any speculation—an outlay which, if that prove unsuccessful, can in no way be redeemed; while the labour is furnished by the sedentary of all ages and of both sexes, by women, children, &c. who have only one direction in which they can possibly turn their industry, either to their own or to public account, a direction, however, in which their pre-eminent skill has happily elevated their country to that pinnacle of political greatness which she has

now long attained. There can be no comparison between the value of the two objects, no doubt to which our preference should be given.

II. The natural consequence of abridged distance, for so it may even literally be called, and of freedom of trade, would be to draw the traders of all nations alike towards this one point, to make it the conduit, in other words, by which the whole communication between the two hemispheres would be maintained. Of the two active elements which I thus name as working together to produce this effect, the influence of the last, viz. freedom of trade, was exemplified in the beginning of my last chapter, at a length to which I need only now refer. But I would further observe, that in the instance then alluded to, it was acting alone; St. Eustatius, possessing no advantage of situation above any of the Leeward Islands to make it thus resorted to, outward bound being further distant than almost any of them, while homeward bound it is not one inch even nearer. But the employment of the Cape of Good Hope, in the same way, would further, as we have seen, abridge the whole distance nearly by one half; thus constituted, therefore, it would stand to the Atlantic markets in the relation of India, and to the Indian markets in that of Europe; presenting at the same time to both a variety and assortment of the produce of each,

such as no other single port in even the whole world could offer. We need not fear that foreign merchants would be slow to avail themselves of the opening it would thus afford: they could not be precluded from doing so, no, not even if the states to which they might respectively belong were to foresee the consequences to which their repairing to it would seem to lead, and were to endeavour to prevent them by legal enactments.

III. On the general resort then which I thus anticipate as a necessary consequence of the measure which I propose, I would now build the whole mighty fabric of anticipation which I proceed to develop. The first consequence of it which I shall mention, would be the immense revenue which it would confer on us; a revenue by so much the more agreeable to receive, as it would be levied, without partiality, on foreign as on domestic speculation. The total amount of revenue accruing to us at present from the transit of East Indian produce through the home market, I have no opportunity of learning exactly; but whatever it may be, it must be evident, that frittered away by collection at a dozen different points; by that of watching a most extensive line of coast to prevent smuggling; and, finally, by the return made to the merchant of nearly the whole amount as drawback on his re-exportations, I say, that fritter-

ed away by these several incumbrances, its nett amount to the government can bear no proportion at all to the gross sum exacted from the merchant, together with the interest and profit subsequently paid him by the consumer, as a return for the risk and outlay of his money. This is so evident, I shall not dilate on it ; I shall only compare it with what may reasonably be expected from a revenue levied at one intermediate point, exacted without partiality from rival as well as domestic speculation, and unincumbered by any calculation of drawback whatsoever. The difference in comparative amount cannot be stated in any terms at all ; for were this intermediate port to flourish, as it would appear likely that it would flourish, the nett revenue derived from even a very moderate impost thus levied at it, would appear to me calculated to average a sum of almost unbounded magnitude—of a magnitude which would alone seem to recommend the proposed measure beyond the reach of all opposition.

But, in point of fact, the amount of income which this measure would seem calculated to bestow on us, is not, after all, the most interesting modification of which this subject of revenue would seem susceptible ; there is another view of it which ought to fix the attention of every sincere lover of his country in a still more especial manner. The

evil tendency of contraband pursuits on the morals of a people, requires no detailed illustration, it is but too often displayed to us, in all its most lamentable characters, in the concluding confessions of criminals condemned by justice to expiate their crimes on the scaffold, and who almost uniformly attribute their fate to the premature lessons of vice inculcated by habits of either poaching or smuggling in early youth. Respecting the first of these fatal stimulants to juvenile depravity, it is impossible here to introduce any of those observations, which yet crowd instinctively to the mind on its very mention; but with respect to the last I shall say, that notwithstanding these sad and perpetually recurring examples, no legislature has ever yet been able to infuse into the public mind a prejudice against its practice; high and low, even in England, where moral sentiment is incontestably higher wound than in any other country, yet conniving almost uniformly at that which seems to inflict no corresponding injury to the individual benefit derived from it. If such then be the real state of the case, and if the experience of every age and country proves also that it is likely ever to continue so, let the hydra be attacked with other weapons. Let us endeavour to make that contemptible and mean, which we cannot make ignominious; let us divide the entire sum of tax into

portions, to be paid by different hands, and at successive stages of the progress of the article in question to consumption. Let the temptation to contraband pursuits at no one point equal the risk; and let common prudence at length guard that property, which neither threats, nor denunciations, nor captivity, nor even the infliction of death itself, have ever been able to secure.

I have expressed this argument in general terms, because the principle which it contains might, I think, be introduced with advantage into nearly the whole range of our financial institutions. Its application, however, to the case in point, is even still more easy and obvious. The transit duty paid at the Cape of Good Hope would be subtracted from that whole amount required from the importations of East Indian produce into this country for home consumption; the remainder, accordingly, would no longer present that strong inducement to fraud, which at present encourages it to laugh at every fresh precaution taken for its prevention.

IV. The next consequence of this general resort would be, the placing all traders in the exchange of East Indian and European produce on an equality, enabling English capital and activity to produce their full effect in every direction, without taxing them, as at present, to overcome specific difficulties and obstructions arising from the colla-

teral operation of statutes and regulations, good perhaps in themselves, but on some one point injurious. This argument is directed principally to a set of common-place reasoners on political subjects, who are strongly bigotted to ancient modes, and who, to every home-thrust directed against them by incontrovertible facts, have always the same weary reply in their mouths—"It may be all very true, there is perhaps some little disadvantage accruing here; but never mind, British capital and enterprize will easily overcome that, and all will be again right." To the power and efficacy of these means I willingly subscribe; they have borne us, thank heaven! through many a difficulty and danger, and I do not fear but that they will do so again. But I would remark, that if thus powerful to overcome actual obstacles, give them but a fair field and no favour, they would be more successful still, and would soon infinitely outstrip that competition which is only enabled to maintain any struggle with them at all, by means of the obstacles which thus beset their path.

V. This general concourse of all traders to a port subject to our jurisdiction, would now further enable us to guide and direct the course of the whole trade within its scope, as suited our interests, by the mere operation of financial regulations. This power is extremely delicate, and would require to

be exercised, it is true, with the utmost precaution; but the certainty of its acquisition is sufficiently obvious, and there are one or two instances in which it might, I think, be wisely and politically exerted. We might, for instance, encourage by its means the exchange of our manufactures against the crude produce of India; and we might also support by it that monopoly of the trade with China, which we think proper to confer on our East India Company. The policy of the gift is perhaps very questionable, but it is of long standing and has been conferred besides for a valuable consideration: we cannot therefore, with propriety, hastily violate it, however we may disapprove of the means by which it is supported, however sensible we may be of the actual injury and injustice of which these means, or some of them at least, are the operative causes. The exclusive privileges conferred on the Company at the port of Canton are those to which I most particularly allude, and their various operations on British interests in the Pacific have been already noticed in their own place. But to this I may safely add the humiliating forbearance and submission which have so long characterized and disgraced all European intercourse with the vain and supercilious Court of Peking—a forbearance and submission which, in compromising our national honour and dignity, compromise even infinitely su-

perior considerations to that for which they are sacrificed. Now it would appear to me, that all points alike would be gained by the moderate exercise, on this occasion, of the power to which I allude—the power, viz. of regulating the course of trade at this intermediate point by financial regulations. Some pecuniary exemptions conferred there, on the East India Company's Chinese trade, would enable it in a short time greatly to increase its actual extent, while we remain in a state of peace and amity with that empire; while, on the other hand, should we ever be forced into hostilities with it—a consummation becoming every day more probable, both from the approach of our mutual boundaries in the interior of India, and from the continued insolence of the empty satellites of its throne—I say, should we ever be thus forced into hostilities with it, such a previous arrangement would hold out, not merely a chance, but even a certainty to the East India Company, of regaining their trade on the return of peace—a certainty, in a word, of that of which otherwise they can entertain no hopes whatever. During the contest these privileges would lie, as it were, in abeyance; and we should be supplied with Chinese produce in the interim by neutral traders at only a slight advance of price, consequent on the higher duties which their traffic would pay, diminished however,

it must on the other hand be observed, in some measure, by the superior economy with which the speculations of private merchants are always conducted, to any to which those of a public body can pretend. On the restoration of peace, with the return of the opportunity of exercising their privileges, would return also to the Company the trade which, in the very first instance, they would increase and extend; and thus we might at once abolish those regulations by which the commerce of Canton, sufficiently embarrassed at any rate by Chinese regulations, is still further rendered nugatory to us by our own statutes; and might assume and maintain that real independence of bearing towards the feeble Court of Peking, of which our refusal to comply with some ridiculous ceremonies is but the pageant not the reality, the empty and degrading semblance, not the honourable and dignified substance and effect.

VI. The proximity of the Cape of Good Hope in comparison to India, and the advantages which it would hold out to individual traders, would have a powerful effect in reviving the spirit of mercantile speculations on the continent of Europe, and would foster and encourage its several trading marines. The first statement of this proposition would seem by no means to contain a favourable prospect to the shipping interest of this country, which, on

the contrary, would appear likely to suffer somewhat from the habit which it anticipates as being thus given to continental merchants of having their work done by their own native shipping, instead of employing as now, almost exclusively, English and American bottoms. But in the field of fair competition I have no fears for British capital and enterprise; they may lose on one particular point, but they must gain on others, and not even the shipping interest would suffer on the whole. But it is not so with the American shipping, which derives little or no employ, comparatively speaking, from its own native resources, but is almost entirely fed and supported by that carrying trade which first the Dutch, and now these new rivals, have almost entirely engrossed, but which we have so especial an interest in proscribing. Between them and us, the continental shipping interest is quite overborne; indeed, I am not sure that there is not some little prepossession lurking in the public mind altogether against its revival; I believe a great many politicians would hear with some little pain, that the Indian seas were again swarming with French, Dutch, Danish, Hanseatic, and other flags, while they would have the real picture of the extended and extending commerce of the Americans, in the same quarter, placed before them without emotion. Certainly never was prejudice so misplaced. In

our late contest, we derived no assistance whatever from the American merchant marine ; I do believe, as a naval officer, we had not a man from it, we rather lost, through the difficulty of recognizing our subjects from among Americans, and through the scandalous encouragement which, even while professing a strict neutrality, the government of the United States was not ashamed to hold out to our deserters. Well may I speak to the fact, I was myself, on one occasion, a most material sufferer by its occurrence. But how was it, on the contrary, with the mercantile marines of continental Europe ? Their seamen swarmed in our fleets even when their several sovereigns were leagued against us, and scarcely did they require even not to be led against their own national flags. We may not approve of this unpatriotic principle in individuals, but in a body it is for our purposes a useful quality ; and I must here remark, that the valuable services which our navy derived from these men last war—services which were only rendered efficient through this distinctive feature in their character—have never been adequately acknowledged or rewarded by us. Those rights of naturalization which were nominally conferred on them as an encouragement during the war, on the return of peace were rendered nugatory by the combinations among our native seamen to exclude them from

our mercantile employ—combinations which, as far as this effect was their object, were almost sanctioned upon principle by the great mass of British public ; and thus the men who had fought and bled for us in our day of need, in the hour of comparative prosperity, or when at least the burthen had changed its character, were thrown aside, and in vain appealed to the naval officers with whom they had served, in animated protest against the wrong they thus received.

In the general statement of this question, I have been led somewhat away from its particular bearing on my principal purpose. This, however, is very obvious. The capital, resources, and enterprize, which may be unable to organize a speculation for India and the further corners of the southern hemisphere, may yet readily embark for the Cape of Good Hope ; and in the habits and acquisitions of success, continental merchants would again resume that activity and speculative exertion which they now want. We owe our exertions towards effecting such an object to a great many interests ; to our manufactures, for these now languish in the absence of that luxury and cheerfulness, which in a peculiar manner characterize the successful pursuits of trade ; and to our good name, for that now suffers under the imputation that we can take no interest in any thing beyond our own immediate

objects, that we have neither capacity nor liberality sufficient to see the advantages of associating others in our success. But more than these, not as more important, but as more immediately bearing on the subject of the foregoing observations, we owe them to the poor fellows whose services we even exacted in our day of need ; whom we cannot now encourage in our own mercantile marine, but at the expense of a still more valuable set of men, our own native seamen ; but for whom we might thus indirectly provide. And, lastly, we owe them in a most peculiar manner, to the deep interest we have in proscribing every species of carrying trade, in disseminating among many channels the excess of maritime employment over what we ourselves engross—not in allowing it to be accumulated in one, which a revolution in our circumstances may not only make commercially, but even politically, formidable to the dearest interests of our land.

VII. By presenting at the Cape of Good Hope advantages which would most certainly allure all Indian traffic towards it, we should interrupt, without violence or dispute, that commerce maintained by the Americans with India, which we wished to refuse them, it was understood, at the late peace, but which they would not resign. The importance of this object is in my mind very great. India is an extremely delicate point of our empire, main-

tained, as we shall presently see at greater length, in a great measure, by the force of opinion, and which is therefore peculiarly accessible to those weapons of offence, detraction and affected contempt, in which the petty American traders almost mechanically indulge with respect to us. It is indeed somewhat a painful study to trace, even in one's self, the excess to which mutual aversion now exists between the United States' subjects and ourselves—an aversion founded on a long train of injuries and disgusts, and aggravated by that contempt which we each pretend, and only pretend, to feel for the other. Its effect in every port, where the petty agents of both meet, is palpable to even the grossest observation; but the rancorous and sarcastic remarks which it elicits, are in a peculiar manner injurious to us in India, where we are for the most part rather feared than loved, and where, accordingly, a greedy and delighted ear is turned to observations tending to depreciate and vilify our name. But this is not all. The pecuniary value of this trade to America is perhaps not very great, it is much greater, however, I may observe by the way, than is generally believed; but its moral importance to them is, beyond all computation of this sort, great. There is a dignity and elevation of sentiment inseparable from all distant speculations, of which the first hazards are great, and the returns only

contingent and remote. They enlarge the capacity, exercise and improve the understanding, and familiarize those combinations of great ends with slender and apparently inefficient beginnings, such as alone are entitled to give the name of ambition to the steady purpose which they produce on the mind; while that once bestowed, *vires acquirit eundo*, difficulties and moderation alike disappear before its course, and the most lofty and daring views at length dawn on its contemplation. Such have been the effects of this Indian trade on the moral intellect of the American people; for be it remarked, that its influence on them is not as with the Spaniards, Dutch, and, until lately, ourselves, dammed up and confined to an exclusive Company, the directors and chiefs of which alone catch the spark of inspiration, while all beneath them lie yet grovelling in the slumber of counting-house obedience. No!—The Americans have no exclusive charters or associations; their Indian ships are, as I have elsewhere noticed, launched at the joint expense, and navigated by the united labours of a few indigent but adventurous individuals, all interested in husbanding the resources, and promoting the ends of the speculation, and all acquainted with its first hazards, and with the proposed object by which it is hoped they will be rewarded. The effects which such enterprizes produce, are accord-

ingly widely disseminated among their population, and may indeed be most distinctly traced in almost all of them. Other and nearer branches of commerce have made many of them rich ; but it is this Indian and Pacific Ocean trade which has made them as a nation ambitious ; it is this which has envenomed their hatred to the parent state, which fostered them with her very blood ; this, in a word, which makes them anticipate with delight even, the hour, however remote, which shall witness, as they fondly hope, the ruin of her most ancient institutions. I do not speak of their administration : that, I do believe, is innocent of such thoughts ; such combinations are nearly incompatible with its loose and feeble organization. But I speak of the great mass of their population, of their mercantile and seafaring communities, of the factions but able leaders of their provincial elections and assemblies. To all these the most extravagant anticipations of future greatness are even familiar ; and by them, as well as by the permanent and enduring operation of the original cause, is that moral energy of mind sustained and supported, by which alone they can ever hope to see these visions realized.

Both points of view, therefore, in which this trade is contemplated, are most interesting, and both claim for it our steady consideration of the

means by which it may be amicably interrupted. These means, the institution of an intermediate free port would seem in a most especial manner to present. If indeed capable of offering those advantages of diminished distance, smaller risk, quicker circulation of profits, and, finally, variety of equivalent for almost every species of cargo, all of which would seem inseparable from any idea which we can form of it by anticipation, then may we rest assured, that no avowal of our own ultimate object would be able to defeat its operation, no legislative enactments elude its purpose. The Americans must come to us and to our port, or they must abandon altogether the market; there is no keeping up a disadvantageous trade for mere purposes of state convenience any where; but least of all could such a measure ever be attempted under a government supported only by the breath of public opinion at home, and which but the shortest intermission in its applause must level with the ground.

VIII. The interruption of this intercourse on the part of the Americans, would, from the operation of the same causes, be extended to other powers, and would promote the security of India, whether we choose to colonize it or not. The first part of this proposition is sufficiently obvious, I wish, however, both to give it a distinct expression, and also to guard against a possible misunderstanding of

the exact meaning which I attach to it. By an interruption, I mean only in the direct trade ; I do not by any means suppose that the measure which I recommend would banish foreign flags from the Indian seas altogether. The trade from all parts of India to the Cape of Good Hope, would be just as free and open to all, as that from the Cape to all parts of Europe and America ; and a share of the one would be accordingly as readily engrossed as of the other by neutral powers. I only mean that a British port would be the common rallying point of both, and that the whole commerce would be maintained by virtue of privileges conceded by our favour, and which might accordingly be forfeited at our nod. Those exclusive feelings, accordingly, would gradually subside, which make the trader between Canton and New York an enthusiastic American, and the merchant passing from Batavia to Amsterdam a mere Dutchman in political feeling. The breasts of both would progressively warm to the port and country which still divide their time and their domestic associations ; they would be half our subjects, to whatever lord the remainder of their fealty may incontestably be due.

The second part of the whole proposition prefixed to this portion of my subject, comes now to be considered—to be considered too at a length, which, however inadequate to its real importance, may

yet, in this brief and summary compilation, bear some proportion to its intrinsic magnitude. The security of India is indeed a question which must come home to every individual, however callous to the ordinary topics of alarming and serious consideration, with which we are ever daily beset. I do not say that every one is to take it on trust that it is really compromised because it is so said ; but I do say, that if but the smallest surmise of the kind be advanced, it is worth any man's while to examine into its reality and truth.

The security of India, then, has been long confided to its remote situation, and hitherto that has been sufficient for the purpose to which it was tasked, aided however, be it remarked, by some very considerable sacrifices of money, moral character, and reputation, such as in an especial manner characterize our administration of that opulent inheritance. But that remoteness of situation, let it be also remarked, with fear but with firmness, is now actually under compromise. The emancipation of the Spanish South American colonies—their entire reduction seems almost hopeless,—must develop in our despite, and unless we timeously interfere, beyond our controul, the vast commercial and still more formidable political resources of their Pacific Ocean shores ; and the North Americans, we may be assured, already contemplate such

an issue with even the tyger's gaze of interest and eager anticipation, (public commissioners do not go now-a-days to the extreme corners of the world merely in search of accurate information, however plausibly the tale be told.) Supposing that result were actually realized, which is beyond all measure the most probable, I mean that Peru, Chili, Buenos Ayres, &c. had achieved their emancipation, and were united with the North Americans in the bonds of an interested compact, in what direction, I would ask, is it most likely that their first commercial, and consequently political views, would be carried? Why, most certainly towards Asia; the distance is much less, the ground is not already so much occupied, and the interchange of commodities is in most respects more suitable than with Europe; the specie, raw cotton, and fine wool of the one, corresponding in all respects to the demands of the other; while the natural returns are equally suitable, composed as they would probably be of the manufactures, ivory, frankincense, spices, betel nut, &c. for which the eastern shores of Asia are so famed. When these friends and allies have been thus led then by the hand to India, in what situation will they find us there—vigorous at home, powerful abroad, respected and beloved, the terror and yet the stay of the native chiefs? No! thanks to our cold-blooded policy, they will not so

find us; our situation is the reverse, absolutely the very reverse of this picture.—Seated on the surface of India, not amalgamated with its composition; paltering in a petty traffic, by which they acknowledge themselves losers, but to which they cling with much the same feeling, as that with which a superannuated tradesman still lingers over those now losing occupations which once were profitable; and viewing, finally, with agitated emotion, every petty cabal, every casual interchange of couriers between the native powers! Such is the magnificent description which more truly pictures the rulers whom it is our pleasure to bestow on India, and who now, after nearly a century's occupation, are still seeking to bind it to their side by a mere chain of sand—a chain of which the scattered grains, we cannot call them links, are formed of all that is most foreign, most irreconcilable; of a military force, strong only in the weakness of its antagonists; of an almost antiquated respect, the fruit of past victories and success; and of a fixed, a rooted turbulence and aversion on the part of the native princes, the rich and merited harvest of a thousand usurpations and intrigues. I do not speak in reproach, but in counsel; not in invective against the past, but in warning for the future. The season of security from such a tenure, or of success from such a policy, draws alike to a close; our own es-

tablishments of Sepoys have taught the natives tactics; our indulgence to the Americans, with the licentious liberty of speech which these latter every where carry with them, have taught them to doubt the truth of those tales of national greatness, the belief in which our local successes had once almost interwoven with their very composition. And if distance, military superiority, and moral prejudice, are all thus to be at once torn from us, what is there that will remain for the support of our establishments?

One support the institution of the intermediate ports which I have severally proposed in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, will unquestionably bestow; a feeble one, comparatively perhaps, but yet something in such a case. They will exile from our Indian shores those whose ambition and sagacity we have most reason to fear. To the eastward the South Americans will find at their own doors a still greater profusion and variety of equivalent than they could hope to encounter, in one place at least, by making the whole voyage to India, for European commodities would at our port be added to the enumeration; while to the westward the same causes would produce the same effects, aided, moreover, in a degree, by our still greater military ascendancy in that direction, to any which we could almost ever hope to attain in the Pacific

Ocean. Or if these institutions fail in accomplishing completely these ends, in this, at least, they will succeed—in chaining foreigners to their commercial compters, they will place them in India in an infinitely more insignificant light than that in which they now appear to the native population. Trading, as they will then do, whether they proceed east or west, to a British, not a foreign, to them a native port, the most eager credulity will hesitate in believing their insinuations to our prejudice, will pause before it confide in the pretended impotence of that power, to which even its calumniators must thus acknowledge themselves indebted for a market.

But this alone will be, I would fear, insufficient ; we must colonize India if we would permanently retain it. The argument in favour of such a measure is long and complex, it is besides foreign in some measure to my principal purpose ; but I cannot refuse a place to a short exposition of its principal outline.

The great objection to the colonization of India is said to be drawn from the fatal experience we have already had, as is pretended, of the insecure tenure by which a powerful colony is held by a parent state ; and immediately on the first proposal of such a measure we are desired to read in history its consequences and result. History is un-

doubtedly the great glass in which all political measures should be dressed, and I most willingly subscribe to the appeal thus made to its authority. Let us turn then to the identical page thus alluded to, let us consider its contents, and let us adopt the maxim of policy which they are calculated to inculcate. Does this page of history then tell us that in mere wantonness of strength our North American colonies threw us off? that despising our name, and hating our controul, they chose for themselves a new designation, and capriciously and contemptuously set us at defiance? Does it tell us this, I say, or does it not rather proclaim, that we were wanton, that we were capricious, that it was we who, not content with avowing our belief in the existence of separate interests from our children, and demanding of them a tribute to our necessities, carried, moreover, the insolence of fancied power to such a pitch as to prescribe even the mode of its exactment, and to persist in that mode when it had no recommendation left on earth but the offence it gave to the feelings and prejudices of these our brethren; when it was become a bone of contention even amongst ourselves, and when the most eminent talents in the kingdom, I speak especially of those of the great Lord Chatham, were set in array against the very principle on which it was founded. I would ask again which of these two

readings is the most correct of this record to which we are thus triumphantly referred for the ultimate decision of the great question respecting colonizing India? the topic is now one of sober discussion, the passions which it would once have excited are now hushed.—Surely it is the latter, indubitably the latter; and if so, what is the true practical lesson which we ought to draw from it? Is it against the possession of opulent dominions, or against the unstatesmanlike passions which lost us these? Not only do I maintain that this last is the lesson which we ought to draw from it, but I assert also that it is the lesson, the only lesson, which we have practically drawn from it, however another may still appear in our theoretic discussions; for we have established a continental colony, New South Wales, since the loss of America, and composed it too of the same refractory elements with that; and, on the other hand, we have adopted, for the most part, towards our other colonies, even the meanest of them, a tone of conciliation and deference, of which we reap the appropriate reward in their respect and in their love. No one will pretend that the sacrifices of life and property made by the inhabitants of Canada during the late American war to defend and to maintain our right to rule over them, were a tribute paid by fear to our power, or to our means of retribution should they prove disaffected. On

the contrary, every dastard feeling, if they had any, was enlisted on the side of our opponents ; and the Canadians, moreover, had the mortification at that time to be ruled by a Chief Governor who was personally unpopular to most of them, and to witness also some considerable and very lamentable disunion in the military councils entrusted with their defence. But still they loved and honoured us in the main ; some few individual cases excepted, we had been kind and indulgent to the voice of their popular assemblies ; and in our day of need they generously forgot petty grievances to prove to us their sense of loyalty and obligation.

There is then no insurmountable objection, *prima facie*, to colonizing India, its propriety must be discussed and determined on other grounds. Let us then consider it, first, as it would relieve England, and next as it would secure India : I shall be very short on both heads.

First, then, it has been long recognised by political writers that England has attained that stage of improvement, that extent of population, when a judicious emigration is not merely salutary but indispensable ; and the only question remaining is in what direction this healthful stream should be impelled. By a series of prejudices, for which it is not easy to account in a country where political discussion is so widely disseminated, this impulse

has ever been given in what may very fairly, I think, be considered the very worst direction possible, let the other be what it may. Canada alone has been selected, and thither accordingly we have been in the habit of annually carrying our superabundant and starving population. Canada affords but one article of lucrative export, wood ; it is suited for the growth and culture of only the most ordinary vegetable productions, for the surplus of which, moreover, it has no market ; and, finally, the agricultural labourer within its limits must depend on the proceeds of only one half the year for his entire annual subsistence, the whole country during the remainder being bound up in the fangs of a long, a severe, and a most painful winter. Such is the picture of its integral resources ; What then are its other characteristics ? Is the possession of it secure, or is it placed in a friendly neighbourhood, which we would gladly see benefit by our exuberance ? Alas ! it is in these respects even still more deficient ; its possession is exceedingly precarious, its only neighbour is our most active and most formidable commercial rival, and our superabundance is thus not only lost to us, but even goes to feed his resources, which already, from a concurrence of other circumstances, multiply in a ratio which has no parallel in the world. Surely it requires but little argument to expose the impolicy of such a system ; we

ought to blush to think, that by our perseverance in it we not only breed up our children as aliens, but even as enemies to our name. Any interests almost should be compromised, rather than allow such an anomaly in the parental system of our administration to subsist. Even the safety of India is but as dust in such a scale ; for, were that lost, we could still foster its growing resources, and rule by mediating between our powerful children. But the alternative is not so severe. India would be secured, not endangered, by diverting to it that stream of emigration of which the present course is thus pernicious : there wants, indeed, absolutely some such vigorous measure to give us even the smallest chance of much longer retaining it, or of ever benefiting essentially by the multiplied resources of wealth and power with which it teems.

Into this second portion of the whole argument, I shall not, however, now again enter ; its substance has been already anticipated in some preceding observations, and indeed there remains but little now further to remark, except only, that until we do at length, by these means, acquire some integral source of security in India, we can never hope to be enabled to relax, in any degree, from that oppressive, and even horrible policy respecting the native princes, which renders the history of our administration in that country odious and

revolting to every generous mind, whether at home or abroad. To this consideration I may also add, that until we resort to the same means, we can never hope either in any degree to amalgamate with the native population, or to break down those religious prejudices which now keep its component parts distinct and isolated from us and from our interests, their hearts sore with oppression, their hands only tied up by impotence, while their curses, "not loud but deep," are constantly poured out against us before the altars of every symbol of the common God and Father of us all, which their idolatry has taught them to revere. These are topics on which I might dilate almost *ad infinitum*; for where there is, alas! such truth in these delineations, who is there so insensible as not to find an ever-springing source of declamation against the sad realities, the idea of which they convey. I will not however, now, further pursue the theme; enough, and perhaps more than enough, has been already said to convey my own impressions respecting it; and if even its most simple statement does not carry conviction, what can be hoped for from any words which I could employ in its discussion? I shall return therefore now, finally, to my principal subject, submitting only one other observation on this portion of it; an observation, however, which may serve to connect the two together some-

what more closely than has been hitherto done. I would remark, then, that the security with which, under almost any circumstances, we might, I think, colonize India, would be incalculably enhanced by the institution of those intermediate free ports which I would recommend, and which I have now successively contemplated in so many favourable lights. Pressed on either hand by these powerful and formidable bulwarks, communicating alike with Europe and with America exclusively through their medium, and dependent accordingly on them for every means of external commerce, these precious dominions, thus secured, would alike want the temptation to foment intestine revolt, or to invite or support foreign invasion or attack.

IX. The possession of an intermediate port, such as we have contemplated, within the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, would bestow on us a power and influence in both hemispheres exactly proportioned to the extent of its improvement as a medium of communication : we should, accordingly, have a very strong interest directly in its prosperity as a port of general resort, and more remotely, in promoting the intercourse between all distant points in both hemispheres, whether independent kingdoms or colonies, whether foreign or domestic ; in other words, we should have a very strong interest in the commercial prosperity of all.

The first portion of this general proposition is exceedingly obvious. Scarcely any ordinary sacrifice would be deemed too great by a foreign state, to gratify that power through whose medium alone it would thus be enabled to communicate with its remote colonies; or, in the supposition that it has no colonies itself, through whose medium alone it would be enabled to obtain its supplies of East Indian produce, and to find in the great southern hemisphere a market for its own original exports. The same remark is equally applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the southern colonies; their affections and deference would no longer be confined to their own parent state, they would be divided between it and that power through whose intromission alone they would be enabled to correspond with it advantageously. The power and influence we should thus acquire would be unbounded consequently, could we obtain for this port an absolute monopoly of all communication, and if that communication were universal; but if that be impossible—I do not say, I do not even think it is impossible, on the contrary, I think it is very easy—but if it be impossible, at least this is certain, that the power and influence which it would bestow would be always in exact proportion to its approach towards that monopoly and unlimited extension; would just fall short of the unbounded extent to which

they might be carried, by that precise sum of competition in the whole intercourse which the advantages offered by this port would yet be unable to supersede, and by the precise deficit of those points, in either hemisphere, which might yet continue to have no share in the mutual communication.

The second term in the whole proposition, then, now ensues as a mere corollary, necessarily consequent on the preceding assumption, yet itself demanding some little illustration. If the power and influence which we covet be necessarily proportioned, in their acquisition, to the prosperity of this intermediate point as a port of resort, our interest would be necessarily intimately allied to that prosperity, and would be in all respects connected with the extent of the commerce by which it would be sustained. This connection would be, it is true, rivetted by another link than this; for the revenue arising from the contemplated transit of the produce of both hemispheres, would always be equally dependent on the same extent. But here ambition, as well as avarice, would be brought into play, both pointing at the same ultimate result, national aggrandizement, and both equally contemplating the same means for its acquisition; first, the monopoly, through the medium of this port, of the whole communication between the two hemispheres; and, next, the increase of the thing monopolized, that is to say, the encouragement and promotion of

commercial exchanges between all points of both —between Batavia and Amsterdam, Cadiz and Manilla, Canton and New York, as between London and Calcutta, Liverpool and Madras. And this whether in peace or in war, unless we would wish to weaken the sinews of our strength precisely when they are about to be most strained; unless we would deem it good policy to lessen our power, diminish our influence, and curtail our revenue, precisely at the moment when perhaps their whole united strength may be tasked to their utmost limits, to cope with the blow levelled at our existence.

This, then, is the point towards which I have been tending through the almost obvious truisms which occupy the two preceding paragraphs. I would suggest the propriety of for ever exempting the commerce of this port, from whatever point it may be derived, or whithersoever it may subsequently be bound, from that confiscation of private property, by which we assert our naval empire, I must also add, that I think we disgrace it at the same time, on every occasion of foreign hostility. Whatever may be the advantages of situation, or freedom of trade, or moderation of impost, which we may be able to offer at this point, it can never presume to hope for a monopoly of the whole communication between both hemispheres, unless we

cast into the balance with it that privilege also, which we alone of all the world can bestow—an exemption to its commerce from the vicissitudes incident to every other from the vacillation of military politics. Without this, the principle of its establishment would be adopted on other points by other powers; and the sum of benefit which it is calculated to confer, not merely on ourselves who would be its masters, but on those also who, under the shadow of our power, would enjoy its privileges, would be dissipated and destroyed by the endless jarrings which competition is ever calculated to excite between rival powers. With this high privilege, on the other hand, there would be no room for these sources of contention, these occasions of inimical discussion, these pretexts for bloodshed and strife. The subjects of all powers alike would seek this neutral bound, within which war could find no place, and the very idea of competition with it would vanish from their minds.

X. If the foregoing reasoning be correct, then would our acquisition of such a free port as has been contemplated be in the very highest degree acceptable to every humane mind of whatever country or clime, inasmuch as it would develop the principle, and illustrate the facility with which we might give up altogether the right of confiscating private property as an engine of public hostili-

ty ; as it might tempt us accordingly to the more general experiment ; and as it would thus strip war of half its attendant horrors and miseries, while it, at the same time, removed many of the temptations which usually excite to its renewal. This is a view of the whole principal argument which I am peculiarly anxious to establish. Amidst all the ambition, and all the avarice of which our enemies loudly accuse us, there is yet among us also, by the confession of these very same enemies, by the practical experience indeed of most of them, a springing fountain of genuine benevolence and philanthropy never shut to the avowed and rightly understood interests of suffering humanity. That fountain, that stream, I sought to direct on a former occasion towards the poor Islanders of the Pacific Ocean, who possess so many claims on our consideration, but who yet, in the blindness of their understandings, are unable to utter them. I would now again have recourse to it in yet a higher cause, in the cause of that measure which would seem calculated to heal some of our own bleeding wounds, and not only to heal them now, but even for ever. And surely if but the slightest chance of success be allied to such a scheme, those feelings to which I appeal will not slumber over the demand, however incompetently urged, however inadequately conveyed.

The first term, then, of my subordinate proposition is, that the establishment of a free port within the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, organized as I have just contemplated, would develop the principle and illustrate the facility with which we might give up altogether the right of confiscating private property as an engine of public hostility, and might tempt us accordingly to give the remedy a more general, an even universal application. The illustration of this is not difficult. We cannot as a nation wish to continue an acknowledged abuse for which we have hitherto had no excuse but the supposed necessity of the case. We cannot state a right to this confiscation in any abstract proposition at all ; we cannot assign any reason for that violation of private property being honourable and justifiable on one element, which yet is universally scouted and contemned on another ; or for his property being sacred and respected, even by ourselves, who has just yielded up the sword which was levelled at our lives, while we without hesitation confiscate and condemn that belonging to the trembling and defenceless merchant who has no alternative, but must unconditionally submit to us. We do not profess any personal enmity to this latter ; abstracted from his property, and from the flag under which that is navigated, or the port for which it is destined, we wish him individually as

well, or even better, than the other ; we only ruin him by the way, because, as we say, we cannot help ourselves, but are under the necessity of so doing. In what then, let us inquire, does this necessity consist ? Why, truly, in nothing in the world but in this, that if this property were allowed to reach its destination, it would contribute some small matter to the pecuniary resources of our enemy, and would disseminate comfort and content throughout such portion of his subjects as it might feed or employ. But on the intermediate point which we have now contemplated in so many different lights, if constituted as I propose, we shall have admitted the adequate value of the equivalent to ourselves, in consideration of which, we are willing to allow this benefit to accrue to our enemy. If he will but purchase from ourselves, we are willing that he should be supplied ; if his importations do but first pay the regulated tribute to our exchequer, and yield the regular profit to our subjects through whose hands they will have passed, we are content that they shall contribute afterwards in proportion to him and his. The mutual benefits of such a system would soon be understood and appreciated, and the example would probably be followed on other points, the rather, perhaps, that even this precedent, contemplated as being afforded by the privilege proposed to be conferred on

the commerce of the Cape of Good Hope, would not be, in point of fact, the first, even in our own generation, of such a practice. Our system of licenses during the late war was the same to the very letter, inasmuch as it required transit through a British port, and the contribution, *pro forma*, of a mite towards our pecuniary resources, as the only indispensable requisites to obtain our consent and sanction for inimical commerce.*

* Our late system of licenses is unquestionably the most perfect precedent which can be conceived of the innovation in the mode of prosecuting maritime hostilities which I propose, but it is not the only one of that nature to be found in our history. In 1528, Henry VIII. then at war with the Flemings, signed with them a special treaty, guaranteeing on both sides the security and freedom of mercantile exchanges. Indeed, it was only in the needy and profligate reign of Charles II. that the invasion of private property became a primary object and consideration with English ministers: and it was then, too, that the atrocious precedent was first set of confiscating it previous to the declaration of hostilities, of regulating even that declaration by the suggestions of this most despicable cupidity. I do maintain, that scarcely even his French pension reflects more unqualified disgrace on Charles' head than does this anecdote, and yet the example has found advocates, and even imitators, it is grievous to think, among the first talents which have ever illustrated this country. How were the mighty fallen, when the immortal Lord Chatham, in 1761, could resign his situation as prime minister, because he could not get the Spanish galleons intercepted; and when his still greater son could preface a declaration of war in 1804 with an attack on the frigates of the same nation, whose only crime was the treasure they conveyed. These cases, it is true, are not precisely parallel, inasmuch as the treasure contemplated principally in both was public

But, it will be pretended, the immediate object and purpose of making war by confiscation of private property, is to exhaust the means of its prosecution, and thus bring it to a speedier termination : and moreover, it will be urged, if we withdraw property from the field of action altogether, we leave only life as an object of attack ; wars will become accordingly both more bloody and less de-

property, while the private wealth compromised was only a subordinate feature in the temptation. But I would ask generally, on what principle is it that peace is always restored with so many precautions, with an allotment of time suited to the distance to which the news is to be carried, while war at once levels all the barriers of good faith ? When the argument is retorted on us, we can understand its fallacy easily enough ; for in all our invectives against our late antagonist, none have been more loud and bitter than those directed against his detention of travellers in 1802 : and yet there is no difference in principle between the right to reduce a man to beggary in violation of all previous treaties, and that of imprisoning his person while travelling on their faith ; the one is only a more unusual exercise of arbitrary will than the other, and which, as being moreover without the same apparent temptation or reward, looks a little more petty. But surely we would not wish our public conduct to be justified merely on the score of the temptation to which its weakness had been exposed ; surely we would like to look higher for a motive, than to an excuse which we would unhesitatingly reject if offered by the meanest criminal at the bar of the Old Bailey. The question, indeed, abstractly considered, would seem to require only to be stated, to be decided ; and yet such is the force of habit and prejudice, I fear more for the reception of this one argument which I have sought to maintain against them, than for any in this whole work, varied as have been the details into which it has led me.

cisive, and thus in remedying one evil at present incident to a state of warfare, we shall but superinduce an aggravated proportion of another, gaining nothing in fact, perhaps losing by the exchange. These objections bring me to the second term of my original proposition, viz. that such a consequence would strip war of half its horrors and miseries, while it would remove, at the same time, many of the temptations to its renewal. In answer to the first of them, then, I would boldly appeal to the experience of the last thirty years, during which the system of confiscating private property was carried to a pitch never before contemplated, even in idea. Did we terminate the war through its means ; did we gain any thing, in a word, by it, but contention with neutral powers, exhaustion pressing on ourselves equally with our antagonists, and now, finally, a repose resembling decrepitude so nearly as to have alarmed even the most sanguine reasoners, and to have struck dismay—absolute dismay, into the hearts of most. Can we imagine that any of the purposes of our adversary's prosperous career were foiled for want of pecuniary resources? Undoubtedly they were not ; the only difference was, that what he might have obtained, had private property been mutually respected, from the interest of his people's capital, he was constrained to extort from their principal itself. And were

not we in the same situation? Were we not raising loan upon loan, mortgaging security upon security, and screwing out painfully and laboriously, by a rigid inquisition into the income and sources of income of our subjects, those supplies which the possession of free ports, on every principal point, would have bestowed on us in a profusion infinitely more than commensurate with the extent of those derived by our enemy from the privilege contemplated as being allowed their commerce, inasmuch as the pecuniary resources accruing from them, would with us have all centered in one common object, whencesoever they had proceeded, or whithersoever they were bound, while he would only have reaped an advantage from that portion of their speculations which might have been directed to his own dominions. We would have enjoyed the wholesale profits, he only those arising from a small portion of their retail; and the trident of Neptune, which, as we chose to wield it, was but a barren, and unproductive, and tyrannical sceptre, if thus exerted, might have been the key to the mighty treasures arising from mercantile speculation in every quarter of the globe, our passport and our guide to that cordiality, affection, and respect, which such an administration of the power which it bestows would be so calculated to insure us.

The confiscation of private property does not, then, hasten the termination of war.—Does it now, further, mitigate its horrors?—by interposing another object of attack, does it afford a screen to human life, which would be otherwise alone exposed? In answer to this question, I would strongly maintain, not only that it by no means produces this effect, but, on the contrary, multiplies incalculably the occasions of strife and contest, and holds out innumerable temptations to bloodshed, which would not otherwise exist at all; but also, that even if it did produce such an effect, it would still be nearly as much to be deprecated as ever, for that, most decidedly, for every purpose of social charity, property is even infinitely more valuable than life. The lives which war invades are for the most part volunteered into its doubtful lists. High in hope, they are staked against a prize, which, if they are fortunate enough to obtain it, rewards them for their hazard with all that can make life valuable to one thoroughly imbued with the principles of the school in which he is thus cast—rank, honour, and estimation. Should the turn of the die, on the other hand, require a victim, honoured and beloved that victim sinks to repose with all that can soften his dying hour, with a deep consciousness of duty performed, of memory about to be cherished, the clang of victory per-

haps elating his fleeting spirit, and even the wailing and mortification of defeat fading from his failing sense, and striking on it but as something harsh and dissonant, from which he is now about to escape. His family regret his loss, but even their regrets are mingled with exultation and triumph; while the severity of the blow must be in some measure broken, by that preparation for such a catastrophe, which must ever be made by the friends of those adventured in war's high career. The sympathy of their fellow citizens pours a healing balm over even the greenness of the wound—that sympathy which so honourably distinguishes, in particular, our British public, and which, on one memorable occasion, clothed in darkness and in silence the whole street in which the home of a fallen champion was situate, amid even the first loud shouts of England's victory and success.*—But how is it, on the contrary, with him whose property has been ravished from him by this foul abuse of power, and who is sunk, accordingly, in a vale of inextricable difficulty and distress, unable to discharge obligations which yet he had most honour-

* Such was the admirable compliment paid by the Magistrates of the city of Edinburgh to the memory of Captain Duff of the Mars, who fell at Trafalgar. Can we doubt of the consolation it must have afforded to his family, even amid the first burst of passionate regret?

ably contracted, and witnessing only despair, and even reproach, on the countenances of those around him. The merchants who had confided in him imperiously demand the grounds on which his speculations had been founded; and concluding, as we all do too often, alone from success, depreciate his judgment, question his prudence, his veracity, his honour, all that constitutes the basis of self-esteem and approbation. He turns to his family for consolation, to his friends for sympathy, to his own conscience for exculpation; and all are for a time nearly equally leagued against him. His family is yet stunned by the same blow by which he is himself overwhelmed; his friends hesitate to sympathise with him whose good name even is under question; and many among those whom next himself he trusted, fall in the hour of difficulty from his side, who is likely to tax their sentiments for him at a higher rate than mere profession. Even the sympathy that is most cordially offered, his agitated and irritable spirits reject, perhaps, as mockery and insult; while his conscience finally suggests to him some maxim of prudence overlooked, some precaution neglected, some assurance thrown away, and reproaches him, moreover, with the dire consequences of the oversight to those whom, more than himself, he loves. Who is there so base as to prefer such a life as this to the

sharp but passing pains of a destiny anticipated but by some moments by the sword? Or who shall weigh such misery, and compare it with even the sharpest endurements of the widow and orphan of him, who sprung from our netherworld with one bound of animated exertion, drawing after him, in his course, the meteor train of honour and estimation, those glittering stars, dearer than life itself to the soldier's own heart; and which, for him, even these relics of his love must prize beyond its choicest enjoyments, if these he could only have purchased at the expense of their eclipse.*

In both points of view, then, is that sweeping confiscation of private property, with which we choose to characterise the administration of our naval empire on every occasion of petty hostility, to

* "War," says the venerable Prince de Ligne, "War, the most alluring calamity, ought not to be depicted as a monster. I have witnessed so many fine instances of humanity, so much good done to repair a little evil, that I cannot accustom myself to consider war altogether as an abomination, *provided there be no plundering nor burning, and no harm inflicted, but that of killing those who, a few years later, would perish less gloriously.* I have seen my grenadiers giving their loaves and their pence to the poor of a village, which an accident not connected with the war had reduced to ashes. I have blessed my situation as the commander of such men. I have seen some of our hussars restoring their purses to their prisoners, and opening to them their own. Such deeds exalt the soul. The greater the courage of a man, the more exalted is his feeling. In every circumstance of life, it is emotion that is sublime."—*Lettres et Pensées du Marechal Prince de Ligne*, tom. ii. p. 160.

be deprecated and deplored. It is not necessary, for it in no shape tends to shorten any period of hostilities, while it in a most especial manner, and much beyond what could be produced by any greater effusion of blood which its abolition might by possibility entail, disfigures and degrades the pomp and circumstance of glorious war, and aggravates the calamities with which it is necessarily and unavoidably surcharged. There needs no more than these considerations to recommend a measure to the philanthropist of every country and clime, which premises, or seems at least to promise, an easy and effectual illustration of the facility with which the whole stain might be removed. But to the British philanthropist and patriot, it would seem to come peculiarly recommended from this quarter; for, in very truth and fact, this glaring abuse of power is not even politic, its maintenance is even strikingly unwise. It has already twice raised up formidable rivals to our military marine, first in the Dutch, and then again in the American naval powers; and although the danger from one of these would now seem past, and that from the other may by many be considered visionary, it is yet impossible altogether to forget the peril which we have once incurred from that past competition, or to shut our eyes to the general odium which, through this one cause, attaches to our naval empire—an odium

which has once armed all the powers of the North against us, and which is now the touchstone even, by which the patriotism of the native inhabitants of nearly every foreign power is tried among themselves. That we may long be enabled to set this smothered flame at defiance is very possible; nothing would as yet seem too great for the power and energies of a navy, which in number, equipment, and spirit, stands unrivalled on the records of time. But it is surely unwise to maintain the attitude of defiance when we can assume that of conciliation; when we can make it both our interest and our pride to do that, which in all time past both these passions have seemed irremediably to oppose.

It would be very easy for me to carry the whole abstract argument in this question to a great length—to a length, indeed, irreconcilable with the limits which alone I can here assign it. I might recommend the innovation which I propose, by illustrating the extent to which it would remove many of the most prominent existing sources of political dissension, as also the degree in which it would facilitate accommodations, and break down national animosities, from the constant circulation of interests which it would occasion—a circulation which no vicissitudes of military politics would ever disturb. I might, on the other hand, anticipate

and attempt to answer some of the objections which might be made to it—that one, in particular, which would regret the want of encouragement to active cruising on the part of our military marine, when its rewards would be thus essentially curtailed. Neither of these, however, shall I now attempt; the first, from a consideration of the time and space which it would necessarily occupy, and which would scarcely be adequately rewarded, the various ramifications of the subject very readily presenting themselves on even the slightest examination; and the last, from pure contempt for such reasoning, and for the grounds on which it would be thus attempted to establish it. I hardly know, indeed, why I notice such an argument at all, unless it be merely to take the opportunity of stigmatising it; for little does he know our naval service, who believes that pecuniary emolument is necessary to excite its ranks to the study of their duty, or to its even enthusiastic discharge. That considerations of prize money and emolument find their place when nothing else occurs, I will readily admit; but when other service was on hand, when a military expedition was in array, who has witnessed a plea offered for exemption from its lists? who has then solicited a cruising ground? or, rather, who has not used every exertion in his power to give up even the most advantageous, and staked all his public

as well as private interest with the Commander in Chief to attain his object? And who, finally, has ever witnessed these animating scenes, or read them in their record, and would allow but one glance even of suspicion to pass unnoticed, that such a service would require the encouragement of pecuniary promise to excite it to any exertion at which it may be tasked? No one would do so—I could not at the least; and if I should seem to have here somewhat indecorously panegyricised the profession to which it is the boast of my existence to belong, I trust the honest feeling of professional pride which my words betray, will be no indelible blot on the argument which thus they would conclude.

XI. The measures which I have now successively proposed for the promotion of our commercial and political interests in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, their colonies, and the minute and permanent intercourse which they would necessarily occasion with even the most remote points of both hemispheres, would facilitate the preaching and propagation of Christian knowledge throughout the world, and thus accomplish readily, and without difficulty, that most important object, which our Missionary Societies profess, indeed, as the ultimate end of all their labours, but which, it is but too evident to even the slightest examination,

their limited powers are utterly unable, without assistance, to attain.

I am unwilling to extend the enumeration of the advantages which would seem to me ^{dis}connected with the several measures which I have successively contemplated in the foregoing pages ; and indeed, after connecting them with so many interests, with those, viz. of commerce, of national policy, and, finally, of moral and benevolent feeling, it is not difficult to surmise, that the whole argument would rather lose than gain by a further multiplication of images and applications. The one topic of religious conversion, however, still remains—that topic which must come home nearly alike to every bosom, whether abstractly pious or only worldly wise ; whether intent on the communication of those benefits from which its own religious consolations are drawn, or merely occupied with the acquisition of that most powerful engine of political influence, community of worship and belief. In touching on this portion of the subject I shall not, however, use my own words ; amid a diversity of opinions both as to the value of the object itself, and of the grounds on which it is to be estimated, they could scarcely attain that sober medium of expression which should give due weight to both, and even if they did, they would be probably only the more offensive to the great mass of readers, as these may

individually incline towards the several extremes. But I shall place in contrast before them all, a lively picture of the different effects attendant on Missionary labours, and on permanent and minute commercial intercourse, and shall then leave each to draw his deductions as he may think best.

“As for the Missionaries,” (says Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, in the Introduction to his Travels across the Continent of North America,) “as for the Missionaries, if suffering and hardships in the prosecution of the great work which they had undertaken deserved applause and admiration, they had an undoubted right to be applauded and admired. They spared no labour and avoided no danger in the execution of their important office; and it is to be severely lamented that their pious endeavours did not meet with the success which they deserved; for there is hardly a trace to be found beyond the cultivated parts of their important functions.

“The cause of this failure must be attributed to a want of due consideration in the mode employed by the Missionaries to propagate the religion of which they were the zealous ministers. They habituated themselves to the savage life, and naturalized themselves to the savage manners, and by thus becoming dependent, as it were, on the natives, they acquired their contempt rather than their veneration. If they had been as well ac-

acquainted with human nature as they were with the articles of their faith, they would have known, that the uncultivated mind of the Indian must be disposed by much preparatory method and instruction to receive the revealed truths of Christianity ; to act under its sanction, to be impelled to good by the hopes of its rewards, or turned from evil by the fear of its punishments. They should have begun their work by teaching some of those useful arts which are the inlets of knowledge, and which lead the mind by degrees to objects of higher comprehension. Agriculture, so formed to fix and combine society, and so preparatory to objects of superior consideration, should have been the first thing introduced among a savage people ; it attaches the wandering tribe to that spot where it adds so much to their comforts, while it gives them a sense of property and of lasting possession, instead of the uncertain hopes of the chase, and the fugitive produce of uncultivated wilds. Such were the means by which the forests of Paraguay were converted into a scene of abundant cultivation, and its savage inhabitants introduced to all the advantages of civilized life.

“ The Canadian Missionaries should have been contented, in the first place, to improve the morals of their own countrymen, so that by meliorating their character and conduct, they would have given

a striking example of the effect of religion in promoting the comforts of life to the surrounding savages; and might, by degrees, have extended its benign influence to the remotest regions of that country, which was the object, and intended to be the scene of their Evangelical labours. But by bearing the light of the Gospel at once to the distance of 2500 miles from the civilized part of the colonies, it was soon obscured by the cloud of ignorance that darkened the human mind in those distant regions.

“The whole of their long route I have often travelled, and the recollection of such a people as the Missionaries having been there was confined to a few superannuated Canadians who had not left that country since the cession to England in 1763, and who particularly mentioned the death of some, and the distressing situation of them all,” &c. &c.

Such was the fate of desultory preaching in Upper Canada, and such, were I disposed to multiply examples of an almost incontestible fact, such has been its fate wherever it has been attempted in modern times, in the interior of America and of Indostan, as in the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean. But I hasten rather to select a happy illustration of the contrary effects of permanent settlement and minute commercial intercourse, an illustration peculiarly apposite, as being drawn from

the narrative of the first establishment of almost the only European settlement among the islands of the Eastern Pacific, as published in Mr. Coxe's *Russian Discoveries*, 4th edition, pages 280, 281. The contrast is the more striking, as the happy effect detailed was produced by the labours of a layman, a merchant whose mind was otherwise occupied by that train of speculation which subsequently constituted him the father of the present Russian American Company, and who consequently entertained this object only by the way, only as a means towards attaining his further purposes, not as the ultimate end of his expedition.

“ I laboured to persuade them,” says, then, Shelekoff, in his simple but most interesting narrative of the settlement of Kodiak, now the chief emporium of the Russian fur trade in the Pacific Ocean, “ I laboured to persuade them to quit their savage life, which was a perpetual scene of massacre and warfare, for a better and more happy state. I shewed them the comforts and advantages of our houses, clothes, and provisions ; I explained to them the method of digging, sowing, and planting gardens, and I distributed fruit and vegetables, and some of our provisions amongst them, with which they were highly delighted.”—“ I endeavoured to convey to them intelligible notions of Christianity, and before my departure converted about 40, and bap-

tized them with such ceremonies as a layman is permitted to use. I soon observed that these persons conceived a higher opinion of themselves, they decried their countrymen as their inferiors, readily adopted our manners and customs, and expressed a great curiosity to be informed of many things which struck them with astonishment," &c. &c.

I have said, that on this subject I shall not indulge in the expression of my own sentiments; it is politic indeed not to do so, for the contrast which I have now placed before the reader might be weakened, but could not possibly be strengthened by any observations which I could offer. I here therefore close the whole argument, finally remarking only, that the observations of Sir A. Mackenzie on the effect of agriculture in eliciting moral principle, and in conveying a true sense of property and possession, apply equally to permanent, as contrasted with desultory commerce. The first principle of desultory commerce is to circumvent and ensnare; the illustration of the remark is to be found in the complaints of the natives of the Sandwich and other islands in the Pacific, respecting the disingenuous conduct of the petty American traders who visit them; and the pernicious effects of these practices again on the minds of these poor savages, indisposing them towards a religion common alike to preacher and to trader, may be traced in every

page of the Missionary publications. The very life and soul of permanent trade, on the contrary, are the rules of honour and good faith, and the reputation of British merchants for both qualities is the most effectual guarantee, that here too they would not be wanting, were a proper sphere provided for their exhibition.

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CHAPTER IV.

CONSIDERATIONS WHICH WOULD SEEM TO DICTATE OUR CHOICE OF POINTS ON WHICH TO ESTABLISH THE FREE PORTS IN THE PACIFIC AND ATLANTIC OCEANS, OF WHICH THE ADVANTAGES HAVE BEEN CONTEMPLATED IN THE TWO PRECEDING CHAPTERS—SUBSIDIARY CONSIDERATION IN SUPPORT, AND RECAPITULATION OF THE WHOLE ARGUMENT—CONCLUSION.

WE have now briefly and summarily considered the advantages, political and commercial, which would seem connected with the judicious application of a system of free trade, first, to the circumstances of the Pacific, and next, to those of the Atlantic Oceans; and although we have by no means penetrated into all the recesses to which a minute consideration of the whole subject would carry us, yet, if there be any foundation whatever for the reasonings adduced in support of the proposed measures, enough, and more than enough, has been said to excite the most lively solicitude in behalf of the experiment. The principal subject

is then complete, and the remarks which I would now further offer will not accordingly relate to that, but to the minor and local topics which would seem to dictate our choice of points on which to establish the free ports thus recommended. These topics are unquestionably of only subsequent and subordinate importance to those which ought to influence our decision on the whole general question; they are not, however, altogether without their interest, for on the capability of the several points which we may select, to answer the purposes for which these ports are required, must, after all, depend in a most essential manner any degree of success with which the whole scheme can be attended, should the attempt ever be made to carry it into execution.

The principal qualities, then, which these points would require to combine, would appear to be, central position with reference to the several markets with which they would be placed in correspondence, convenient accommodation for shipping, together with such means of defence and protection, as may place the trade maintained within their limits in perfect security from at least predatory or desultory invasion. To these ought to be added, facilities of approach and departure, and, if possible, the intrinsic means of maintaining their permanent population. This last is, however, the

least important qualification of all. Agricultural colonies may starve; we have seen, in the instance of New South Wales, that such a fate does sometimes even literally await them: But commercial establishments are always well supplied; the colony of St. Eustatius brought even its fresh water from a neighbouring island.

Such, then, would appear to be the general rules; let us now endeavour to apply them.

Pacific Ocean.—The vast bosom of the Pacific is, as we have elsewhere seen, thickly studded with islands and groups of islands; and among these so many answer every possible demand, it is only difficult to find a ground for ultimate selection, a reason for peculiar and exclusive choice. This, however, I think, we may derive from the wish we ought to entertain of alleviating that extreme misery and depopulation of which Otaheite has been so long the scene—a misery and depopulation which, if we did not ourselves first occasion, our desultory visits have at least most undoubtedly contributed to promote. We should sacrifice nothing, either by allowing this consideration to decide our line of conduct, for Otaheite answers even to the very letter of our requisitions; it is in an especial manner central and convenient with reference to the most interesting portions of the Pacific, the Spanish colonies and New South Wales; situate

almost within the line of the trade winds, its communication with China is also very easy; and further, placed on the outer or southern verge of these, vessels from Europe bound to it would be spared the delays necessarily attendant on crossing within their line, from the calms and cross currents which constantly prevail upon their skirts. Its harbours are numerous and secure, its climate is healthy, its soil fertile; and even its shape and form would seem favourable to its partition between two distinct powers, the narrow isthmus which connects the two peninsulas of which it is composed, being a line of boundary as precise and complete as could be desired. Nothing would apparently so entirely suit our purpose in at least the Southern Pacific, whether we consider our own private views, or those more generous and disinterested ones, which regard the welfare and prosperity of the islanders themselves among whom we would settle; for surely none would seem so imperiously to require our aid as the wretched inhabitants of this fairy isle, who, blest even to superfluity with all the gifts of nature, are yet deprived of every enjoyment, by that moral depravity which so especially characterizes them.

But unfortunately the Pacific Ocean is of such immense extent, it is hardly possible that any one point should be susceptible of general application

to all its branches of trade ; and besides that Otaheite is really too remote to communicate conveniently with all the subordinate portions of commerce of which the Northern Pacific is susceptible were its resources developed, the unassisted prosperity of the Sandwich islands would seem to indicate an original spring of life in their position itself, which it would be most unwise in us altogether to overlook. Situate in nearly the centre of the Northern Pacific, communicating readily with all its principal points, and indeed already maintaining a partial intercourse with most of them, it is not difficult to detect in what this spring of prosperity consists, nor yet to see the importance of rendering it subservient to our purposes—a matter indeed of the most easy execution, our claims to the dominion of these islands being unquestionably superior to those of every other civilized power, and the natives themselves openly professing their attachment to us, and claiming as a privilege the title of British subjects. But, independent altogether of the immediate value of the Sandwich Islands, there is a prospective case of not improbable occurrence, in which their occupation would appear nearly indispensable ; I mean that of an attempt being made to execute the project of maintaining an habitual communication between Europe and China across the con-

continent of America. This project has very often engrossed the attention of political writers, and M. Humboldt, in particular, enumerates not less than nine points on which he thinks it possible that a water communication might be instituted between the two seas. In my own opinion, all these points are impracticable for that purpose; but that is mere matter of opinion, and, after all, says nothing to the principal argument, for a communication overland is already habitually maintained in many places, particularly between Vera Cruz and Acapulco, Vera Cruz and Tehuantepec, and, finally, Porto Bello and Panama; and the whole expense even of the longest journey, that, viz. between Vera Cruz and Acapulco, is, as we have elsewhere seen, only two dollars per *carga* of 80 lib. or about 12s. per cwt.; while, opposed to this, is a saving of 3000 miles sea voyage to China and Manilla. The project, then, is of very easy execution, were it ever undertaken: it is but to constitute the several ports on both shores, east and west, free ports, and the superfluity of supply beyond the internal demand would naturally and necessarily overflow to Europe or Asia, according to the nature of the superabundant article. The communication is then established, not, it is true, in the hands of one merchant, nor under the patronage and encouragement of one speculator, but much more eco-

nominally and beneficially, through the intromission of many; and yet, however easy of execution it may thus be, it is scarcely possible to imagine a more fatal revolution to England, than this very measure might occasion, were we to suffer it to be organized without notice and without preparation. It would transfer to Mexico that general resort which we have already contemplated as conferred on a port within the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, and all those consequences of wealth, power, influence, &c. which we have considered, would be its necessary attendants. Scarcely was Venice more reduced by the original discovery of the Cape of Good Hope passage, and by the consequent loss of her Indian trade, than we should be by a revolution which would thus strike at ours. The analogy is indeed but too striking, and excites anticipating fears, from which I gladly turn away to contemplate the means which we possess of warding off the blow, and eluding its effects. These are afforded us by the Sandwich Islands, which, placed mid-way between Mexico and India, must ever command the open trade between them, I do not mean by force of arms, that could be only available in time of war, and even then, according to the hypothesis which I have elsewhere endeavoured to maintain, had better be let alone; but by the advantage

which they would thus give to merchants resident among them, of competing with every other in the whole communication. Themselves the merchants of a free port, scarcely half so remote as India, these our trading subjects would enter the markets of Mexico with advantages to which none could pretend who made the whole passage ; and thus, to whatever extent this eastern medium of communication with Europe might be improved, it would but convey thither merchandize which had already paid its transit duty to our revenue, and left a share of the profits of its circulation among our subjects. The competition would be no longer, then, between England and Mexico, which should derive the profits, and power, and general attitude conferred by the monopoly of the whole communication, or by its principal share ; but between the Cape of Good Hope and the Sandwich Islands, which should contribute most to our national prosperity, our wealth, our power, our glory ; themselves holding that to be their chiefest honour, to be the messengers of our benefits to the furthest corners of a world, which, in the happiness diffused through our means, would lose even the wish to strike at our authority.

Having indicated these several points in the Pacific Ocean as being those which appear to me best calculated to suit the purposes which have been re-

viewed, I shall now only further observe in their recommendation, that, situate as they are on the extreme southern and northern verges of the trade winds, the whole volume of these, and the whole medium of communication between Spanish America and India which they afford, are included between them, and are subject, accordingly, to their influence and command. As bulwarks to India, they become, accordingly, still further interesting, than if they wanted this recommendation ; but on this topic I shall not now enlarge, and shall finally quit the subject with reminding the reader, that I stake no portion of the principal argument on the local details which may or may not make them appear, on further examination, the most eligible points of selection. That argument I have most studiously kept apart from these details, to avoid this very snare ; and it must be tried and weighed, as it has been advanced, only on general principles, not on minute topics regarding merely the locality with which it is thus subsidiarily connected.

Atlantic Ocean.—In the Pacific Ocean, the only embarrassment was a ground for selection from among the many points which seemed to present themselves nearly equally recommended : in the Atlantic, on the contrary, there seems to be but one point in any degree calculated to suit our pu -

pose. There are no islands of any extent in the Southern Atlantic, none possessed of any port suited for our present purposes: we must accordingly approach the continent, and that too only on that point which is our own property. The only remaining question is, then, to what extent is this point calculated to suit our views?

The principal qualities, it will be remembered, which were considered necessary to be combined in the several points destined for our free ports, were, central position with reference to the markets with which they would be placed in correspondence, convenient accommodation for shipping, susceptibility of external defence, together with those facilities of approach and departure, which are always advantageous, and to a certain degree even indispensable, for the maintenance of a lucrative trade. Let us, then, try the territory of the Cape of Good Hope by the rules suggested by these requisitions.

And, first, as regards central position, and convenience of approach and departure, in these points it is quite unexceptionable. It lies in the direct track to and from every European and every American, as well as every Indian market, being nearly half way between them all; its ports may be approached, besides, without any material difficulty, on every side, soundings being found both south

and west, at a very considerable distance from the shore, the weather also, though sometimes tempestuous, being generally clear. Thus far, then, I do not anticipate any objection, but still the most essential points remain behind; and on these I now proceed to speak at somewhat greater length.

The grand physical feature characteristic of the Continent of Africa is the very small number of its navigable rivers and ports fit for the reception of fleets; and this feature, which is alike common to its Mediterranean, Indian, and Red Sea shores, is in a degree equally descriptive of that which forms the eastern limit of the Atlantic Ocean. Thus, from the Straits of Gibraltar to Senegal there is not a single river of consequence, and not one port; and although the coast of Guinea discharges a considerable number of small rivers, they are all, I believe, without exception, barred and inaccessible to shipping, while the ports formed by the few islands which here skirt the coast, are alike small and inconvenient. Further south, it is true, the Zaire or Congo, lately rendered but too conspicuous by the misfortunes of our expedition to trace its course, discharges a vast volume of water into the Ocean; but this very circumstance renders it ineligible as a port of resort, there being here no tides to counteract the perpetual current setting out, and the approach to it, accordingly, being

equally tedious and unsatisfactory. It is in the territory of the Cape of Good Hope alone that this general feature acquires some little modification, the magnificent harbour of Saldanha opening out within its limits, (in lat. $33^{\circ} 7'$ south,) ample, secure, and commodious, labouring indeed under one only disadvantage, the want of fresh water in its immediate vicinity. This disadvantage, its remote situation from the most fertile and best cultivated districts of the settlement, its inconvenient access from the interior, and more than all, perhaps, the small comparative value of the trade maintained by even the whole colony, have ever hitherto precluded from being remedied; and it has accordingly, as yet, condemned this magnificent basin to entire neglect, although so immediately contiguous to a point where the want of a secure harbour has been always most grievously felt, Table Bay, near Cape Town, being entirely open to the north-west, and consequently nearly quite untenable in the winter months, when the winds blow habitually strong from that quarter. It could, however, very easily be removed, abundance of fresh water being found within from six to eight miles of the head of the Bay, a distance less than that along which both London and Edinburgh are at this moment supplied with the same necessary of life; and indeed it has always been

understood in our service, that Sir Home Popham, when he commanded in chief on the Cape station, submitted plans to the then existing administration, by which he thought the object might be effected with but very little difficulty. The changes which almost immediately afterwards took place at home, and which were the means subsequently of subjecting that able Officer's services on this point to so rigid and unprecedented a scrutiny, threw these hints as well as others into oblivion, and, in the mean time, his active mind has sought and found other objects of investigation. But it could not be difficult, even now, to recall the subject to his recollection, or to cause it to be considered from the beginning by able Engineers; and surely, if but the smallest portion of the advantages which we have severally contemplated in the preceding chapter be indeed connected with the object, no pecuniary considerations would seem calculated, even for a moment, to come in competition with its pursuit.

Thus far, then, the territory of the Cape of Good Hope would seem perfectly suited to our purposes, it is central to every market with which we would place it in correspondence, and is provided moreover with a port which is not only most excellent in itself, but which would seem especially and even providentially placed within its limits for our pur-

pose, being an exception, an even solitary exception, to the great geological feature which characterizes the whole continent in which it is thus found. The last, and perhaps the most important question of all, remains yet, however, unanswered. What are the original means of defence and protection possessed by this portion of our dominions? Are they such as would warrant our entrusting it with a deposit of such extreme value as that contemplated? To these questions the reply I now proceed, however, to say, is also most satisfactory: the integral resources possessed by the whole territory, but particularly by Saldanha Bay, being precisely enough to make them most powerful and defensible possessions, without, at the same time, conferring on them the means of ever pretending to independence. The southern promontory of the whole very remarkably resembles that of Gibraltar, being a vast peninsular mass of rocky mountains, nearly precipitous to the north, sloping down towards the southern point, and only connected with the main land by a narrow sandy isthmus. Of greater extent, it is accordingly nearly equally defensible with that celebrated fortress, and is equally the key to the commerce of the adjoining shores. Further north the land is rugged and rocky along the coast, in an especial manner indeed wild and desolate in the immediate vicinity of Saldanha Bay,

which from that circumstance, as well as from the comparative narrowness of its entrance, is susceptible of even indefinite security, by means of a judicious system of fortification. The interior of the country is flat, sandy, and generally sterile, although here and there presenting patches of extremely fertile soil, abounding in every variety of Tropical as well as European production; most species of the latter being found, however, rather to degenerate, grapes forming, at the same time, one especial exception to the remark, some kinds of them having been found even to improve. There is little or no wood in the whole territory, the parching south-east winds being unfavourable to the growth of timber; nor any original production of much value, as may be judged, indeed, from the fact of the average exports from the Cape between 1799 and 1802 only amounting to L.15,000 annually, while its imports exceeded, at the same time, L.800,000. The articles exported were wine, brandy, hides dry and salted, wool, whalebone, whale and seal oil, ostrich feathers, dried fruits, salt, butter, aloes, and ivory; articles of which only two, wine and wool, would seem calculated to increase materially in quantity or value, while the ostrich feathers and ivory, as indeed they are already becoming daily more rare, so must they disappear altogether, whenever the whole territory

shall become thickly peopled, or generally productive.

Such then are the several circumstances which would appear to me in an especial manner to recommend successively Otaheite, the Sandwich Islands, and now finally Saldanha Bay, within the territory of the Cape of Good Hope, to our selection as points for our free ports, could we be induced to entertain the whole scheme by the considerations which I have now attempted to lay before the public, as they relate to both seas, the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. On the value of these then the whole question ultimately rests; and these, having now concluded the remarks which I wished to offer on the immediately preceding portion of my subject, these, I say, I shall now finally endeavour to reinforce by a brief and condensed recapitulation of their whole scope, prefaced by one or two subsidiary remarks in their recommendation, for which I have not as yet found a place.

First, then, I would beg the reader to remark the extremely small stake which would be compromised by making the experiment proposed. In the Pacific, the whole first expense would be limited to the establishment of one, or at most two trading factories, of which, if we chose it, the warehouses might, in the first place, be composed of old shipping equipped for the purpose, to be only

replaced progressively, as individual merchants shall acquire sufficient confidence in the speculation to embark their capital in building. The public establishment may be on an equally moderate scale, the only very indispensable part of it being, indeed, the naval force by which it must be protected, and the custom-house department, by which the duties must be collected. In the Atlantic, on the other hand, there must be gain, not expense; even the very smallest conceivable extent to which the privilege of free trade conferred on Saldanha Bay might be improved, necessarily involving an increase of provincial revenue among its consequences; an increase by so much the more interesting, as the Cape of Good Hope establishment is now a severe burthen on our other resources, its public income not exceeding L.100,000, while its expenses approach to L. 400,000. So much then for expense in making the experiment: but now, further, I would observe, that every other feature of risk would seem equally minute, if not indeed rather altogether non-existent. No foreign nation can possibly take umbrage at our purchasing from the South Sea islanders a tract of territory, which we devote to the general improvement of all trade within the limits of the Pacific, not to any exclusive encouragement of our own; if such a transaction excited any sentiment indeed in their minds

at all, it must be that of willing and even thankful acquiescence in a measure which must essentially benefit themselves also, if they carry their trading views to these seas. And as for the Cape of Good Hope, if any nation presumed even to think of interfering with our administration of that, I should be inclined to say, that that circumstance alone would almost justify our acting counter to its desires.

The second subsidiary argument which I would now offer in behalf of my whole scheme, is derived from its extreme simplicity. Here are no complex details, no restrictive regulations, no minute points to consider, the smallest excess in the application of which might threaten the whole fabric. The whole consists in affording certain opportunities to particular points of our dominions, and leaving these to be improved as their real value shall suggest. The improvement would undoubtedly be gradual, and even that is in fact another recommendation; violent changes being equally dangerous in all public matters, whether of policy or of commerce.

In the third place, this whole scheme may be recommended from its respect to existing rights and institutions. The first part of it, that, namely, which relates to the Pacific Ocean, trenches on no vested right or privilege whatsoever, the nomi-

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nal privileges of the South Sea Company merely requiring a license to evade, a requisition which has long been a mere formality, licenses being granted as of course, on application. The second only asks that for one British colony, which but the last session of Parliament was granted to another, and speculates subsequently merely on the more efficient means possessed by that one, of improving the talent committed to its charge. It does not even wish that the similar privileges accorded to the other should be withdrawn, satisfied that they will gradually become a dead letter, if the conclusions drawn from the whole argument be indeed well founded; and if they are not, then willing to acknowledge that this particular point has no claim whatever for support from exclusive legislative enactment, at best but a cobbling expedient, but which, on such an occasion as the present, would be not less unjust than unwise.

The last consideration which I shall now intrude on the reader's attention, in support of my scheme, I shall derive from the universality of its application within the sphere allotted to it—an universality which alone I should be inclined to consider an unanswerable argument in its behalf. For be it remarked, that the body politic is not one undivided whole, but a whole composed of many parts; and that measure is not accordingly

the best, which accumulates a mass of benefit upon one point, but, on the contrary, that which, at the least sacrifice, disseminates it among many. This, as we have seen, is without expense, without risk in the experiment, is simple in its details, trenches on no vested right or privilege, is moderate, in a word, in all its requisitions. There can be nothing very absurd in any proposal which, however narrow its promise, could thus *prima facie* be characterized. But, with these recommendations, I trust I have already succeeded in proving, that it combines also the most magnificent, the most varied promises ; and of these I now then finally proceed to the recapitulation, with a feeling of diffidence, it is true, but of diffidence springing from my fear of making out too strong, not too weak a case ; for so entirely disproportioned appear the promised advantages to the means by which, it seems to me, they might be attained, I almost fear for the links by which they are connected, however carefully I appear, to myself at least, to have considered them.

First, then, as regards the Pacific Ocean, my scheme would seem to offer a lucrative and improving trade with the Spanish colonies, together with the means of curbing their ambition should they become young, independent, and enterprizing states, and of checking the piracy of their marine, should

that be made desperate through their reduction and defeat. With respect to New Albion, the next tract of country to the Spanish colonies, the prospect afforded by it is that of a lucrative and convenient market to the fur traders, who have now only one port to which they can repair, (Canton,) while even that they enter under peculiar disadvantages, owing to the exclusive privileges enjoyed there by the East India Company; as also the hope of being able to confer on Canada a new and lucrative branch of commerce altogether dependent on our will, and which would consequently still further bind it to our side. Passing on in the review of the resources of the Pacific, it would now further promise, or seem at least to promise, the opportunity of acquiring an important share in the speculations of the Russians alike in America and in Asia; of opening the out ports of China and Japan to our trade; of improving the morals and encouraging the industry of our fellow subjects in New South Wales, should we still continue that settlement on its present footing, and of developing its various commercial resources, should we be induced to alter its destination, and to confer on it the usual privileges and constitution of a British colony; of civilizing and most essentially benefiting the islanders of the Pacific; of encouraging the whale fisheries; promoting the interests of science;

and, finally, for why follow it through all its minor points, of conferring on us an ample revenue, the produce of the transit duty which would most naturally be imposed on all merchandise alike passing through the warehouses of our free port, and which levied on foreign as well as domestic speculation, and neither subject to any very heavy expenses of collection, nor to drawback, would necessarily be even from the first considerable, while the progressive improvement of the whole trade would unquestionably in time give it a very great importance in our calculations, an importance to which now perhaps it cannot altogether pretend. Thus far, then, in the Pacific, and certainly even the most cursory review of these several topics must satisfy the reader, that the list contains nearly all that can be devised of most interesting, as yet, in that sea, and that a measure bearing accordingly beneficially on all of them, may be said to be even of universal application within its sphere. The view, however, in the Atlantic, is even still more brilliant and seducing. The first step of our progress there is to improve most essentially the means of communication with India, and generally the whole southern hemisphere; and an immediate but minor consequence of this improvement is then coupled under the same head with it, that special encouragement, namely, which it is calculated to bestow

on our manufactures, by facilitating their exchange against the crude produce of these remote countries. Certainly, few objects of a domestic nature can possibly be more interesting than this anticipated encouragement; but important and interesting as it may be, it is yet eclipsed by those which almost immediately dawn on our contemplation, when we, in the next place, consider the general resort of all merchants to this our medium of communication, which its striking improvement and superiority over all others, together with the freedom and security of trade which, if organized in all respects as proposed, it would enjoy, necessarily and inevitably entail. On this general resort, indeed, hinge now further all the anticipated consequences of the proposed measure, and to the recapitulation of these then I now finally proceed. The first is the acquisition of an even immense revenue, levied, as in the Pacific, alike on foreign and domestic speculation, and further, illustrating the operation of a new principle in financial administration, which I presume to think might advantageously be extended to many more of its details. Next follow in succession, the power acquired through its medium, of guiding the whole course of trade as may suit our purposes, by means of mere financial regulations, a power which I acknowledge to be of difficult and delicate administration, but

of which I endeavour to illustrate the application, by pointing out the support which we might confer, through its exercise, on our East India Company's Chinese trade ; the means, further, which it would bestow on us of encouraging Continental shipping to the exclusion and proscription of that Carrying Trade which once made the Dutch so powerful, and to which the Americans now again openly aspire ; of interrupting, without violence and without offence, that direct communication with India, which we were desirous, it was understood, to refuse these latter at the late peace, which they would not however resign, but which they abuse as much as lies in their power, by the acrimonious and malignant representations which they every where make of us, where the opportunity presents ; of giving thus additional security to India, whether we choose to colonize it or not ; and, finally, of acquiring a general power and influence in both hemispheres, exactly proportioned to the approach which our particular channel or medium may make to the monopoly of the whole communication between both, and to the value of the thing monopolized, that is to say, of the whole trade, by whomsoever conducted. At this point, accordingly, I endeavour to illustrate the operation of the proposed measure, in diminishing the occasions of hostile feeling between nations, and also of

mitigating the inflictions with which war, when it is excited, is necessarily surcharged ; and having thus connected it, as it appeared to me, with every thing most interesting in policy, with wealth, with commercial prosperity, with political aggrandizement, and thus, too, finally, with the feelings of humanity and benevolence, which will ever I trust beat high in the British bosom, I have been sensible that to multiply much further images and illustrations, would but weaken, not strengthen my argument ; and I have sought, therefore, to give it but one more association, that, viz. with the propagation of our religious faith among the as yet idolatrous nations of the southern world. That object has long been even the exclusive purpose of numerous Societies, whose zeal has been constantly kept alive, it is true, by some partial success, but with whose means, if left entirely to themselves, it would almost appear ridiculous—I speak it in perfect respect for their conduct and motives—to associate any idea of its final or complete attainment. Connected, however, with a minute and permanent commercial intercourse, such as this proposed measure would seem calculated to produce, and increased, too, as these particular resources would then undoubtedly be, by the liberal contributions of many who now only deride the exertions which they are devoted to sustain, they

would, in truth, assume an entirely new character, and might most reasonably be anticipated as becoming, in time, commensurate, in some degree at least, in magnitude with the object which they would pursue. In descanting on this particular portion of my subject, I have refrained, as much as possible, in the body at least of this work, from using my own words, fearful as I have been of betraying either enthusiasm or apathy in my reasonings concerning a point which is so differently appreciated by different readers—appreciated too by them all on such different grounds—it is scarcely possible so to speak of it at all, as to avoid offence. I cannot consent to part with it here, however, with an expression altogether so subdued; for who so cold in heart as not, on some principle or other, to warm at its contemplation? I will say then, that these two last associations, in my own estimation, give a grace and dignity to the whole, of which the exclusive political aggrandisement which it otherwise contemplates would seem in some measure to deprive it; and that it is their consideration alone which harmonizes the darker shades of that, and gives uniform beauty and softness to the whole prospect on which they are thus brought to act. For be it remarked, that inordinate power is in itself but a dangerous acquisition—an acquisition which almost always excites bitterness and repining on

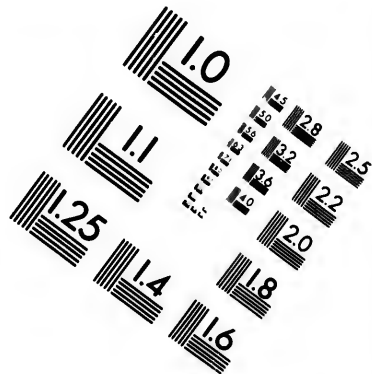
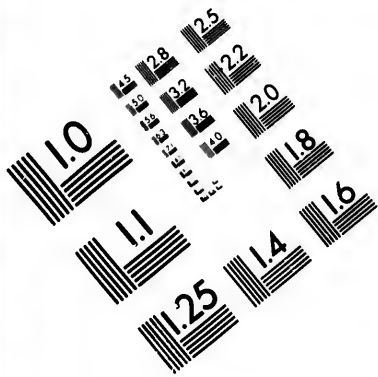
the part of those excluded from its participation, while it is but too often also the fruitful source of weakness and degeneracy in those who attain its height, and who thus, from being the agents of its decrees, become themselves, in turn, but the victims of its caprice. But if our power, my countrymen, is to be thus crowned, if these are even to be the concluding tasks of our high career, then let us even immolate ourselves, I will say, if need be, in their pursuit and discharge ; and let us deem the anticipated memory of such functions in after times, equivalent, aye more than equivalent, with even the highest pitch of success consequent on a dark and blood-stained ambition such as that, the sun of which we have just extinguished, and caused to set in the darkness and in the night of disappointment and of remorse. Such ought to be our conduct, I say, if assured that these were to be even the concluding tasks in our high destiny, preparatory, accordingly, for our decline and fall : I will not allow, however, that our alternative is so strongly couched ; on the contrary, I will most strenuously maintain, that in the very elements of a system such as that we have now contemplated, in even the political part of which, a due regard for the individual interests of our competitors is mixed up and blended with our pursuit of our own, and which is further

crowned by religious considerations, in the very elements of such a system, I say, a consistency and stability will be found, which, with the further blessing of the Being who has most graciously vouchsafed us the opportunity of applying it, may be deemed even assured pledges of the durability of the power which it would build up. Let us seize, then, I would rather now finally say, friends and fellow countrymen, let us seize this proud, this permanent pre-eminence, and with that azure sceptre by which alone it can be maintained, and around which we have hitherto entwined only the laurels of conquest and of defiance, let us thus also associate every idea of beneficence and of peace. Let us thus seize, I say again, this pre-eminence ; let us thus jewel that sceptre ; and then, if it be indeed still too much to hope, in this sublunary state of being, that the ancient rivals of our power, whom we shall have cast at our feet, should regard the lustre thus reflected on our Imperial Diadem with unmingled sentiments of reverence and love, let this be our proud, our consoling thought, that to the administration at least of the high authority confided to us they can attach no blame ; that it might be dearer to them certainly were it entrusted to themselves, but that even then it could not, by their own confession, be more beneficently, more righteously exercised.

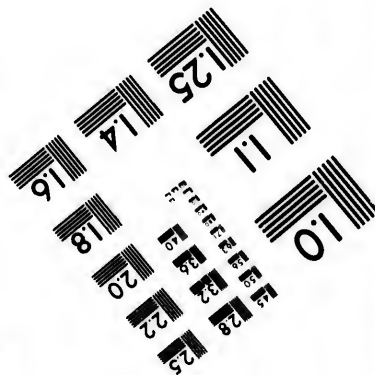
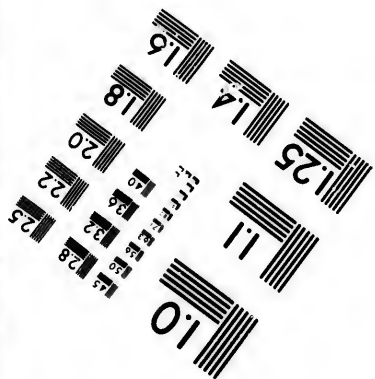
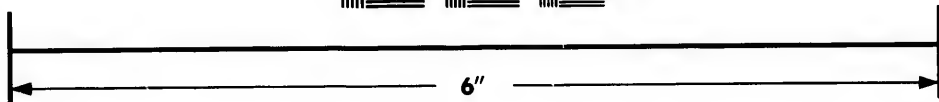
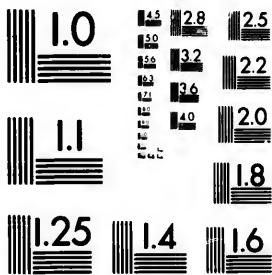
May the future destinies of this country, by whomsoever they may be guided, prove no worse than what are here delineated! Long, very long, may she reign the arbitress of a world pacified through her generous exertions; and when the hour shall come, as come it must, when her rulers shall be successively called to their last and great account, may the means by which they may have earned their success, prove to have been as guileless as these, which are thus earnestly, but most respectfully, submitted to their dispassionate consideration.

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ERRATA.

Page 46, line 12, for Northern, read Western.

- 64, — 19, — on, — along.
138, — 13, — Southern, — interior.
165, — 13, — 40,000, — 60,000.
179, — 20, — being, — is.
186, — 7, — at, — as.
282, — 24, — collection, — expense of collection.
295, — 6, — on, — in.

as the present, really in no degree at all depend on the very slender portion of ability which will be found to characterize its own composition, provided only that the intrinsic interest of its subject matter succeed in procuring for it such a portion of public notice, as may fix superior talents attentively on the consideration of the great objects of national ambition, towards which it would indistinctly point. With regard to these, my particular views may very possibly be all erroneous; of the facts themselves stated in support of them, some of the minuter shades may be incorrectly traced; but above all, the measures by which I would propose that they be pursued, may every one of them be liable to insuperable objection. But even this is comparatively immaterial, so that attention be but awakened, and investigation elicited; and I therefore now finally cast my attempt on public judgment with no ordinary degree of confidence in its indulgent reception, since its grossest errors may thus more essentially conduce to the attainment of its object, than could even its most unqualified success.

