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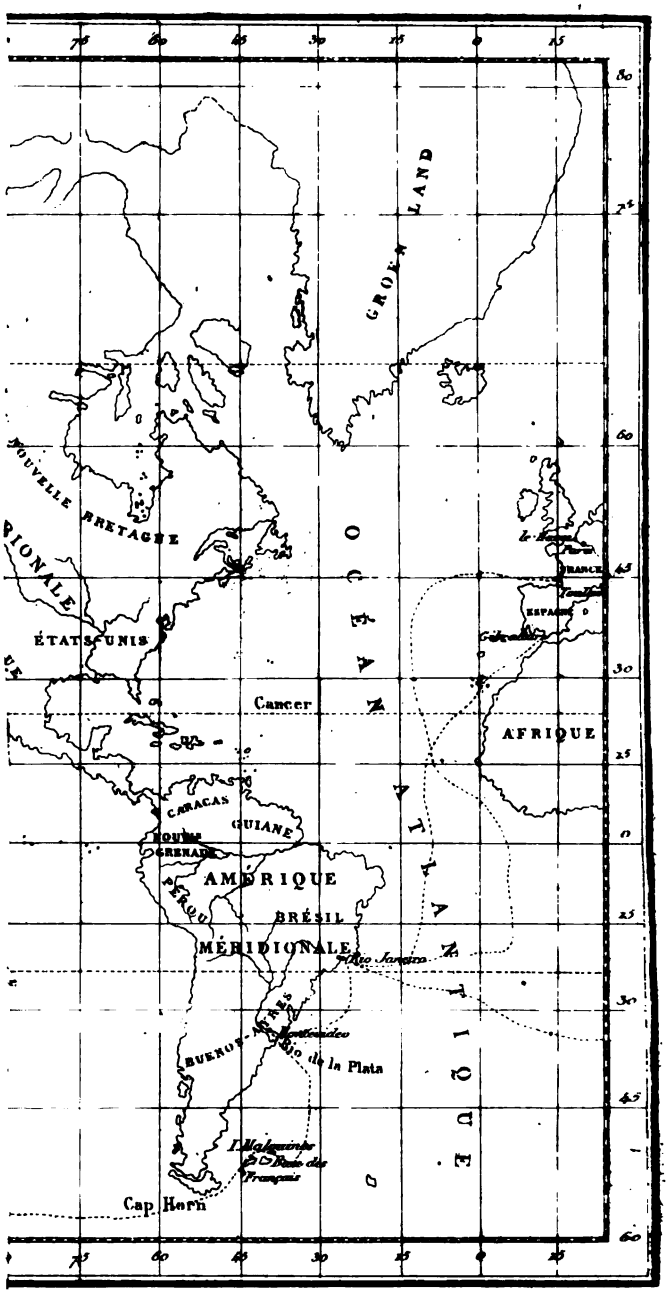
NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

LONDON:

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NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE

URANIE AND PHYSICIENNE CORVETTES,

COMMANDED BY

CAPTAIN FREYCINET,

DURING THE YEARS 1817, 1818, 1819, AND 1820;

ON A SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION UNDERTAKEN BY ORDER OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS TO A FRIEND,

BY J. ARAGO,

DRAFTSMAN TO THE EXPEDITION.

With Twenty-Six Engravings.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE REPORT MADE TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ON THE GENERAL RESULTS OF THE EXPEDITION.

LONDON:

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PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

THERE are few readers who are not fond of the perusal of long voyages: the most trifling event, when it takes place at many thousand leagues distance, acquires a degree of importance; and almost any narrative of that kind is sure to excite curiosity, if for no other reason than that the author has returned from the Antipodes.

It must, however, be admitted to be painful to the reader who only seeks for useful relaxation, or agreeable information, to have the interest he feels perpetually broken by a profusion of barbarous and tiresome nautical details. You are disgusted by the eternal repetition of *winds, currents, longitude and latitude, variations of the compass,* &c. with which the narrator annoys you in every page; first making you go *six knots an hour, E. N. E. quarter E.;* then *tacking* you about for whole days, or keeping you in a *dead calm,* waiting for the *wind.*

Who is there that has not read the admirable narratives of Cook, of d'Entrecasteaux, of our unfortunate La Perouse? But who is there also who has read them entirely through? And yet the nautical details with which their narratives are interspersed were then of very superior importance. In traversing vast seas which were nearly unknown, these celebrated navigators felt themselves bound to keep an exact account of winds, monsoons, currents, shoals, and reefs of rocks, so as to leave direction posts on the road for their successors. In the present day, the least disadvantage of these details is, that they are nearly useless. There is scarcely a midshipman in our navy who could not now, if required, steer a vessel to Kamtschatka, to Otaheite, or to New Zealand. The Pacific Ocean has been so frequently explored, that it is almost better known, and certainly less dangerous, than the Mediterranean, which bathes our own shores.

Like these intrepid navigators, I also have made the Tour of the World, but not as a seaman: the vessel carried me, and I wandered with it. On board the Uranie, commanded by Captain Freycinet, I traversed the Indian Seas; visited the South Sea Archipelago; and after doubling Cape Horn, and spending three years in dangers and fatigues, saluted the Atlantic as an old friend, and re-visited the beloved coasts of ancient Europe. During our long voyage I became acquainted with numerous tribes; hunted with the Brasilian and the Guanche; danced with the negroes of Africa; and slept under the hut of the Sandwich islander.—I participated in the festivals of these children of nature; I sat at their hospitable tables; and, every where welcomed, I every where contributed my share by a cheerful gaiety, or the present of some European trifles. I have seen much, and observed much. I visited some little known islands at which our ship did not anchor. I availed myself of the length of our different rendezvous to make excursions into the interior of countries yet uncivilized, which were always amusing, and sometimes dangerous; but which enabled me to collect a variety of observations on the manners, arts, customs, and habits of the different nations which inhabited them.

I visited the Island of Tinian, which has been rendered celebrated by the residence of Anson, and the eloquent pen of Rousseau. Along with three of my companions, I ventured upon an island (Ombay), the inhabitants of which drink blood out of the skulls of their slaughtered enemies; and we there learned a lesson, that if it is generally prudent to treat as enemies savages who are always hostilely disposed, it is sometimes more useful to make concessions, and exhibit an appearance of confidence and gaiety, to men whose ferocity is sure to be excited by resistance.

I now publish the observations which I addressed as they were collected to the friend and companion of my youthful sports and early studies; and nearly in their original shape, I submit them to the public indulgence.

REPORT

MADE TO THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES,

UPON

THE VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD

OF THE

CORVETTE URANIE,

COMMANDED BY M. DE FREYCINET.

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COMMANDED BY M. DE FREYCINET.

April 23, 1821.

THE Academy having commissioned us (Messieurs de Humboldt, Cuvier, Desfontaines, de Rossel, Biot, Thenard, Gay-Lussac, and Arago) to make a report to it, upon the general result of the operations executed during the voyage of the Uranie round the world under the command of Captain Freycinet; we now proceed to acquit ourselves of this duty, by entering into details which appear to us quite necessary, whether we regard the importance or the variety of the results which we have had to examine.

The principal object of the expedition commanded by Captain Freycinet, was the investigation of the figure of the earth, and of the elements of terrestrial magnetism; several questions of meteorology had also been suggested by the Academy as worthy of attention. Although geography certainly formed but a secondary object in the voyage, it was natural to anticipate that so many experienced and zealous officers, well provided with excellent instruments, would not circumnavigate the globe without making some valuable additions to the existing tables of latitude and longitude. Though no professed naturalist was attached to the expedition, our navigators undertook the task of collecting for the Museums, if not of investigating, every interesting specimen of the three kingdoms; and we had also reason to expect from the draftsman attached by government to the expedition, a faithful representation of all such specimens as their weight or liability to break

would not allow them to bring away; and that he should take accurate views of the different coasts, which, besides the useful information they furnish to navigators, would have the advantage of occasionally offering agreeable landscapes; finally, it was to be expected that Captain Freycinet and his companions would add new particulars to the history of savage nations.

The number of manuscript volumes belonging to the expedition, which have been deposited at the office of the Secretary of the Academy, amounts to thirty-one; every part of these we have examined with the greatest care; but not having had time to calculate the whole of the observations, we shall be obliged, on many points, to confine ourselves to a bare catalogue of the valuable stores which Captain Freycinet has brought home. Proceeding methodically, we shall arrange under distinct paragraphs, all that relates to each particular class of observations.

I. ITINERARY.

The expedition sailed from Toulon on the 17th of September 1817; arrived at Gibraltar on the 11th of October, and left it on the 15th, for Teneriffe, where it remained from the 22d to the 28th of the same month. The Uranie cast anchor at Rio Janeiro on the 6th of December. This city being considered a proper station both for the pendulum and compass observations, Captain Freycinet remained there nearly two months. At the Cape of Good Hope, the next place of rendezvous, he stopped from the 7th of March to the 5th of April 1818; and the time there was employed in similar observations, which are of the greater importance, as they can be compared directly with those of Lacaille. The same consideration gives an interest to the observations at the Isle of France, where the Uranie arrived on the 5th of May, and which she left on the 16th of July. After a very short stay at the Isle of Bourbon, Captain Freycinet sailed on the 2d of August for Shark's Bay, which he had visited in his first voyage with Captain Baudin. He arrived there on the 12th, and quitted it on the 26th of September, for Coupang, the capital of the Dutch settlements in the Isle of Timor. Farther on will be found an enumeration of the observations of different kinds made at this port, from the 9th to the

23rd of October 1818, when the expedition sailed for Diely, the residence of the Governor of the Portugeuse settlement, at the northern part of the Island.

Leaving Diely on the 22d of November, the Uranie steered her course for the little island of Rawak, situated near Waigiou (New Guinea), almost exactly on the equator: she remained there from the 16th of December 1818, to the 5th of January 1819. The next rendezvous was at the Marianne Islands, and was of nearly three months' duration; a delay rendered necessary by the important operations to be executed at those islands, by the necessity of laying in fresh provisions, and of allowing time for the sick, who were then pretty numerous, to recover. On the 5th of April 1819, the Uranie sailed from Guam; she cast anchor at Owhyhee, the largest of the Sandwich Islands, on the 8th of August: on the 16th she touched at Mowhee; on the 26th at Woahoo; and on the 30th, finally quitted that Archipelago for Port Jackson; where it became necessary to refit the vessel, and make the usual observations on the weight of the atmosphere and on magnetism. The expedition left New South Wales on the 25th of December 1819, for Terra-del-Fuego; but scarcely had they cast anchor in the Bay of Good Success, on the 7th of February 1820, when a furious hurricane obliged them suddenly to cut their cables, and to let the ship run under bare poles for two successive days. When the storm abated, it became a matter of consideration, whether, considering the importance of pendulum observations in the high southern latitudes, they should return to Terra-del-Fuego, from which they were now a considerable distance, or rendezvous at the Malouine Islands; Captain Freycinet determined on the latter. The Academy has received from this excellent officer complete verbal details of the shipwreck of the Uranie, which took place in French Bay, on the 13th of February 1820, and of the stay made by the ship's company at that desert station. It will be therefore sufficient for us to mention that the expedition quitted the Malouine Islands on the 17th of April 1820, on board an American vessel, which had accidentally come there, and was purchased by Captain Freycinet; that they first put into Monte-Video, and, after a residence of a month in the River Plate, the Physicienne (the name given to the new vessel) sailed on the 7th of June for Rio Janeiro, where she arrived on the 19th. During a stay of three months, our navigators repeated the

observations of different kinds which they had made there on their passage out. Finally, on the 13th of September 1820, the Physicienne quitted Brasil: stress of weather obliged her, on the 10th of November, to put in to Cherbourg; she left that on the 12th, and arrived at Havre on the 13th, where she was laid up.

The duration of the voyage was therefore three years and two months nearly; and the distance sailed amounts to about 23,600 leagues, of 25 to a degree.

II. PENDULUM OBSERVATIONS.

The figure of the earth may be equally deduced from the comparison of the number of oscillations made every twenty-four hours, by the same pendulum of invariable length, in places situated under different latitudes; and from that of the different lengths which a simple pendulum should have to enable it to perform the same number of oscillations at every point in a given time. Each of these methods requires that the number of oscillations made in each station, in a mean or in a sideral day, by the pendulum which is employed, should be ascertained: there is only this difference between them, that in the first it is indispensable that the oscillating apparatus should never undergo the least alteration, either in its form or dimensions; while in the second that condition is not required, as the length is measured after each observation. This last part of the experiment is a very delicate one, and requires a particular establishment, which it would have been extremely difficult to procure on the desert coasts where Captain Freycinet had to touch. This consideration induced our navigator to confine himself to the use of the invariable pendulum: it was deemed expedient, however, to supply him with two of these instruments, the preparation of which was entrusted to M. Fortin.

Each of the two pendulums first supplied by this skilful artist, is formed of a copper cylinder, with a heavy knob of the same metal at the end, and which makes a part of it, both the cylinder and the knob having been cast at once; at the other extremity of the cylinder is invariably attached the knife-edge, which is destined to support the pendulum: during the

experiments the knife-edge rests upon a plane of agate, adjusted with the greatest care.

The form and diameter given to the rods of these two pendulums, the care taken in the construction of the cases, and in the packing of them, led to an expectation that they would experience no sensible warping during the voyage. Perhaps there was reason to fear that the thickness of the cylinder would make it difficult to ascertain its temperature; although this is one of those causes of error, the influence of which an attentive observer can easily appreciate, as he has the power of confining it within very narrow limits. No sooner however was this apprehension suggested, than a new invariable pendulum with a flat rod was ordered to be made; our fellow academician M. Breguet, who had already gratuitously entrusted one of his chronometers to Captain Freycinet, was so good as to add a private pendulum, executed under his own direction and at his own cost. Our navigators have therefore had no less than four invariable pendulums at their disposal, viz. two copper pendulums with cylindrical rods, designated in the registers as No. 1 and 3; a pendulum of the same metal, but with a flat rod, also made by Fortin, and designated as No. 2; and finally, the pendulum of M. Breguet, No. 4, which has a rod of varnished wood, a flat and very heavy copper knob, and a knife-edge of a particular alloy, very hard and little susceptible of oxidation.

Previous to the departure of the expedition, these four instruments were observed at Paris in 1817 by Messieurs Freycinet, Lamarche, Mathieu, and one of ourselves (M. Arago.) By this means a mean of comparison was obtained for all the analogous observations which might be made in the two hemispheres; and, what was of not less consequence, a method of ascertaining, whether during the voyage the rods or the knives had undergone any sensible alterations. Such is, in fact, the object of the observations which Captain Freycinet is now engaged in making at Paris, the results of which he will no doubt communicate before long to the Academy.

It would be equally tedious and useless to describe here the plan followed in these first experiments, and to which Captain Freycinet conformed at all the points of rendezvous; it may be sufficient to mention that it was not possible to adopt the method of coincidences which Borda and

subsequent observers have so advantageously employed, as our navigators took no clock with them; and we should add, that admitting the excellence of the chronometer, the new method is not at all inferior to the old one in point of accuracy, as experience has fully proved. At Paris it would have been easy to discover the most trifling irregularities in the movement of the watch, by the repeated comparisons of it, which were made with the sideral pendulum of the observatory; but as such means of verification could not be found elsewhere, Captain Freycinet confined himself to a comparison seven or eight times a day, of the chronometer No. 72, (which had been originally designed for pendulum observations,) with three other chronometers of Louis Berthoud, and with that of M. Breguet; this comparison would render the observations of value, even if the time-keeper No. 72 should happen to go somewhat irregularly on some occasions.

To be satisfied that the iron tripod which Captain Freycinet took with him, upon which the apparatus was to be fixed during the experiments, was of proper strength; one of these pendulums was successively suspended on this tripod, and on a thick supporter of hammered iron, fixed upon two strong cross-bars of the same metal, carefully soldered into one of the walls of the observatory, and further strengthened by two buttresses. The number of oscillations of the pendulum in the twenty-four hours was exactly the same in both cases. Such persons as have witnessed the curious experiments lately made by our fellow academician M. Breguet, upon the influence which two clocks placed against the same wall exercise upon each other, will not regard the verification of which we have been speaking as superfluous.

The horary angles intended to regulate the movement of the chronometer No. 72, have been sometimes taken with reflecting instruments, but most frequently by an astronomical repeating circle. We shall add finally, that everywhere the temperature has been determined with the same thermometers; and that consequently there could be no uncertainty as to the correctness depending on that, as, before the departure of the expedition, these instruments had been carefully compared with those of the observatory at Paris.

Rio Janeiro is the first place of rendezvous where Captain Freycinet

remained long enough to set up the pendulum apparatus. In January 1818, he there observed the pendulum No. 1, with the cylindrical copper rod, and the pendulum No. 2, with the flat rod; on his second passage by Rio, in August 1820, he made the whole four pendulums oscillate successively.

At the Cape of Good Hope, where Lacaille had formerly measured the absolute pendulum in 1752, Captain Freycinet determined the number of oscillations of his four invariable pendulums. The calculation which one of us has made of these observations, enables us to say, that they do not confirm the consequence which had been deduced from Lacaille's operations, as to the dissimilarity of the two hemispheres.

The observations on the three copper pendulums made at the Isle of France, and particularly those at Port Jackson, will supply some valuable data on this point. These last, when compared with the observations made at the Cape, almost under the same latitude, but at 134° of difference in longitude, will inform us, as much at least as that sort of observation will allow of, if, in the austral hemisphere, the parallels have a sensible oblateness.

Captain Freycinet's operations would have been incomplete, if he had not determined the number of oscillations of his pendulums exactly on the equator, or at least very near that line. It was at Rawak, (a small island attached to New Guinea, and situated at only 1.′½ of south latitude,) that the observations on the four invariable pendulums were made, with which every analogous observation must be compared in attempting to calculate the extent of the oblateness of the two hemispheres.

This oblateness, whether it is deduced from the different lengths of the absolute pendulum, or from the number of oscillations performed in twenty-four hours by one pendulum of invariable length in different places, is ascertained with so much greater precision, in proportion as these places are at a greater distance in latitude. Admitting this observation to be correct, it is difficult to over-rate the value which observations made at Cape Horn, whose southern latitude is 55°. 59′, would have possessed in this investigation. Very unfortunately, as has been seen, a violent storm did not allow the expedition to stop there: the observations at the Malouine Islands might have been a substitute for those at Cape

Horn; but after a shipwreck, and being cast away on a desert island, obliged to provide by hunting for the support of 120 persons, and occupied in hastily preparing the sloop which was to carry part of the crew to America, in order to obtain prompt succours for the rest; it was not to be expected that our navigators had sufficient time or tranquillity of mind, to count minutely for whole days the oscillations of their pendulums! We should also remark, that during the period the expedition remained at French Bay, it was only at considerable intervals of time, that the horary angles, which were to regulate the movement of the time-keepers could be obtained, the sun having been almost constantly obscured by thick fogs, both morning and evening. Under such a combination of circumstances, we cannot lay great stress on the single series of pendulum observations which Captain Freycinet has brought from the Malouine Islands.

During her long voyage, the Uranie kept almost constantly to the South of the equator; the only places where she rendezvoused in our hemisphere were the Marianne and the Sandwich Islands. At Guam, the principal of the Mariannes, Captain Freycinet observed the whole four pendulums; at Mowhee, No. 1. only.

In concluding this branch of our report, it only remains for us to notice the officers who took part in the pendulum observations. Captain Freycinet constantly gave his personal superintendence to the operations, and with his own hands fixed and regulated the apparatus. We have also great pleasure in remarking that there is not a single series of observations made during the whole of the voyage, in which he had not the greatest part; this affords the most certain guarantee for their accuracy. We must next mention M. Lamarche, *commandant en second*, an officer of great merit; M. Duperrey, who will be honorably mentioned in several subsequent paragraphs of this report; M. Fabré, midshipman; M. Labiche, whom we ought perhaps to refrain from naming, to avoid awakening the regret which his premature death inspired in all his companions; M. Berard, the brother of the able chemist who was crowned for the second time at the last public sitting of the Academy; M. Guerin, midshipman; M. Laborde, the first officer who fell a victim to the fatigues of the voyage; M. Pellion who has enriched the portfolios of the expedition with a number of beautiful drawings; and Messrs. Railliard, Ferrand, and Duband, midshipmen.

MAGNETISM.

Next to the observations, relative to the determination of the figure of the globe, nothing could be more interesting to natural philosophers, than an investigation of the laws of magnetic phenomena; unfortunately this question appears to be very complicated.

We all know, without having yet been able to ascertain the cause of it, that the inclination or declination of the needle of the compass undergoes in every part of the globe, very considerable annual alterations; to ascertain which, becomes the more important, as, without doing so, it would be impossible to reduce to a common epoch, and to bring into comparison the measurements made in different years. The number of observations collected by this expedition will furnish very valuable data to mathematicians who engaged in such inquiries.

It will be as well, however, to make the distinction here between two different classes of Captain Freycinet's observations; the first will include all those made at the different places of rendezvous, and the second those which were made at sea.

The first, and particularly the very delicate measurements of inclination, appear to us worthy of being placed on a par with the most perfect hitherto published; not merely by navigators but by sedentary natural philosophers, who were able to select the times and situations most favourable to their observations. As a proof of the justice of this assertion, we here transcribe the inclinations measured at the little island of Rawack, with five different needles; it will be seen that the extreme discordances scarcely amount to 7′.

Needle, No. 1, Lenoir, inclination or dip	14°. 23′;
Needle, No. 0, Lenoir, inclination	14°. 30′;
Needle, No. 3, Breguet, inclination	14°. 29′;
Needle, No. 2, Breguet, inclination	14°. 26′;
Needle, Richer, inclination	14°. 29′.

Our navigators have measured on shore, the declination of the needle of the compass with good instruments, and according to the most approved methods. The azimuthal observations, whose object was to ascertain the bearing of the mark, were made at several points with the theodolite, at others with astronomical repeating, or reflecting circles; sometimes with

all three at once. At Rawack for instance, we find not less than forty-four distinct series of azimuthal observations.

Notwithstanding all this attention, the declinations may be affected by a continual error, arising from the want of parallelism between the optical axis of the telescope, and the line marked North-South on the graduated circle. Captain Freycinet not having (from an oversight of the artist) during the whole of the voyage any means of rectifying this, has since his return, been employed along with one of us, in making the necessary verifications; the result of which is, that all the declinations determined on shore require a trifling correction of 7′.

The observations relative to the intensity of magnetic power, were made at all the points of rendezvous with several needles. Previous to announcing to the Academy what results may be expected from that portion of Captain Freycinet's labours, we deemed it indispensable to compare the quantity of magnetism preserved by the horizontal needles which had been longest and most frequently in use, with that which had been communicated to them four years since, prior to the departure of the expedition. The following are the results:

A needle which had belonged to M. Coulomb performed in the garden of the observatory in 1817, before Captain Freycinet's departure, 100 oscillations in 16′ 53″; it now performs 3 less in the same space of time.

A second steel needle, made by M. Fortin, which performed four years since, 100 oscillations in 17′ 3″, now performs only 98; the loss of magnetic power has therefore been so trifling on these two needles, as to allow us the hope of calculating with sufficient accuracy, the corrections which must be made in the different observations of intensity.

These observations of inclination, and of intensity on land, belong almost wholly to Captain Freycinet himself. The officers by whom he was most frequently assisted were MM. Lamarche, Duperrey, Labiche, Bérard, Pellion, and Fabré.

Mr. John Macdonald published some years since in the Philosophical Transactions, two series of observations on the daily variations of the magnetic needle, which were made in 1794, 1795, and 1796, at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra, and at Saint Helena. It does not appear that since that time, any of the navigators who have visited the equinoctial countries

have paid any attention to this singular phenomenon. The observations of this kind, brought us by Captain Freycinet, will therefore be a valuable acquisition to science.

Mr. Macdonald's labours led to two important results; the first (and which every philosopher appears to have adopted) is, that the daily variations between the tropics have a sensibly less extent than in Europe; the second (to which less attention has been paid) is, that at the same hours, at which in our climate the Northern extremity of the needle moves towards the west, at Fort Marlborough and Saint Helena, which are situated to the South of the equator, the movement is directly opposite, namely, to the East.

Mr. Macdonald has drawn no general conclusion from his observation; he even supposes that there is a connexion between daily variations and declinations; as a proof of which, he ventures to predict, that in India for example, if the absolute declination is Eastern, the needle from morning to evening will move in a certain direction, and that at the same hours, a directly contrary movement will be perceived, if the absolute declination is western. Captain Freycinet's observations do not appear to confirm these conjectures.

We have found in the journals of the expedition, six series of observations of diurnal variations, which were made at the Isle of France, at Timor, at Rawack, at Guam, at Mowhee, and at Port Jackson. At the Marianne and Sandwich islands, situated in the Northern hemisphere, the North point of the needle moves towards the West, the same as in Europe, from eight o'clock in the morning till one in the afternoon, although the absolute declination of the compass is there Eastern. At the stations at Timor, Rawack, and Port Jackson, situated to the South of the equator, the North point of the needle moved every morning in an opposite direction, or to the East; and we should remark, that at Timor the needle declines towards the West, while at Rawack, and Port Jackson, on the contrary, its deviation relatively to the meridian, is East.

It is evident therefore, that the observations, made North of the line, agree with those of Europe; and that those of the southern hemisphere, present, like those of Mr. Macdonald, a diametrically opposite movement. The Isle of France would be the only exception to this rule; but to get rid of the anomaly, it will be sufficient to admit, that the note which accompanies the observations relates not to the direct position of the mark but to the

reversed position, as it was seen by the observer looking through a magnetic telescope; this is a still more natural explanation, because the form of the mark at the Isle of France made it easy to mistake. Be that as it may, there will be an end of all doubt on the subject when we have compared the observations of M. Lislet Geoffroy, an old correspondent of the Academy of Sciences, with those of the expedition.

One fact which Captain Freycinet's voyage has put beyond all doubt, is, the small extent of diurnal vibrations between the tropics. This might already be deduced from the observations of Mr. Macdonald; but as the needle which that gentleman made use of was supported by a point, it might be matter of doubt whether a want of mobility was not partly the cause of the smallness of his results; to which we should add, that the magnetic power is sometimes distributed along the whole length of a steel needle, so as to render it almost insensible to daily vibrations; of this we have had frequent examples. These doubts do not apply to the observations of our navigators: their needle was supported by a piece of untwisted silk, in the manner described by Coulomb, and though it remained constantly in the same state during the voyage, it gave, notwithstanding, at different stations, very unequal daily variations. At Timor, in fact, these variations were $6'{,}5$; at Rawack they were already sensibly weaker and scarcely amounted to $3'$; at the Mariannes there was only one third of a minute more than at Rawack: but at the Sandwich Islands and Port Jackson, the same needle traversed from morning to evening an arc of $9'$.

If the diurnal morning variation is Western to the North of the equator, and Eastern to the South of it, it follows that upon the equator itself there should be none whatever. We have just seen however that at Rawack, the South latitude of which is scarcely one-40th of a degree, the needle vibrates in an arc of $3'$: this result would appear to indicate (particularly when we compare it with the amount of the daily vibration at the Mariannes) that it is not the terrestrial, but the magnetic equator which separates the zone of Western from the zone of Eastern variations; we should therefore obtain in this manner, as is easily seen, a new and very convenient method of determining some points of the magnetic equator; if observations were now made between this equator and the equinoctial line, at Fernambuco for instance, at Cape Comorin, to the south of Ceylon, in the Northern part of Sumatra and

Borneo, at the Pelew Islands, &c. they would be of the greatest consequence.

We trust the Academy will excuse us for dwelling at such length on this part of Captain Freycinet's labours; good observations contribute to the progress of science, not only by the questions they resolve, but by those of which they suggest the idea.

The expedition would have very imperfectly fulfilled the expectations of Government and of the Academy, if it had brought home no other magnetic observations than those that were made at the different points of rendezvous. The curves along which the declinations are equal; the curves of equal inclination and equal intensity are of such singular forms upon the globe, that it is scarcely possible to determine any points of them by interpolation; the only means we have therefore to arrive at any certain results on this subject, are by the multiplication of observations.

The journals of the expedition contain for every day the sun was seen, from the time of departure from Toulon to its arrival at Havre, a great number of determinations of the declination. The observations of inclination at sea, began later, namely from the rendezvous at Timor; but from that time up to the second rendezvous at Rio Janeiro, a period of two years, they were followed daily with a degree of zeal and perseverance unequalled. One example taken at random from the journals gave us 50 measurements of inclination, performed in one day before and after the reversing of the poles of the needle.

The measurements of inclination brought us by Captain Freycinet, fully establish the singular inflexion of the magnetic equator in the South sea, which had been already deduced from Cook's observations; a minute discussion of all the results will enable us to ascertain if that inflexion has always the same extent, and if it has changed in longitude.

The inaccuracy of the measurements of inclination and declination made at sea is not entirely attributable to the want of stability in the vessel; the quantities of iron used in her construction, the cannon, anchors, ballast, &c. exercise a particular influence over these results, the extent of which is not yet entirely ascertained, in spite of the various and multiplied experiments which have been recently made by different philosophers and navigators.

Practical methods however have been devised for ascertaining with tolerable correctness, the variations of declination and inclination arising from these causes of local attractions in different azimuths of the keel, relatively to the magnetic meridian; and even the changes which depend on the ship's position on the globe. As to the absolute variations, each vessel would require to make a series of experiments for the purpose of ascertaining the co-efficients of the formulas, and even to repeat them after every change in her stowage. We have the pleasure of observing, that in the experiments made upon different points by Capt. Freycinet, he has afforded every possible element for making that calculation with accuracy.

Capt. Freycinet having entrusted M. Lamarche with the direction of the magnetic observations made at sea, we are indebted to that officer for the greatest number of those observations. When Capt. Freycinet's other occupations allowed him, he very frequently took an active part in the measurements of inclination and intensity. The other observers whose names we have most frequently met with in the journals, are, Messrs. Bérard, Raillard, Guérin, Fabré, and Dubaud.

IV. GEOGRAPHY.

Determinations of the longitude by a single chronometer can scarcely in general, contribute at present to the progress of geography. The sudden changes which the very best of these instruments will sometimes undergo for several days are the more to be dreaded, because if they happen at sea, and if the chronometer again goes regularly when on land, the observer may be completely unaware of any irregularity having taken place. There is one method of resolving doubts upon this subject, which is not to reckon upon any longitudes, obtained by the time at different places, unless the same result is obtained by several different chronometers.

It is not altogether unexampled, that three or four of these pieces, placed on board the same vessel, have been simultaneously deranged in the same manner and nearly to the same extent; but the case is too rare to justify us in refusing confidence to the determinations that are confirmed by this mutual comparison.

We have already mentioned that Captain Freycinet had four chronometers with him These instruments were daily compared with each other during the whole of the voyage, after the series of horary angles; the longitude of the coasts where the expedition touched, or in sight of which it passed, might therefore be deduced separately from each chronometer. We thought it desirable to examine the results of this method, relatively to Rio Janeiro, the position of which has recently been the subject of some dispute between geographers. We proceeded for tha tpurpose on the supposition, that Santa-Cruz de Teneriffe, is in 18°. 36′. 0″ of West longitude. In the comparison which we made of the daily rates of the timekeepers at Santa-Cruz and Rio, we ascertained that the Nos. 144 and 150 of Berthoud had varied too much during the passage, to be of any use in the investigation; the other three, on the contrary, went at Brasil, nearly as well as at Teneriffe. The three longitudes which they give for the castle at Rio, are:

No. 72, of Berthoud	45°. 36′. 38″.
No. 158, of ditto	45°. 35′. 49″.
No. 2868, of Breguet	45°. 44′. 10″.

The medium, or 45° 38′. 52″ differs only by one minute of a degree, from the result given in the old *Connaissances des Temps*. The same timepieces indicate the considerable error of 36′½ less than the longitude given by a modern traveller for Cape Frio. That which was obtained by Baron Roussin, in his last hydrographical campaign, is only 2′ less than that of Captain Freycinet.

The bounds to which it is necessary to circumscribe this Report, will not allow us to enter at greater length into the chronometrical determinations of the longitudes. We have thought it our duty however to submit to the Academy, a review of the observations made on shore with the astronomical and reflecting repeating circles, as such observations promise great accuracy; it will also exhibit a fresh proof of the zeal with which all the officers of the expedition were animated, even for objects which were of secondary importance in the voyage.

In following the order of the different places of rendezvous, we find first, seventeen series of distances from the sun to the moon, which will furnish

another determination of the longitude of Rio Janeiro, and six series of circum-meridian altitudes of the sun for the latitude. It is unnecessary here to notice the observations at the Cape, or the Isle of France; the positions of these having been long since settled. The longitude of Shark's Bay may be calculated, independently of the timekeepers, by twenty-four series of distances from the sun to the moon. On shore, at this Bay, only two series of observations of the sun's altitude could be obtained; but the journals contain a great number of observations, made on board the vessel while at anchor, which would if necessary complete the determination of the latitude.

The position of Agagna at the Marianne Islands, has been determined by twenty-three series of circum-meridian altitudes of the stars; and by twenty-two series of distances; the latitude of Fort Santa Cruz, in the harbour of St. Louis, may be deduced from nine series of circum-meridian altitudes of the stars; that of Goats' Island, from two series of the sun's.

At Owhyhee, the only one of the Sandwich Islands where Captain Freycinet remained long enough to make any astronomical observations, we fina three series of altitudes of the sun for the latitude, and fifty-six series of distances from the sun to the moon.

At Port Jackson in New Holland, our navigators have determined the altitude of the South pole, by ten different stars, and the longitude by ten series of distances of the moon from the sun.

The position of French Bay, at the Malouine Islands, will be ascertained by twelve series of circum-meridian altitudes of the sun, and five series of distances.

Finally, Monte-Video, at the mouth of the River Plate, has been determined by nineteen series of lunar distances, and eleven series of meridian altitudes of the sun.

The observers who participated in the labours of which we have as it were given a catalogue, under the immediate direction of Captain Freycinet, were Messrs. Duperrey, Railliard, Bérard, Fabré, Pellion, Dubaud, Guerin, Lamarche, Labiche and Ferrand. It will be observed here, as in former instances, that the order in which we have placed the names is not the order of their rank, but has been solely directed by their greater or less participation in each class of observation, treated in each paragraph of the Report.

V. HYDROGRAPHY.

Captain Freycinet and the officers serving under him, employed themselves most zealously, during the continuance of the voyage, in hydrographical observations; their operations will complete our knowledge of several groups of islands of the Great Pacific, which notwithstanding their importance, had hitherto been very little attended to.

The operations of this kind began on the West Coast of New Holland, at Shark's Bay, a survey of which had been made by Captain Freycinet himself, during Captain Baudin's voyage, and which he now rendered more complete. This last survey led to the discovery of a sand-bank, whose position has been accurately laid down; the publication of it will be of consequence to the security of vessels frequenting the Bay.

In the passage of the Uranie from New Holland to Waigooe, several parts of the Coast of Timor, and of some small islands in its vicinity, were carefully laid down.

In passing between the Island of Booroo, and the Islands of Amboyna and Ceram, Captain Freycinet had occasion to verify the accuracy of the map of that strait which was taken during the voyage of Rear Admiral D'Entrecasteaux; several parts of it, of which that officer had no knowledge, were explored by the geographers of the Uranie. As he uniformly followed the same track, Captain Freycinet had an opportunity of determining the position of the islands, situated to the South of Gilolo, and to examine, to the North of the Isle of Rooib, a very dangerous Archipelago, which had not been previously visited by any navigator. When he came to Waigooe, Captain Freycinet had charts made of such portions of the North coast of that island, as D'Entrecasteaux had only seen in passing; his operations will also supply us with detailed charts of Manooaran, of Rawack, and of several portions of the Island of Ayoo.

It was, however, at the Mariannes Islands, one the principal points of rendezvous, that the most complete hydrographical labour of the voyage was executed. The Island of Guam, for instance, which is the principal of them, was surveyed in the most minute manner, in its whole circum-

ference in canoes: and also the Island of Rota, and a considerable part of Tinian. When the labours of the officers of the Uranie are added to those of Laperouse, there only remains the northern-most small island, the position of which has not been determined by French navigators; but as that island was visited by Malespina, it follows that we now possess all the materials for an excellent chart of the Marianne Archipelago.

In the Archipelago of the Sandwich Islands, the hydrographical operations of the expedition have procured us charts of several very extensive portions of the coast, as well as plans of different harbours and anchoring grounds.

In the passage from the Sandwich Islands to Port Jackson, Captain Freycinet discovered to the east of Navigator's Archipelago, a small island, to which he gave the name of *Rose Island;* and the positions of several very diminutive islands, at a great distance from the great masses of land, were also determined during the same passage. These islands will henceforward be direction points for vessels which have to traverse the Pacific, and where they may, as it were, step by step, verify their longitudes.

On their return from New Holland into the South Atlantic, by the South of New Zealand, Captain Freycinet first verified the position of Campbell's Island; and subsequently that of several small islands, situated at the Southern extremity of the New Continent, such as Sant-Ildefonso, Diego-Ramirez, Barnevelt, Evoots, &c. The atlas also contains maps of several portions of the coast of Terra-del-Fuego.

The lamentable catastrophe, which put an end to the voyage of the Uranie at the Malouine Islands, did not at all interrupt the hydrographical labours of the expedition; these labours have procured us charts of the North and North-east Coast of the most Western of the Malouines, as well as plans of the three harbours which it contains.

Such is a summary view of the immense hydrographical operations, which were executed during the voyage of the Uranie. The greater part of the drawings are finished; we have examined them, as well as the original memoranda, which have served for their construction; and we feel fully warranted in expressing our conviction, that when published, this atlas, which will consist of from thirty to thirty-four plates, will bear comparison with the best works of the kind hitherto published.

In terminating this article, we must not forget to notice, that almost the whole of this beautiful hydrographical labour has been executed by M. Duperrey. This able officer was assisted in some points by MM. Labiche and Bérard; the latter gentleman, also made drawings of some particular places at the Marianne Islands.

VI. METEOROLOGY.

We can scarcely hope, in our climate, to arrive at any general result upon the whole system of meteorological phenomena, otherwise than by the application of means properly combined from a long series of observations. At the equator, however, the changes are so rare, and so trifling, that a week almost is sufficient not only to perceive, but to measure the effects of constantly operating causes; in forty-eight hours for instance, the daily period of the barometer may be ascertained, and five or six days taken at random will enable us to appreciate its extent. At Paris the averages of a month will not always make that period clear, and it is very doubtful if the fortuitous effects of accidental causes are completely balanced, in the averages of two or three year's observations. There was, therefore, reason to hope that the short residence, which Captain Freycinet had to make at each of his points of rendezvous, would be quite sufficient to resolve several important questions relative to the meteorology of the equinoctial regions.

Our information on this subject has been considerably increased of late years; and we are in a great degree indebted for it to the labours of two members of this Academy. It still however remained to be ascertained by accurate measurement, if, in the daily barometical period of which we have just spoken, the hours of the maxima and the minima, between the tropics, are the same, in all seasons, and in all places; and also, if the oscillation of the mercury in the tube of the barometer is everywhere of the same extent, and in that case, what is its exact amount. Several naturalists have supposed that the mean pressure of the atmosphere is sensibly less at the equator, than in our climates. It may seem at first matter of surprise, to hear of any doubt being expressed on the subject; but when we consider how easily barometers are deranged; how difficult it is to find two that

perfectly agree, either from the faulty position of the figures on the scale, from the makers in general making no allowance for the effects of capillarity, or finally (what is most common of all) that the instruments are not equally well freed from air; it is easy to conceive how seldom opportunities have occurred of comparing the mean heights of the barometer under the tropics, and in Europe, so as not to apprehend, for instance, in the result, an error of one-fiftieth of an inch.

To be certain that these questions, and others which we abstain from here enumerating, have been completely solved in the observations which Captain Freycinet has brought us, would have required a complete discussion of them; the examination we have made of them, however, authorises us in saying that they will be of great use to the science. The preceding remark applies to the observations on shore. The nautical journals of the expedition present us, for the whole period of the voyage, with observations on the thermometer and hygrometer made hourly, both day and night; with observations on the barometer at every interval of two hours; and twelve daily observations on the temperature of the sea, taken at the same period. Such a mass of observations would under any circumstances be of great value; and we ought to add that the labours of Captain Freycinet and his assistants are not less remarkable for their accuracy than their numbers.

The very interesting memoir of Dr. Marcet, which was inserted in one of the last volumes of the Philosophical Transactions, would lead to an inference that the water of the ocean is salter south of the equator than in the northern hemisphere; the same inference is also to be drawn from the numerous observations of Baily made during Captain Cook's third voyage; inferences exactly opposite however are drawn from the specific gravities determined by Mr. Davy in his voyage from London to Ceylon. This point therefore required fresh examination; Captain Freycinet has within these few days sent to one of us fifty-five bottles of sea-water, collected at different anchorages to the north and south of the equator; these bottles have been most carefully corked, and we have every reason for believing that their examination will procure several new and interesting determinations to science.

This is perhaps the place to speak of the effects of the still which accompanied the expedition for the purpose of procuring fresh water, by the dis-

tillation of sea-water. Captain Freycinet had only occasion to make use of it on the West coast of New Holland at Sharks' Bay, where no fresh water could be found. The distillation was partly carried on on board, and partly on shore; it lasted nine days, and each operation was of twelve hours duration.* During a whole month, the crew, consisting of 120 men, drank no other water than that which was thus obtained; no one complained of, or felt the least inconvenience from it. At the Captain's table it was drank for three months in succession, with as little bad effects. Captain Freycinet even remarked that at Timor he preferred the distilled water to the fresh water obtained on shore. From this interesting experiment it will be seen how desirable it is that naturalists and manufacturers should turn their attention to the introduction of stills on board of ships.

VII. NATURAL HISTORY.

Zoology.

The details into which we are now to enter, will shew, that Captain Freycinet's voyage, the importance of which we have been already enabled to appreciate to the advancement of astronomical science, of the higher physics and of geography, has made very essential additions to the history of animals.

The Museum has not only been enriched by the attention of Messrs. Quoy and Gaimard, surgeons of the expedition, with a great number of rare objects, in which our collections were before deficient; but they have also procured a considerable number of entirely new species. The zeal of these two gentlemen requires the greater praise, as neither of them being naturalists by profession, they could only avail themselves in their researches of that general information which embraces at once the different parts of zoology. They themselves preserved with indefatigable attention the animals they collected, and in conjunction with M. Gaudichaud, the apochecary of the Uranie, they have with generous disinterestedness presented to the Museum a number

* A full account of this process will be found in the *Annales de Chimie* (1817) Vol. iv. p. 225.

of curious objects, which they had purchased with their own funds during the voyage.

Notwithstanding the loss of eighteen cases, occasioned by the shipweck of the corvette, the collections brought by the expedition still amount, according to the scientific catalogue made of them by M. Valenciennes, assistant naturalist to the Museum, to twenty-five species of mammalia, three-hundred and thirteen of birds, forty-five reptiles, one-hundred and sixty-four fishes, and a great number of mollusca, annelides, polypi, &c.

There are about thirty skeletons, among which there is one of a man of the Papoo-race (coast of New Guinea) a Tamandua (myrmecophaga tamandua) a head of a full grown tapir, &c.

It would be entirely exceeding the bounds of this report, to enumerate all the new and rare species for which we are indebted to Captain Freycinet's expedition. It will be sufficient to mention generally, that the collections contain four new species of large mammalia, forty-five of birds, among which there are three new genera; more than thirty reptiles, and perhaps one hundred and twenty fishes. These last having been preserved in spirits, are so much the more valuable, as almost all of them that were known, were only so, from badly preserved specimens, or from the incorrect figures of Commerson.

Among the mollusca and the polypi are a great number of animals which inhabit shells, and which there has never yet been an opportunity of examining. They have been very well preserved in spirits (such as large cones, cypræas, volutes, astræas, tubiporas, &c.) This part of the collection of Captain Freycinet may be regarded as one of the most valuable acquisitions that has been made to the history of animals in modern times.

Besides the articles brought by Captain Freycinet, there have been submitted to us a considerable number of drawings of birds, fishes, insects, and shells, made with great accuracy by M. Arago, the draftsman of the expedition; Messrs. Gaudichaud and particularly the younger Taunay, (son of the celebrated painter, whom the Academy has the advantage of counting among its members), have also made coloured drawings of interesting mollusca, and other marine invertebrated animals.

It appears from this summary, that by the intelligence and zealous activity of the medico-naturalists attached to the expedition, the Royal Cabinet, which had just been indebted for a nearly complete Zoology of the Cape of

Good Hope, to the attention, boundless perseverance and intrepidity of M. Delalande, has again acquired a great number of interesting objects; and that if we except the expedition of Captain Baudin, during which the indefatigable zeal of Péron and Lesueur procured us prodigious collections, no nautical expedition has been so profitable to zoology as the present.

Entomology.

During the time the Uranie was at the Isle of France, Captain Freycinet consigned to the Museum four large tin-cases, containing about two hundred lepidoptera and four or five hundred other insects from Brasil; forty species of crustacea from the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. The number of insects which this able navigator has given to the Museum since his return amounts to nearly thirteen hundred. Our fellow Academician M. Latreille, from whom we have received these details, estimates the number of species at three hundred; among the insects taken near the Papoo country, there are about forty new species, some of which are very remarkable.

The collection of crustacea and spiders, made in the same regions, appears to M. Latreille to merit particular notice; that celebrated entomologist has only yet been able to give them a very hasty examination, but that has been sufficient to enable him to distinguish several unknown species.

We have here occasion to remark a second time, to the honour of Messrs. Quoy and Gaimard, that these gentlemen at first very handsomely offered to the Museum, such species as they had purchased for themselves, but which were not to be found in that great collection.

Botany.

The collection of dried plants, made during Captain Freycinet's voyage, consists of about three thousand species, four or five hundred of which are not to be found in the herbaria of the Museum of Natural History, and at least twelve hundred of which are unknown. Unfortunately a great number of those brought from the Moluccas, from the Mariannes, and from Timor, were drenched and injured by the sea-water, at the time of the shipwreck of the Uranie; but the plants collected in the

environs of Port Jackson, on the Blue Mountains, and at the Sandwich Islands, are in excellent preservation, and present a great many new species. Among those which were drenched by the sea, there were many marine plants, very beautiful fuci, and other species, for the preservation of which we are entirely indebted to M. Gaudichaud, apothecary to the expedition, who took a great deal of trouble for that purpose; to the zeal, labour, and great activity of that young gentleman, we are particularly indebted for the rich and interesting collection of vegetables brought us by Captain Freycinet. M. Gaudichaud has also transmitted to the professors of the Jardin du Roi, a great quantity of fruits, seeds, gums, and other productions of the vegetable kingdom; which gives him fresh claims to the gratitude of naturalists. The commission has made a calculation, that one hundred and fifty or one hundred and sixty plates in outline, will be sufficient to exhibit the most important plants, contained in the herbarium of the expedition.

Geological Collections.

Captain Freycinet has brought the Museum about nine hundred specimens of rocks, collected at the different points of his rendezvous. A circumnavigation of the globe, during which nothing is seen but islands, or coasts of small extent, can present no *geological series*, calculated to exhibit the nature of the soil, or notions of the antiquity and super-position of the strata. Our navigators were necessarily confined to insulated observations, to specimens of rocks, detached from the strata, which appeared by their quantity to predominate, and to characterise the different countries. This object, which is very important for the progress of mineralogical geography, has been accomplished by the zealous persons, whom Captain Freycinet entrusted with that species of investigation. According to the memorandum furnished by M. Cordier, one of the professors at the Jardin du Roi, the specimens are numerous, well preserved, and judiciously selected. The rocks of the Blue Mountains, of New Holland, of the Sandwich Islands, and of the Mariannes, add to the geological wealth of our collections. They afford additional and striking proofs of the analogies of opposition and of composition which have been observed in the two hemispheres, at the most distant parts of the globe.

VIII. NARRATIVE OF THE VOYAGE.

Captain Freycinet has requested one of us, to examine the materials which will form the basis of the Historical Narrative of his Voyage. Under the different zones where he rendezvoused, at Brasil, at the Cape of Good Hope, at the Isle of France, at the Eastern Moluccas, at New Holland, and at the Marianne and Sandwich Islands, his attention was directed to the general aspect of the country, to the race of men who inhabit it, to the state of their civilisation, to the development of the different branches of agriculture and commercial industry, and finally to the causes which are quickening or retarding the progress of social order. For the purpose of adopting a regular system in their inquiries, Captain Freycinet furnished the persons who were to assist him in his labours, with a list of queries, which embraced methodically the physical, moral, and political condition of man. We were enabled to appreciate the singular advantages of this classification, by an examination of the great mass of facts, which he had collected relative to the groupe of the Marianne Islands. It is impossible to bestow too much praise on the picture thus exhibited of a country which is embellished with the first natural productions, which presents amongst its inhabitants the unfortunate remnant of a numerous population, and which by its position, the manners of its inhabitants, its language, and perhaps by the remains of its monuments, is connected with the great Indian Archipelago. We are prevented by the multiplicity of subjects which enter into this report, from dwelling at length on these interesting collections; but at a period, when the languages of nations are regarded as historical documents of the highest value; we cannot refrain from pointing out the laudable zeal, with which Captain Freycinet and his assistants have collected everything which relates to the roots, grammatical forms, and the ingenious variety of signs in which the mind reflects itself, among savages as well as civilised nations.

What will give a particular degree of interest to the narrative, is the picturesque atlas, in which will be collected the landscapes, marine views, and representations of costume, for which we are indebted to the talent and

great activity of M. Arago, the draftsman of the expedition. The little known Archipelago of the Mariannes, including Tinian, which is covered with ancient monuments of doubtful origin; the woody vallies of the Blue Mountains of New Holland; the Island of Ombay, inhabited by a race of cannibals; all these will present objects of novel, and various interest. The number of drawings is surprising, considering that they were made in the open air, and frequently in situations of considerable danger. With great spirit and expression in the execution, they unite the character of fidelity, which is so desirable in the picturesque atlas of a distant voyage.

IX. DRAWINGS.

The Commission having felt it their duty to refrain from passing any opinion on the whole of the drawings submitted to them by Captain Freycinet, requested M. Gérard, first painter to his Majesty, to take that trouble upon himself. What follows is a literal copy of the note which that celebrated artist has transmitted to us.

" The collection of drawings which Captain Freycinet has brought home from his voyage round the world, made by order of the King, is one of the most remarkable that has been seen, both for the number and variety of the subjects. It affords the strongest proof of the unwearied zeal and remarkable intelligence of M. Arago, the draftsman to the expedition.

" It consists of about five hundred drawings, representing landscapes, views of the coasts, and subjects of zoology and botany; also of a considerable series of drawings of the natives of the different islands at which the expedition touched, of their costume, of their habits, and weapons.

" The publication of a portion of the drawings contained in this rich portfolio, will present the most complete and interesting work of the kind, which any voyage has yet produced."

CONCLUSIONS.

It will be seen from the summary we have given, that no part of physical, nautical, or natural science to which the Academy had directed Captain

Freycinet's attention has been neglected; the multitude of observations of every description, which have been made by this officer and his assistants, and the variety of different objects they have brought home, afford the best proofs of their zeal and perseverance. The Academy has now only two wishes to express; the first that a speedy but sufficiently detailed publication may allow the scientific world the enjoyment of the advantages which they are entitled to derive from this voyage; and the second, that the authors of such laborious and interesting labours should receive from the government the just rewards to which they are entitled. These rewards will be an additional stimulus to the officers, and every description of persons connected with our naval service, to cultivate every kind of knowledge which can enable them to be of use to science, by the valuable materials which their voyages may give them the opportunity to collect.

(Signed) HUMBOLDT.
CUVIER.
DES FONTAINES.
GAY-LUSSAC.
BIOT.
DE ROSSEL.
THENARD.
ARAGO, *Reporter.*

The Academy adopts these conclusions, and orders that a copy of the report shall be addressed to His Excellency the Minister of Marine.

N.B. *The paragraph relative to the numerous Observations of Tides, contained in Captain Freycinet's Journal, having been mislaid at the moment when the Report was read to the Academy, and consequently not having been submitted to the approbation of that body, I hope I may be allowed to mention here, that our navigators had not neglected these important observations, which appear to have been made at most of the points of rendezvous, with the greatest exactness.* F. ARAGO.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

PART I.

LETTER I. TO LXXXVII.

NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

LETTER I.

Paris, August 15th, 1817.

I AM just going to set out, my dear friend, on a voyage round the world; and I, who complained so bitterly of distances, who found such fault with the tardiness of couriers, shall soon be cut off, except in remembrance, from friends and country.

A fine vessel, commanded by Captain Freycinet, is equipping at Toulon. Young men of extraordinary merit, all inflamed with equal ardour, are about to share the labours, the dangers, and the fatigue—I dare not add the glory—of the commander.

What is the object of this expedition? I cannot tell. All I know is, that there are dangers to be encountered, obstacles to be overcome, and perhaps some palms to be gathered. I shall go,—for I am sensible of my own powers, and am sure that I shall acquit myself with zeal of the task committed to me.

How many leisure hours shall I have during a three-years' voyage! How many moments of *ennui*, which must nevertheless be filled up! I will employ them in writing to you, and in conversing with you, the friend of my boyish days. I will relate to you my dangers: I will make you share my emotions, my fears, my hopes: I will associate you in some measure with my ope-

rations: and as I shall give you my route, you will have it in your power to write to me. You will tell me about my country: you will acquaint me with its glory, but, above all, with its prosperity. Do not forget to tell me of the latter; and at the distance of four thousand leagues from home, my pleasures will be the more lively, my researches the more amusing, my zeal the more ardent. Happiness, as you know, is the health of the soul. In my long pilgrimage I shall more than once need consolation; your letters will be my joy, for they will be such as I wish them. Adieu, my friend, I am off.

LETTER II.

Lyons, August 22d, 1817.

I ARRIVED the day before yesterday at Lyons, and it is with pain that I have traversed this great city. The sacrifices of our king have not been sufficient to raise it from the wretchedness in which it is plunged. My inquiries on this subject have been answered only by an alarming silence. I know not whether at my return this once flourishing city will have risen from its ruins; but the aspect of its present misery forbids even the hope. I cast my eye on those immense workshops, which once gave bread to thousands, but are now deserted. I pity these poor creatures: I turn from the sight, and with a lacerated heart pursue my course to Marseilles.

LETTER III.

Marseilles, August 27th, 1817.

IF the aspect of distress afflicts a heart which is in its right place, how delicious is the pleasure which it derives from the appearance of prosperity! Scarcely had I quitted Avignon, when I met a considerable number of carts laden with corn and other productions, which agreeably surprised me, and gradually removed the gloomy impressions which had accompanied me from Lyons. The scenery, which is dull and monotonous as far as Aix, becomes still more so as you approach Marseilles. You know how far the verdure of the olive is from gay: it attracts, without pleasing the eye; but on the height of La Vista a magnificent prospect rouses the attention, and dispels the melancholy which the aspect of a bare country has excited in the mind of the traveller. An infinite number of small houses, called Bastides, rising at your feet, like so many small cells, detain you but for a moment—the immense sea is before you, covered with a forest of masts, and washing the coast of Marseilles, which it nourishes and fertilizes. I entered the city between a double line of teams, whose drivers, merry as the ancient minstrels of their country, were singing old songs; and with the whip in one hand, and the bottle in the other, they seemed to remind me that cheerfulness is the offspring of labour and industry. An atmosphere almost always serene throws no obstacle in the way of their wonted occupations. Satisfied with his wages, the artisan gaily begins his day's work, and finishes as he commenced it: the next finds him engaged in the same manner, and affords him the same resources and the same pleasures.

I shall say but a few words concerning the city of Marseilles.

The new town is magnificent; and I know nothing to be compared with the quarters of Beauveau and La Canebière. On the other hand, there is nothing more filthy and unhealthy than the old town, which in the heat of summer is nearly uninhabitable.

Duty summons, and I fly to Toulon. The nearer the moment of my departure approaches, the more painful it seems to me. The remembrance of my sorrows has not made me forget the agreeable moments which I have spent in the society of a few real friends. Believe me, it is cruel to bid a long farewell to one's country. No, the love of our country is not a chimera: I am quitting mine, and bitter tears start from my eyes!

LETTER IV.

Toulon, September 1st, 1817.

HERE I am, then, on the point of departure: here my long peregrinations are to begin! I shall leave to our commander the task of explaining, in his way, the causes and the nature of the phenomena we shall meet with. For my part, my friend, with our good La Fontaine,

> Je dirai: j'étais là; telle chose m'advint:
> Vous y croirez être vous-même.

Too ignorant to fathom the secrets of nature, I shall confine myself to the relation of facts as I observe them. But when I tell you *I have seen such a thing*, you may rest assured that I really have seen it. And I shall not, like many a bold ad-

venturer who circumnavigates the globe, without ever quitting his closet, hunt after what is wonderful and romantic, for the purpose of engaging your attention and exciting your curiosity. I know your indulgent friendship so well, as to be satisfied beforehand that whatever shall remind you of me will be dear to you; and that you will prefer a plain but faithful narrative to the crude and ridiculous dreams of so many untravelled voyagers.

Since I have said something concerning Lyons and Marseilles, I shall complete my notes with a few words on Toulon: we ought not to slight any one. The harbour appears to me less spacious than that of Marseilles; but the road is the finest and safest in the Mediterranean. The bottom is in general good, and the beach by no means dangerous. I am sorry to see it empty.

The city, which is small, extends from east to west about a quarter of a league. It is very dirty at night, though clean enough in the day. It is always hazardous to walk in the streets after eight in the evening, on account of the inattention of those whose duty it is to enforce cleanliness. In the morning the city is washed by the streams which run through it, and which are supplied by a considerable number of fountains. I have counted more than fifty, and some of them are of admirable workmanship and elegance. That which is situated in the hay-market is highly picturesque. You must not, however, expect to find at Toulon any other remarkable piece of sculpture than this fountain, and the two cariatides which support the balcony of the *hotel-de-ville* situated by the harbour. They are by the celebrated Pujet, and in good preservation. It is related, that an eminent sculptor, who had come to France for the purpose of inspecting our master-pieces, on landing at Toulon, stopped before these cariatides; and after gazing on them for a long time in ecstasy, went on board again, exclaiming, "I have seen

enough!" This foreigner was certainly in a hurry to get back to his own country.

The streets are in general perfectly straight; and few places in France can produce any thing equal to that called Champ-de-Bataille, which, though small, is adorned by the handsome houses which border it, and by alleys of elms and plantains of prodigious height. The young people give different names to these alleys. In the *Lovers' Alley*, which is next to the gate of France, and opposite to the residence of the admiral, you find scarcely any but youthful swains, sighing forth amorous ditties, and timid, very timid damsels, who contrive to persuade their mammas that the air there is cooler, and the foliage more luxuriant. The *Politicians' Alley* is most frequented: there you are elbowed at every step. I often went thither to read the news in the faces of some individuals with whose opinions I was acquainted. The third is the *Widows' Alley;* where more useless sighs are heaved than tears shed. The fourth, next to the arsenal, is the *Alley of Sighs*, which is an egregious misnomer, for discretion and reason are banished from it.

What a distressing sight is that of the galley-slaves! Their number here is upward of four thousand. They are divided into several classes, according to the nature of their crimes. In very few of their faces can you discover any thing like contrition. There is not a street in which you do not meet some of these wretches; but a fact, which will scarcely be credited, is, that the authorities, so far from exercising a vigilant attention over them, frequently select their servants from among these culprits, who, enjoying liberty in the city, seem to give the lie to justice. Would you believe it, my friend, that there are fathers so hostile to the welfare of their children as to commit their education to these degraded creatures? I have seen young ladies who owed their little attainments solely to the instruction of a galley-slave! Can

you suppose that they have learned nothing but what is calculated to do them credit? Never, I think, could I fall in love with such a female: never should I esteem such a father. Under a liberal and enlightened government, to point out abuses is to reform them. I shall say but a few words of the arsenal: it is superb, and worthy, in every respect, of the magnificence of Louis XIV.

P. S. There are books in the public library of Toulon.

LETTER V.

Off Cape Creus, September 21st, 1817.

I HAVE bidden adieu to our beautiful France: some leagues now separate me from it, and I am shedding tears of regret. The heart I know is a citizen of the world; and it is possible that I may meet in other regions with friends, who will rejoice in my joy and grieve at my griefs; but I had rather do without them. Few friends, little ambition, and little wealth,—such are the ingredients of happiness.

We sailed on the 17th, at half-past seven in the morning, with a light breeze, which carried us slowly out of the harbour. I made a drawing of a pyramid, which crowns the hill situated to the south of the road, and a projection of which forms Cape Sepet. How vain is man! That pyramid is a tomb..... General Latouche, an officer not less distinguished for his engaging gaiety than for his extensive attainments, desired, a few hours before he died, that he might be there interred. His monument reminds the French of what they owe to that illustrious warrior.

The night of the 17th was very stormy: I was so ill the whole time that it is not in my power to give you a description of a tempest.

Wherefore, my friend, should a new incident, by increasing my regret, awaken wishes that were scarcely lulled to rest! .... Five days ago I quitted France, and had lost sight of it. A change of wind is now driving us towards land. ..... There it is still—there is my native land—there it is that you dwell—my family, my friends, are all there! Gracious heaven! I am separated from it by a space of but a few miles, and yet I cannot embrace you! Ah! relatives and friends, receive at least the expression of my feelings, the assurance of my warmest affection. With a contrary wind for but two more hours, and I shall perhaps distinguish objects which are so dear to me. ..... From the fresh orders that are given, I conclude that the wind has again changed: it is said now to be favourable; it wafts me, alas! from all my hopes! Parents, friends, country, adieu!

LETTER VI.

Off the Balearic Islands, September 22, 1817.

WE doubled Cape Creus with extreme rapidity, and the coast of Spain began to appear in sight. A few leagues from Barcelona we enjoyed a singularly delightful spectacle, of which I can give you but an imperfect idea. We were but three cables length from a small village, when a luminous spot on the summit of the mountain, which overtops the place, caught our attention. It soon increased with astonishing rapidity, and in a few moments vanished, but again appeared brighter and larger than before.

It looked like a distant conflagration which the wind was spreading. We had a very fine sea view. Mount Jouy, the formidable bulwark of Barcelona, with its dark tint, was in sight: the white village was reflected from time to time in the slightly agitated waves; while the tops of our masts, and the extremities of our sails, were more or less strongly tinged by the light thrown from the top of the mountain. Tell me, if this is not a subject worthy of Vernet's pencil?

This light was produced by the forges of Palafox.

Here we are, opposite to those islands, once so famous, but now so fallen from their ancient celebrity. They are no longer those frowning rocks, covered with everlasting verdure, from which descended thousands of active robust men and expert slingers, who at least retarded the conquest of their country. The Balearic islands are now only a nursery for slaves, degraded by three centuries of ignorance.

Not far from the two principal islands, Majorca and Minorca, is a bare rock called Cabrer; there, during the late war in Spain, twelve thousand French prisoners of war were exposed, in consequence of the capitulation of General Dupont, to all the horrors of extreme want. After the return of the king to France, when a cutter was despatched from Toulon to release these unfortunate wretches, it was found that only three thousand had survived the cruel treatment which they had experienced. Emaciated, and perishing with famine, those who first descried the white flag, in the confusion of their ideas, ran and hid themselves in caverns, the possession of which they had won from reptiles. Others, unable to moderate their transports, plunged into the sea to get on board the French vessel. The avidity with which they fell upon the provisions set before them dictated to the prudent captain what course to pursue; he used every effort to save the lives of his unhappy countrymen, who were in rags, and in

many instances had lost the use of reason. They could not believe their senses; in vain did the kindest and most delicate attentions demonstrate that they were with friends: they shuddered as they looked at them, or smiled with the smile of insanity: and, still haunted by the remembrance of their misfortunes, they repulsed with horror those who were restoring them to life, to their families, and to their country.

Port Mahon, the capture of which proved to France that the Duke de Richelieu knew how to subdue a fortress quite as well as a fair lady, is one of the finest and safest harbours in the world. I am sorry we shall not put into Minorca: I had already two good points of comparison.

The wind is still favourable, though light, but the islands are already beginning to disappear in the horizon, and I quit them without regret. The dangers incurred there by one of my brothers show that their inhabitants are utter strangers to every species of knowledge, and that the career of science is frequently as perilous as that of arms*. Adieu.

LETTER VII.

In sight of the rock of Gibraltar, Oct. 8th, 1817.

BUT a few days have elapsed since our departure, and I have already to communicate to you a melancholy event, which neither the extraordinary skill of our surgeon, nor the zeal and attention of his worthy assistant, have been able to prevent. Since

* Messrs. Biot and Arago were sent to Spain, to continue the operation of the meridian, begun by Messrs. Mechain and Delambre.

I have promised you an account of every thing remarkable that may happen to us, mournful as the circumstance is which I have now to record, I must not pass it over in silence. We lighten our sorrows by recounting them.

Scarcely had M. Prat-Bernon, midshipman of the first class, bidden a sad adieu to his native land, when he bade a still sadder to the companions whose toils and whose glory he had hoped to share. Beloved by his equals for his amiable, kind, and indulgent disposition; esteemed by his superiors for his attainments and his modesty; he yesterday quitted a life which he ennobled by useful labours, and by qualities of which any honest man might be proud.

If the apparatus of death shock the eye in our cities, how much more deeply is the heart afflicted on board a vessel, amid the wide ocean, by the sight of the mournful preparations which succeed the last moments of a fellow-creature! Here every thing contributes to redouble the horror of the situation—the doleful silence of the affected crew,—the discouragement expressed in every face,—the fear of a similar fate, because there is nothing to divert the mind from the present scene,—and above all the monotonous murmur of the waves ready to engulph their prey. When a man expires in the bosom of his family, his friends are about him: their tears tell him how sincerely he is regretted; and his remains will be deposited in a place where all who love him may scatter flowers over his grave. Here a man falls sick, suffers, and dies; a sheet envelopes him: the waves open—they close again—nothing is left of him but the remembrance of his virtues or his vices.

LETTER VIII.

Gibraltar, October, 1817.

THERE are things so extraordinary, my friend, that they ought to be described immediately after they have been observed. The astonished eye can scarcely embrace the multiplicity of objects which present themselves to it: the imagination tires of being struck by them without being able to conceive them: how then can memory recal and class them in due order! Such were my first impressions after inspecting the fortifications of Gibraltar. As I went over them I at once admired and shuddered.

For some days our vessel, driven by currents, lost the little way which a light but favourable breeze enabled us to make; and weary of the threatening aspect of a pointed rock, I ardently wished for the moment that was to carry us out of sight of it. A rock, some tents, and a few houses—all this seemed to me very insignificant: you will presently see whether I was in the right or not.

After fatiguing the crew for three days, our captain, who, by repeated manœuvring, had found means to overcome the violence of the currents which always prevail in the Straits, was compelled to yield to a contrary wind, and to put into a road, where, as the English told us, no French ship of war had been seen for twenty-four years.

The French consul, delighted with the arrival of a ship of his nation, hastened to offer us his services; and, with great affability, proposed to introduce us to the governor. We accepted his obliging offers, and the officers were presented to General Don.

No etiquette was observed at his Excellency's. He received

us in a spacious apartment, adorned with ten osier chairs and an old-fashioned couch, and inquired the motive of our visit. Our captain presented his credentials, and a faint smile, the first perhaps for these ten years, played upon the lips of the governor; and he seemed displeased with the entrance of a prodigiously large dog, which came, and, as gravely as his master, seated himself in the midst of us. Full of confidence in the strength of the place committed to his charge, and perhaps feeling some respect for the commander of an expedition so important as ours, General Don invited us to view the fortifications: our visit to them was deferred till the following day.

LETTER IX.

Gibraltar.

FIGURE to yourself, my friend, a pointed rock, the summit of which cannot be reached without numberless and dangerous turnings and windings;—a rock one thousand three hundred and forty feet high, and upwards of six thousand in length, studded with batteries of cannon, commanding a town defended by ramparts, bastions, and squadrons, and you will have but a faint idea of the resources of Gibraltar. The most frightful and the most destructive of them are not exposed to view. The French have overthrown batteries, climbed rocks, and taken thousands of cannon—but who shall penetrate into those extensive subterraneous works, where lie concealed terrible engines of destruction, hundreds of guns, which you would not suspect to be there till it is out of your power to avoid their devastating effects? Had our bayonets even strewed their way with carnage to the very en-

trance of these appalling caverns, who durst penetrate into them, ignorant of their depth and sinuosities? Death awaits you at every step; every turning may conceal a fatal ambush. The rock, which this moment protects you, may the next be your tomb; and the less you see of your enemy the more you have cause to be afraid of him.

The surrender of the place, therefore, would be nothing, unless you could gain possession of that by which it may be destroyed. The taking of the covered galleries themselves would not ensure the safety of the victors: steep rocks and other forts still command them. You must possess all or relinquish all. You must have nothing more to reduce, or renounce the enterprise altogether. Let me not be told, that famine might deliver the place into your hands. The preparations for such a siege require years; your plans are divulged; measures are taken to counteract them; and unless you have quiet possession of the ocean, you must abandon the attempt. Besides, no citizen is allowed to remain at Gibraltar without a stock of provisions equal to at least two years' consumption.

At a distance, in the adjacent country, not a tree cheers the eye, not a shrub meets the view. Water, rocks, sand—such are the objects presented by this dreary abode. The south-east side of the mountain exhibits nothing but the aspect of a rude and niggard nature: an agitated sea is sapping its base in all the creeks and inlets. Twenty houses crowded on a small point of land, which is not safe either from the side next to the sea, or from the mountain, from which enormous masses of rock sometimes roll down*; a few shrubs, forgotten by nature, crowning the tops of five or six crags, standing detached on an

* In 1813, two rocks, detached from the mountain, overthrew several houses, and crushed to death twelve persons.

immense bed of sand; are the only objects that meet the eye. But on approaching the cape called Europa Point, it discovers some very pretty villas and extensive barracks; and such is the effect of the contrast, that you are quite delighted with that which in any other situation would appear scarcely worth noticing.

On turning toward the coast of Africa, Apes' Hill, so named from the prodigious number of those animals which dispute its miserable productions, is seen boldly raising its black and naked head, and presenting a prospect highly picturesque. Here a reflection naturally occurs. A few miles from this hill the Spaniards have possessed for ages the fort of Ceuta, almost as formidable as Gibraltar, and which the English have hitherto vainly endeavoured to wrest from them. At the sight of this fort, the spectator cannot help asking, how it has happened that the Spaniards, who have so successfully defended Ceuta, were unable to preserve Gibraltar, a place of infinitely greater importance, which is the bulwark of the Mediterranean and the key to the commerce of the Levant.

LETTER X.

Gibraltar.

GIBRALTAR contains twelve thousand souls, if that term may be applied to those degenerate Spaniards, who, for a few reals, drag enormous loads, and harness themselves to heavy carts in the morning, but are entirely idle for the rest of the day. Go to these miserable wretches in the evening, offer them employment, and they will laugh at your proposal, continue quietly smoking their

segars, lie down to sleep on a heap of stones, and number one day more, without bestowing a thought on that which is to follow. Happy in their indolence, they will rise before day-break, and solicit fresh occupation; and as soon as they have earned a certain sum, the most brilliant offers would not induce them to quit the stone or the bench, where they display their stupid pride and their degrading idleness.

Can they be called inhabitants of Gibraltar, those cosmopolitan Jews, who never settle in a country where there are not dupes to be cheated or disgraceful gains to be made; who, pleading poverty abroad, are not ashamed to crowd their houses with lewd women, whom they purchase at a great price, and who, at least, serve to strip them of the wealth which they acquire by the basest and the most infamous speculations? Their number here is very great: I am assured that they compose two-thirds of the inhabitants, and that they alone enjoy any consideration. Poor Gibraltar!

LETTER XI.

Gibraltar.

IN time of war the strength of the garrison of Gibraltar is always in proportion to the apprehensions that are entertained. It consists at present of four English and Hanoverian regiments, and another of negroes from the West Indies, forming in the whole five thousand men. General Don keeps up strict discipline among his troops; they make a fine appearance; and I have no doubt that they are well drilled, from the manœuvres which I have seen them perform.

The inhabitants of Gibraltar retain the costume and manners of their country. Some, however, dress in the English fashion, and seem to me to have adopted the manners and tone of their masters. The women in general wear a red mantilla, bordered with black velvet fringed with lace; and beneath this costume, which is not the most favourable for the display of an elegant shape, they find means to set off their charms by dressing with as much coquetry as the handsomest and least superstitious of the Andalusians. The Jews have no fixed garb, but adopt that of the person whom they design to cheat. Thus they will throw a mantle over their shoulders when they are negotiating with a Spaniard; if they have to do with an Englishman, they put on a tight dress; and assume a turban if they have selected a Turk for their dupe.

Gibraltar is said to be a place of considerable trade; I could not believe so when I saw the small number of vessels lying in the road, which is not so safe, but more spacious than that of Toulon. No luxury, no society, no amusement; each individual lives at home, by himself and for himself. The English, however, have established a very good library, where such of them as are of a literary turn meet daily. We went thither, but found not a creature. On a second visit there was nobody but the librarian, who is a Frenchman, and an English colonel, looking at caricatures.

General Don devotes much of his attention to agriculture. He has offered rewards to such persons under his government as shall raise the greatest quantity of potatoes; and, through his exertions, the advantages of this species of crop begin to be duly appreciated.

The general would have invited us to dinner, but his cook was in the country. He seemed exceedingly to regret this circumstance.

It is asserted that the Algerine consul has found means to embellish this dull abode, and that he affects Asiatic pomp. A Jew assured me, that his residence cost upwards of eight hundred thousand francs, and that if he pleased he could buy the town, harbour, and all the inhabitants. 'But would the Jews sell themselves?' I asked. 'The Jews will sell any thing, sir,' was the reply.

While we lay at Gibraltar, we received intelligence that the Dey of Algiers had been strangled. The consul, without manifesting the least concern, continued his operations and amusements. In his correspondence he never introduces the name of his master, for fear the latter should be forgotten by his countrymen before the arrival of his letters. Happy the country where the death of a prince is considered as a public calamity!

I forgot to tell you that the rock of Gibraltar is peopled by a prodigious multitude of apes, probably brought originally from the coast of Africa, and that among its stones there is found a species of veined cornelian, of which very handsome boxes and caskets are made. The botanist will be disappointed if he expects to enrich his herbarium on this mountain, which I leave without regret, though I am highly delighted that I have seen it.

LETTER XII.

Santa Cruz de Teneriffe, October 22d, 1817.

THE wind having become favourable, we weighed anchor, and after passing through the Straits, doubled Tarifa. We are leaving behind us the kingdom of Algiers, and on our left those of Fez and Morocco, wild and barren deserts, the abode of ignorance and barbarism, inhabited by men as ferocious as the lions and

tigers, which they have to combat. The shores of Europe have disappeared; the vessel cleaves the waves with rapidity. .... There is a cry of land! .... It is the Canaries. .... We are off Teneriffe.

This little archipelago, known to the ancients by the name of the Fortunate Islands, is composed of a groupe of seven islands, the largest of which are Canary, Fortaventura, and Teneriffe. The last is the most fertile and the most populous. Eight thousand pipes of wine are made here annually; and you know that at Paris alone upwards of twenty thousand are drank: so that all of them, to a certainty, cannot have crossed the sea.

The Spanish writers of the 14th century who have treated of Teneriffe assert, on the authority of their navigators, that in this and the neighbouring islands there is a tree of prodigious height, which collects the vapours of the atmosphere, so that when shaken it yields a limpid and refreshing water. History is always alloyed with fable.

If we may believe another of their tales, Palma was discovered by two lovers, who, being banished from Cadiz, their native city, purchased a small boat, and resolving not to survive one another, gave themselves up in it to the impulse of the winds and waves. After they had been long tossed to and fro, they descried this island, where they landed with great difficulty; and they gave it the name of Palma, from the vast quantity of palm-trees with which it was covered. You know what credit ought to be attached to all these stories of lovers, and how short the history of the world would be, if we were to retrench from it all the dreams of a heated imagination that is always grasping at wonders.

These islands, like all those of this ocean, are volcanic. They contain about 140,000 inhabitants, 64,000 of whom belong to Teneriffe. Santa Cruz, where the governor resides, though the

royal *audienza* is established at Canary, is a small and very dirty town, extending from north to south. About half of the streets are paved. The Spaniards here retain the manners and habits of their own country, with such modifications as the climate renders necessary: judge then how indolent they must be! The houses are bordered with two broad black stripes, which serve to give them a most dismal appearance. The road, open to almost all winds, is very unsafe; for the bottom is excessively bad and the beach dangerous. We found here two or three French and American brigs taking in water, and a dozen Spanish pinks, manned by crews whose existence is to me a problem.

Figure to yourself, my friend, a half-rotten vessel, in which two pieces of timber are set up for masts: these support a few fragments of yards, to which are attached two rags of different colours, that scarcely catch a breath of air which plays among their tatters. Place at the top of them a strip of a red shirt, or a shark's tail, by way of flag: throw into a ship thus equipped about forty figures like those of Callot, huddled together, stamping, swearing, and making as expeditiously as they can the trip from Cape Blanco, whither they go for the purpose of fishing, to Teneriffe, where they sell what they have caught; living entirely on a few vegetables and bread made of maize: and you will have but a faint idea of the manners and way of life of these men, who are strangers to the customs of all nations, and acknowledge no laws but what they have enacted for themselves. Their testimonies of friendship are shouts; their quarrels vociferations; their arms knives; their vengeance blood. What other motives than guilt and shame can have induced them to adopt this kind of life? What but a hardened conscience can cause them to adhere to it? .... On calculating their resources, since they subsist they must be industrious; if they are industrious, why exile themselves from their country, to which it would seem that more

means of subsistence ought to attach them? Indeed these wretched creatures would produce horror, did they not excite pity.

We have been in the road for two days, and have as yet seen the famous Peak only at a great distance and in a hazy atmosphere. I am impatient to ascend it: but as it is eight leagues from Santa Cruz, and we are ignorant of the road, the governor will doubtless smooth for us the difficulties of the journey. Our commander has written him a very flattering letter, acquainting him with the object of our expedition. The Frenchman, who acts as consul, assures us with an arch smile that the governor will not return any answer. As we were told at Gibraltar that it was General Palafox, I was puzzled to account for his silence: bravery is not incompatible with politeness*. But the consul, in naming Don Pedro de Laborias, gives us other reasons †. 'The governor cannot write.'—'But his secretary?'—'He cannot write either.'—That alters the case. O worthy representatives of a nation!

Is ours better represented at Teneriffe? And is not the disrespectful silence observed in regard to us an insult offered to our flag?

Our astronomers are going to make their observations at the Lazaretto, about half a league from the city. A row of small flints separates the sick from the inhabitants ‡. A soldier of the garrison, carrying on his shoulder a weapon somewhat resembling a musket, is stationed there to watch over the public safety. He eats as he walks a ball of dough which he kneads in his hand. 'What are you eating, comrade?'—'Bread.' [I strive in

* It will be recollected that it was Palafox who so heroically defended Saragossa during the late war.

† We were assured at Brazil that Don Pedro de Laborias is a lover and patron of the sciences. He took us, it seems, for a parcel of blockheads.

‡ The Lazaretto was empty at the time we were at Teneriffe.

vain to persuade myself that he is not deceiving me.] 'Is it good?' 'Excellent; taste it.' [I endeavour to swallow it at the risk of choking myself.] 'What is your pay?'—'This bread.'—'And how much in money?'—'Nothing.'—'Have you then no money?'—'For ten reals I would walk round the island.'—'Will you accept this half-piastre to drink my health?'—'It is too much; people would think I had stolen it.'—'Take it.'—'I'faith, sir, I am afraid lest you should not repeat your generous offer: ten thousand thanks.'

A look from one of our grenadiers would disperse the piquet that has just come to relieve guard. .... These are not Spaniards.

When I see two or three irregular forts, so situated as to be easily bombarded; when I perceive only a low wall on the heights that command the town; when I know that by means of boats a landing may be easily effected in any part of the island, I ask myself how it was possible that Nelson, whose reputation was so colossal, should have left here one of his arms, all his small craft, his colours, and his best men, without making himself master of Santa Cruz.

LETTER XIII.

Santa Cruz, October 24th, 1817.

WE are doomed to a week's quarantine, and I have great doubts whether our stay will be long enough to allow us to ascend the famous Peak, or to make excursions into the interior of the island. I am employing my leisure moments in inquiries concerning the original inhabitants of this archipelago, and the events which subjected them to the crown of Spain.

John de Bethencourt, a fortunate adventurer, seconded by a

few Normans and Gascons, reduced Lanzerota, Fortaventura, and Gomera, in 1402. His attempts on the adjacent islands were not so successful, since the Great Canary and Teneriffe were not subdued till eighty years later, with a great effusion of blood, owing to the heroic defence of the Guanches, the first inhabitants of all these islands. The king of France was too much engaged by his wars with England to afford any assistance to his chamberlain, whom he forgot, believing him to be in hell; because Teneriffe was then denominated *Infierno*, probably on account of its volcanos. Henry III., king of Castille, furnished him with succours, after which the Pope sent him a bishop, and acknowledged him a feudatory king to the Holy See, and vassal to the sovereign who had supported and crowned him.

It may be remarked by the way that the great geniuses of all ages have rarely found support in their own countries; and that many discoveries due to hardihood and perseverance have been achieved under foreign patronage. Death alone restores a great man to his country.

M. Bory de Saint Vincent, whose extraordinary zeal and prodigious industry have placed him in the rank of our most distinguished writers, has given in his great work entitled *Essays on the Fortunate Islands*, which he composed at the age of twenty years, a complete history of the Peak of Teneriffe, regarded in every point of view. He has recapitulated all that had been previously written, adding to these accounts, which he has compared and discussed, his own observations, together with a very extensive catalogue of the zoological, botanical, and mineralogical productions of Teneriffe. In this island and in the neighbouring archipelago he discovers the real Mount Atlas of antiquity; the Hesperides and their gardens, adorned with golden apples; the Gorgons and the abode of their queen Medusa; the Elysian fields; the Purpurarian islands; and lastly the Atlantis of Plato, and

the cradle of that Atlantean nation, which civilized, after it had conquered the earth, but whose monuments have been destroyed and its memory swept away by volcanic eruptions. 'The western archipelagoes of the ancient continent,' says he, at the conclusion of his excellent work, 'exhibit therefore to us the relics of a celebrated region, whose wealth, cities, and monuments the greedy ocean has engulphed. The Guanches, who inhabited the principal of these archipelagoes, were no doubt the last scions of those sons of Atlas who enlightened the world, sometimes as fugitives, at others as conquerors. No nation therefore had a more respectable origin than that of which the Spaniards have left no vestiges save the mummies of their ancestors. Nothing is now left of the Atlantis but rocks and volcanoes, scattered over an immense ocean; nothing is left of its inhabitants but a name famous in antiquity, and some uncertain traces that are enveloped in ever-increasing darkness. Such will be the fate of the nations of the present day. Nations, like generations, grow old and are swept away. One of these great revolutions, which from time to time convulse the surface of the globe, may overthrow those states to which our pride cannot perceive an end. Scarcely will there then be left a faint tradition of our glory and of our disasters: new nations will in their turn meditate on our ruins, and inquire whether Europe ever existed.'

It is possible that M. Bory de Saint Vincent may meet with some impugners of his theory; but if he errs, it is difficult to do so with greater eloquence.

M. de Humboldt (and the indulgent friendship with which I am honoured by him emboldens me to mention a name rendered illustrious by such extensive attainments, and so many labours,) M. de Humboldt has visited the Peak of Teneriffe and its crater. Is not this as much as to say, that in neither is there any thing left to explore?

LETTER XIV.

At Sea, in latitude 4° North.

A GRAY cloud, the forerunner of a storm, appears on the horizon; it rises rapidly, charged with hail, spreads itself out afar, covers great part of the sky, darkens the atmosphere, and diffuses a sulphureous smell. A dull, hollow roaring soon announces to the attentive mariner the impending danger ..... The merry songs have ceased, and are succeeded by an alarming silence. The danger is measured with a glance. The captain speaks; the men fly to obey his orders. The furled sails no longer catch the wind, which roars and howls among the rigging: the ship gradually yields to the rapid motion of the billows. Perched on the tops of the masts, and at the extremities of the yards, the sailors display redoubled boldness. An order is scarcely given before it is executed. They are no longer those faint-hearted cowards, described by barbarous historians as trembling at the approach of danger; they are, on the contrary, intrepid mariners, whom the combined elements are incapable of appalling. Whether touching the clouds, or at the bottom of the abyss, they are constantly the same; and they care as little for the thunderbolt as for the sunken rock. But the uproar increases; the cloud hovers over the vessel; wave dashes against wave; lightnings rend the cloud; from its murky sides burst torrents of wind and hail. The ship is carried away. The rapidity of its motions prevents any attempt to counteract them; and the profoudest darkness would render such an attempt useless. The roaring of the waves; the pealing of the thunder; the howl-

ing of the cordage; the cracking of the tackle, drown the voice: none is heard save that of the tempest.

But the wind subsides; light returns; the thunder rolls at a distance; the ear calmly follows its reverberations; the seaman with weary hand points to the flashing lightning, now too distant to alarm him; he forgets in a trice the dangers he has just escaped, and seems by his renewed songs to provoke fresh perils.

I know not, my friend, whether I have given you a faint idea of a storm which overtook us to-day in the fourth degree of north latitude. Ah! what a delightful picture of Paris could I have drawn for you! Our gentry, however, say, that it was only a squall.

LETTER XV.

At Sea, November 15th, 1817.

IN every circle, in every society, in every party of pleasure that is at all numerous, there is a privileged person, round whom the others collect, who attracts all eyes, who is the centre, as it were, of their amusements, and whose absence leaves a void which it is difficult to fill. A person of this kind, indeed, sometimes tires, because his loquacity, stimulated by incessant questions, frequently generates mere gossip, destitute of wit or interest; but these moments of insipidity are readily forgiven, since they are compensated by hours filled with amusing anecdotes and curious particulars, stored up by a retentive memory, and embellished by an active and frolicsome imagination.

Our crew possess the inestimable advantage of having among them two of these indefatigable talkers, named Petit and Marchais, who have gone through a thousand hardships, against which a weak mind could not have borne up. Privations, war, and its fatigues, the inclemency of climates, shipwrecks, imprisonment in an enemy's country, and the sufferings consequent upon it; days devoted to the most toilsome occupations, uncertainty in regard to the future, have not affected their happy disposition. They relate the torments they have undergone, without heaving a single sigh, and with the same jocund manner in which they call to mind an hour of pleasure or rather of rest. To hear them, you would suppose that they were expressly created for these fatigues; that these sufferings were, if I may so express it, their element; that they were habituated to them from childhood; and that they would have felt a want of something if they had been happy. They describe their stratagems and their resources against *ennui* or afflictions; and in their unstudied language reason always finds a sort of austere philosophy which astonishes and subdues.

My delight on board—and many of my comrades loved to share it with me—was, in fine evenings, to approach the forecastle, and to listen attentively to the whimsical eloquence of these two story-tellers: and how many young seamen have with me sacrificed hours of sleep to the magic attraction which they threw around them! Pleasure is an excellent substitute for rest. The habit of adversity had caused them to acquire the habit of narration; and you would have supposed that they were reading all the details with which their memory presented them. The most melancholy, or the most alarming scenes, were described with the most humorous expressions; and their language formed a perfect contrast to their misfortunes. The more

heartily the auditor laughed, the more severe had been the sufferings of the narrator.

Seamen have a language of their own; a dictionary peculiar to themselves: the nautical terms with which they interlard their narratives produce a truly burlesque effect. They colour what we merely sketch; and their style is a series of images always correct and always striking.

I cannot tell you how necessary such men are on board a ship, especially in a voyage of such length as ours. In the midst of ocean the hours pass slowly away; and gratitude is due to those who accelerate their course.

At twelve last night I was on the quarter-deck. I heard on the forecastle immoderate bursts of laughter. "Poor fellow!" cried I, involuntarily, and went towards the part from which the noise proceeded. A second story followed the first, which was just finished; a third succeeded, and then a fourth; and I did not perceive that half the night was gone, till the bell summoned a fresh party of seamen upon the deck. I must confess, however, that this time I was not very happy; for, excepting the hardships which one of them had undergone while a prisoner of war, and the account of which deeply interested us, their stories were not of the most entertaining kind: but since the weather is fine, the heat tempered by a refreshing breeze, and I have no drawings to employ myself upon, I will repeat the last with which we were treated: Petit is the narrator.

'On board I know not what ship, which was sailing to I know not what quarter, there was, among other passengers, I know not what ecclesiastic, whose courage had probably never been put to the test. At the distance of fifty leagues from land, (and this idea alone was sufficient to terrify the priest), a tremendous storm overtook the ship, and tossed her about: the

abbé's heart leaped up and down like a piece of shark in a boiling pot. He went upon deck, and, affrighted by the extreme height of the waves, and the violence of the wind, he fell upon his knees. The sailors, after using their utmost efforts, perceiving that they were to no purpose, ran to the liquors and got drunk. The ecclesiastic read the fatal sentence in the faces of the terrified officers, and his tears flowed in torrents: 'Down on your knees!' cried he to the crew, as loud as he could bawl: 'on your knees!' and each, while at prayer, expected the vessel to founder. The storm increased in violence: 'Ah, father!' said the captain, in despair, 'Give us your blessing: we shall sup to-night with the angels!' 'God forbid!' cried the ecclesiastic: 'for my part, I am not at all hungry!'

Do you think he told truth?

LETTER XVI.

Crossing the Line.

I HAVE no doubt, that if we were to investigate the cause of all the gay and burlesque ceremonies instituted since the commencement of civilization in Europe, we should find them to originate in fear or in religion. It was religion that gave rise among us to the most tumultuous festival that engages the fickle Parisians. Every body is acquainted with the History of the Nuns of Longchamps, and the motive which drew the curious to that quarter; and we see what has resulted from this habit of visiting the place, which must originally be ascribed to a religious cause.

The navigators who first crossed that imaginary line which is

called the equator, alarmed at the distance which separated them from their country, and the dangers to which their audacity exposed them, sought by vows and prayers to propitiate the favour of Heaven. In the narratives of their voyages they devoted a few lines to the record of their fears, and of the consolations which they had experienced. Their successors imitated their conduct in every thing, and especially in the moment of danger. But little reliance is to be placed on promises made at such moments; and all the good resolutions then formed vanish with the fears which gave them birth. When, therefore, the science of navigation had, by new discoveries, and voyagers, by a boldness equally astonishing, diminished apprehensions by smoothing difficulties, the prayers of mariners became less ardent, and their vows less frequent. By degrees they became accustomed to hardships, and surmounted them with greater ease and courage. As soon as they dared to suppose them less formidable, they dared to consider them as next to nothing: a thousand examples of successful hardihood strengthened their confidence. Hence the first institutions were forgotten; and hence the raillery bestowed on the imaginary fears of the first navigators. The day on which they were to cross the equator was expected with impatience. The more the dangers had been magnified, the less they seemed to dread them. This day they devoted in an especial manner to diversion, to the oblivion of their toils; and as all customs over which folly presides are more permanent than those sanctioned by reason and good sense, the consequence is, that the latter have given place to the former, and will, doubtless, subsist so long as there shall be seamen.

The importance attached to our expedition did not exempt us from the rule; and I shall proceed to give you some account of the ceremonies which marked that day on board our vessel.

On the preceding day, the movements of the sailors, who were engaged in studying their respective parts, gave us the assurance of mirth. The serenest atmosphere seemed to promise them a fine day. We were doubly pleased, both in the prospect of our own amusement, and in the likelihood that the efforts of the crew would not be disappointed.

Their costumes are prepared; folly shakes his bells from the tops, and every actor responds by a smile or a nod. ..... How little is required to gladden the heart of the unfortunate! In the evening, while we were at our dessert, the repeated cracking of a whip announced the commencement of the ceremony. We instantly rose and went upon deck. A gruff voice, swelled by an enormous speaking-trumpet, called the captain. The officer of the watch sent to inform him that he was wanted; and M. Freycinet, previously acquainted with the routine of the ceremony, replied, in a humble and subdued tone, that he was ready to receive the envoy of *his Majesty of the Line.* Fresh cracks of a whip proclaimed the arrival of the messenger, who handed to the captain a letter, a model of eloquence, which his majesty's secretary had previously allowed me to read. More discreet than he was, I shall not communicate it to you; for it is always dangerous to betray the secrets of courts.

M. Freycinet read the letter, bestowed sincere praises on the writer, and asked the envoy whence he came. 'From Toulon,' replied he hastily; and blushing at his blunder, he added: 'I have come a great way, and it is exceedingly hot.'—'Oh! I understand you; a jug of water for the courier!'—'Many thanks to your honour; if I accept any thing, it will only be something to drink.' After a slight libation, which the other actors nevertheless envied him, he gaily returned to the aërial court, carrying to his master the answer of the captain.

An abundant shower from the buckets that were in the tops

punished the sailors on deck for their curiosity, while a deluge of hail, represented by Turkey corn, was reserved for us. Our fowls and ducks, which were put that day on short allowance, were the only creatures on board that had reason to dislike the festival.

The great day at length arrived. Very early in the morning the rusty trumpets were scoured, and with their piercing din alarmed the inmates of the deep. The whips cracked; hammers struck the anvil in quick succession, and finished the crown destined for the king, and the chains for his enemies. The skins of two sheep, killed the preceding day, served for the robes of his majesty; and his royal consort, the ugliest man among the whole crew, concealed her charms by petticoats made of five or six handkerchiefs of different colours. Two melons of unequal size, to which the amorous eyes of the monarch were wistfully directed, embellished her delicate bosom. The three-cornered hat of our indulgent chaplain covered the head of the notary; though I cannot tell why there should be notaries every where. Two asses supported the king—their parts had been warmly disputed, and they were not conferred till the candidates for them had given proofs of their capacity. Lucifer, with his crooked beak and long claws, chained and beaten with a broomstick, three feet long and two inches in diameter, strove to escape; but being prevented by the water, with which he was inundated by the priest, selected from among the least sober of the sailors, he gnawed his chains, and terrified with his roaring the daughter of the king, who threw herself on her mother's breast, and bit it with voracity. Eight armed soldiers closed the procession.

'Are you cold?' said we to the man who personated the King of the Line, on observing him shiver. 'No, my lads,' replied he, 'I am almost smothered in my skins; but it is customary for me to tremble.' His wife, his daughter, nay even Lucifer himself,

trembled, and we laughed among ourselves at their grotesque costume, and at this practice, which seemed still more grotesque.

All had by this time taken their places; the notary opened the fatal list, in which were inscribed the names of the profane who had not yet passed the line. An enormous tub, half full of water, to which was adapted a swing for sitting in, gave us notice that the ablutions would be frequent and serious.

In vain did the king of the line enjoin silence, which a whistle from the boatswain instantly obtained. The name of Captain Freycinet was proclaimed. He was asked if his ship had already had the honour to pass the line; and on his answer in the negative, four soldiers went up to the windlass, and with hatchets struck the mast near which it was placed. A few pieces of money, dropped by the captain, appeased the wrath of the monarch, and stopped the blows of the soldiers. What prodigies this magic metal every where performs!

The other officers came next; and each, as he answered the priest, was required to swear never to *kiss* a sailor's wife. To *kiss* was not precisely the term employed, but I substitute it for a more ticklish expression, used by the sailor-priest, to signify *nearly* the same thing. One of our number, by way of joke, desired the oath to be repeated to him a second time, but without pronouncing it himself, as if apprehensive lest he should break it. 'You run no risk,' said the too indulgent parson to him in a whisper; 'swear at any rate. Oaths have long been in fashion; you know what they are worth by the yard; and when there is need for it, I promise you a total absolution. Swear, to satisfy my neighbours;' added he; 'for my part, I am determined to continue a bachelor.'

Decorum, which must be kept up even in the least serious matters, forbade that any of us should receive the total ablution. Perhaps our liberality abated the temptation to laugh at our

expense. Be this as it may, that part of the ceremony was reserved for the sailors, who, seated over the large tub, were in a moment plunged into it, and could not extricate themselves without the utmost efforts and the most grotesque contortions.

But an unexpected incident suspended the ceremony, and excited murmurs. Each looked at the other, inquiring what was the matter, and learned with astonishment that one of the uninitiated, proud of the office which he held on board, refused to submit to the established practice; and that, armed with a formidable weapon, he was preparing to repel the attack of all the combined devils and their thousand prongs. All hurried to the spot, and in the kitchen our astonished eyes beheld a hero. Such appeared the great Ajax of yore, when, with javelin poised, he checked the progress of Hector and his victorious Trojans. His left foot was planted on a carronade, which served for a rampart to the culinary hero: the white cap of his profession covered his radiant head, and defended his brow, befeathered with the down of his innocent victims. An apron, of equivocal colour, was gracefully thrown over the shoulder of the pursued warrior, and resembled a drapery *à la Grecque*. His eyes flashed indignation; and his face and attitude expressed impatience for the fight. In his hand he held a pointed spit, whereon was impaled a meagre turkey, which, with his head turned toward the assailants of his executioner, seemed to bid them beware of the traitor, and to fear a fate similar to his own. In vain did the pipes of the pumps drench the unruly cook with salt water, which mingled with the sauces he had prepared, without making them any the worse; in vain were threats pronounced on all sides: firm as a rock amid the dashing billows, his eyes still flashed defiance. 'I will certainly dispatch some of you,' at length cried he, in a voice of thunder: 'and were you twenty times as numerous, you shall not make me submit to the ignominious laws

which you have been pleased to establish, and from the operation of which my resolution shall exempt me. No; I would not have paid obeisance to Gessler's hat or to Caligula's horse; no, I will not be *baptized*. What right have you to attack, on his own hearth, a man whose every moment is devoted to the happiness of his fellows, who delights their palates, who is ever burning for their welfare with a fire which ought to secure him from so unlooked-for an attack, from so gross an insult? And thou, proud Chaumont, thou whom I see the most eager in persecuting me, say, ingrate, canst thou, without blushing, join this coward herd, and fall foul of him whom gratitude should teach thee to respect? How often, in spite of the orders I had received (for who can boast of being the first in the world), how often have I permitted thee to dip thy pitchy fingers into the concavity of my stewpans! Unthankful wretch! is this the reward for my kindness—is this the recompense which thy gratitude reserved for me? Alas! that virtue of great minds has not found a place in thy obdurate heart. Insensible to my favours, thou now burnest with impatience to plunge me in an ignominious tub. In return, I will set thee an example of generosity. Come thou—come all ye, who, like him, have shared my bounty, though not so frequently—come, bind these unresisting arms; I will neither fight nor defend myself. Let him among you, who has not partaken of my profusion, stand forth, and be the first to lay hands on one, whom neither chains nor dungeons can dishonour!' He spake, and relinquished his long spit, which quivered, till the rage of Mars and the weight of the turkey had ceased to operate upon it.

The assailants were thunderstruck: they looked at each other, cast down their eyes, blushed, and slunk away. Thus did the great Germanicus of old, by firm and generous language, overawe his mutinous troops; and thus did the Grecian orator move at pleasure the hearts of the Athenians, when, timid and pusilla-

nimous, they were afraid to encounter Philip, their conqueror and implacable enemy.

The crowd has dispersed, and order is restored. Lucifer has again become a good devil; the monarch an active boatswain; the priest a jolly tar, who is fond of good cheer; each of the actors has re-assumed his real character. The atmosphere is covered with thick clouds; they are stimulating each other to the performance of their duties, and counteracting, by their prudence and activity, the violence of the winds.

P. S. LAURI *sacra fames!* to what dost thou not expose feeble mortals! Truth compels me to inform you, that inflated with such glorious success, our illustrious cook, on our arrival at Rio Janeiro, felt his heart inflamed anew with military ardour; and that in the plains of La Plata he is perhaps now seeking nobler victims than those which he has hitherto immolated. How often is it the case that a single moment makes a hero!

LETTER XVII.

Rio Janeiro, December 6th, 1817.

THE enlightened traveller, desirous of studying, in journeys more or less rapid, the manners of the nations of Europe, and of the wildest tribes of Asia and Africa, is led to the discovery of truth by easier routes than those which the enterprising navigator, who visits countries to which ocean seems to forbid access, is obliged to pursue. Every thing directs the former; every step furnishes him with a new observation, every look with the means of developing it. He finds with greater facility the causes of the superiority of one nation over another, and discusses them with

more certainty. The country which he has just quitted affords him a thousand resources for pointing out the contrasts he perceives in that which he is entering; and the splendour or the fall of one nation explains the reason of the decline or the grandeur of its rival. When he descends to particulars, how many valuable discoveries has he not opportunities of making! a stone frequently acquaints him with the history of a province; every object communicates some information to the eye of the intelligent observer. Truth is not disguised in nature as in the palaces of sovereigns; and the history of the monuments of a country is frequently that of the people by whom it is inhabited.

The navigator, on the other hand, who, after a long voyage, arrives in a country that is new to him, cannot, at the first glance, discover the cause of practices which astonish, or of manners which strike him. He has nothing but memory to guide him in his researches: there is no point of comparison: he has arrived alone, as it were, in an unknown country; and while with inquisitive eye he attentively and silently surveys the places which are the theatre of his observations, he alone is an object of curiosity to the people whom he has come to study; he alone is extraordinary in a country where every thing appears to him extraordinary.

Let us suppose that I set out to-day from Paris for Petersburgh, Constantinople, Ispahan: I perceive every moment a change of country; every moment I observe new things, and remark slight differences; the countries and their history are spread out at the same time before me; and I am conducted, step by step, to the place of my destination. If I find myself in a country differing in every respect from mine, nothing at least can astonish me: as soon as I have perceived the first difference, I must naturally suppose the others as inevitable consequences.

In this voyage, on the contrary, I seem to have flown to a country where every thing claims my observation. Every thing is there; I cannot abstract myself from it;—what surrounds me is as novel as what strikes me: in vain I seek an asylum, I am and must remain insulated. Yesterday I quitted a civilized country; to-day I find myself in a savage region: yesterday I considered revenge as a base passion, and unworthy of man; to-day people strive to persuade me that it is a sublime virtue. Let us divest ourselves of prejudices, let us judge with caution, proceed with circumspection, and merely say: I have seen.—I have touched.

I am in Brasil*, two thousand leagues from my country. Such was my first thought on awakening. With a heavy heart, I went upon deck: a smile of satisfaction played upon my lips,—my heart expanded; the thoughts of my native country were dispelled by the diversified scenery that met my view.

A city of enchanting appearance,—a vast and secure harbour,—a forest of masts,—the bustle of commerce,—the wild songs of the blacks on board the craft,—fishing vessels,—quarrels among the boatmen,—an unknown language,—fruits that were new to me. I admired every thing, I enjoyed every thing.

If, after a fatiguing voyage of more than three months, the sight of land fills the mind of the navigator with joy; if a bare rock appears, at the first glance, an agreeable abode, what delight must he not experience when his eye rests on smiling plains, covered with rich verdure and a luxuriant vegetation; on lofty mountains crowned with immense forests, clothed in a livery of a thousand colours!

After losing sight of the naked rock of Gibraltar, I had no-

* We had the misfortune to kill one of our gunners in firing a salute. One of our best seamen, named Astier, leaped into the sea and brought on board his comrade, who expired in a few hours.

thing to divert me from the melancholy spectacle of the uncultivated shores of Africa, but the black, channelled and volcanic mountains of Teneriffe. I shall never again behold any country that is like my own, cried I, while a tear hung upon my eye-lashes. Ah! how beautiful did it then appear,—that country to which my imagination and my wishes are incessantly carrying me back! Not only was it embellished by absence, but also by the contrast of its richness with the poverty of the scenes before me. Even now that I enjoy the view of a country on which nature has lavished her bounty, I blush at the emotion I feel; my heart flies back to my country, and I demand of all that surrounds me, the valleys of the Pyrennees, my family and the friends of my juvenile years.

LETTER XVIII.

Rio Janeiro, December 10*th*, 1817.

NATURE has not denied Brasil any thing that is necessary to the life of man, and has profusely bestowed on it whatever can gratify his tastes and flatter his vanity. Its soil produces abundance of exquisite fruits, among which the fig, the orange, the pine-apple and the mango are most esteemed. Its mountains contain diamonds and other precious stones. Its seas abound in fish, and are not subject to the hurricanes which ravage the West India islands, Bourbon, the Isle of France, and almost all the colonies. Its rivers, impregnated with gold-dust, carry fertility into valleys embellished with a thousand colours and a thousand useful productions. Its climate, though hot, is attempered by frequent rains; which, while they cool the air, pre-

vent epimedic disorders, confer a gayer tint on vegetation, feed the springs, render their waters wholesome, and invigorate man, who between the tropics requires all these advantages, all this variety, to enable him to endure the heat of the consuming sun.

Rio Janeiro, or January River, formerly called St. Sebastian de Rio Janeiro, the chief town of the Capitania, to which it has given its name, is likewise the seat of the governor and the present residence of the King of Portugal*. Its road was discovered in 1593, by Dias de Solis, 93 years after the discovery of Brasil by Alvaras Cabral, a native of Portugal as well as Dias. It is situated in 45° 38′ east longitude, and 22° 54′ south latitude.

It is to the Portuguese nation, now so fallen from its ancient splendour, that we owe a great part of the most perilous discoveries. The names of Dias, of Cabral, of Vasco de Gama, and many other celebrated navigators, are nevertheless unknown to the majority of the Brasilians; and by such as are acquainted with them, they are mentioned but slightingly or with derision. That nation appears very little in my eyes which is not proud of having produced such men.

I shall form my estimate of the Portuguese, my dear friend, by those whom I shall find at Rio; and the nation will gain by it. With the king, the flower of the Portuguese nobility quitted Lisbon, instead of defending themselves; and it is to a country, where every thing attests their ancient courage and achievements, that these degenerate offspring of the Lusitanians fled to hide their shame and to avow their discomfiture.

Without influence, without recommendation, shall we be permitted to see what is called good company? Will the name of Frenchman prefer any claim to the kindness of the people of this country? Have they forgiven our ancient successes, or have

* It will be recollected that this was written in 1817.

they forgotten them? We shall soon know. I hasten to our consul, M. Maller. He is my countryman, I am told; but I cannot believe it. The French consul is a colonel, without a regiment, in the army of John VI.; he is a perfect Portuguese. Let us knock at other doors, and call upon our merchants!.... Some of them are wealthy, estimable, and generous; they admit us with pleasure; we find none but French at their houses; a Portuguese is rarely seen there. Is it fear, respect, or rivalship, that keeps them aloof? No; it is pride.... And where can pride have nestled?—Among heaps of gold and precious stones. Now for a visit to our *marchandes des modes.* These ladies are rather too French; at their houses, indeed, you see none but Brasilians: but are their circles entitled to the appellation of *good company?* No: the Brasilians have gold and diamonds, and we are aware that our priestesses of fashion are very fond of diamonds and gold. It is right that there should be some compensation: and since the dames of Rio are indebted to our countrywomen for the elegance of their dress, I cannot see why any one should find fault with them for taking jewels in exchange for their industry. Their number, however, is increasing with a rapidity so alarming, that there is reason to fear that they will injure one another in their trade. The most discreet, I mean the most cunning of them, have already relinquished their shops and returned to France, to display before the dazzled eyes of their countrymen the wealth which they have contrived to amass. Let those who are impatient to enter upon the same career consider well of it before they undertake so long a voyage: the enthusiasm of the Brasilians has cooled; and to the mortification of finding themselves slighted would be added the no less painful disappointment of the brilliant expectations with which they cheered themselves during their fatiguing voyage.

The very first day you arrive in a strange country you are desirous to see and to make yourself acquainted with every thing. I admired at a distance the magnificent aqueduct which crowns the city and the harbour, and which is itself overlooked by the Corcovado, a mountain of picturesque appearance, enriched by all the treasures of bountiful Nature. I inquired the way thither, and a civil Portuguese offered to conduct me as far as the convent of St. Theresa, whither he was going to see his sister. I accepted his offer with pleasure; he spoke pretty good French, and told me the names of the streets and of the principal buildings which adorn them. He also pointed out to me the remarkable persons who passed us, and with whom he seemed to be acquainted.—'That is a countryman of yours,' said he to me when we came to the Place of Rocio.—'He seems to be very poor.'—'Ah, Sir, that is because he is a Frenchman.'—'But I have seen Frenchmen who are very rich.'—'This is a member of the Institute; and a man will not make his fortune by science at Rio. There is another Parisian,' added he, pointing to a young dandy who was driving a very handsome chaise; 'he is rich too.'—'Of course he is not a man of science.'—'No, Sir; he is *coiffeur* to the court.'—'That profession then is a lucrative one.'—'You see it is: M..... has a very handsome wife.'

We had reached the convent of St. Theresa. In vain would the painter or historian endeavour to convey an idea of the view enjoyed from this religious elevation. Whatever is most fascinating in art, and most sublime in the productions of talent, would exhibit but a faint representation of it. At your feet clumps of orange-trees, decked with golden fruit; on the right the Sugar-Loaf, a naked peak, which seems to indicate to the navigator the spot where he is to recruit himself after his toils;

vessels sailing in all directions, and ploughing that immense ocean, which retains no traces of their triumphant course*; before you on the other side of the bay a monastery dedicated to *Notre Dame de Bon Voyage*, seated on the very hill whence death was dealt at the time of the glorious expedition of Duguay Trouin†; farther off mountains covered with luxuriant vegetation, and whose gentle undulations form an admirable contrast with those sharp and jagged peaks, which Nature seems to have placed there as a barrier against the ravages of Ocean; a city interspersed with hills, on which rise small white buildings of fantastic architecture; a considerable number of islets, scattered over the harbour, to afford shelter to vessels threatened by tempests; an immense forest of masts and flags of all colours incessantly in motion—and two paces from you silence and repose.... I could not divert my eyes or my thoughts from this delicious view. My guide had quitted me, and I was scarcely aware of his departure.

I tore myself with difficulty from this magnificent panorama, and pursued my way to the aqueduct. On reaching the picturesque cascade which supplies it, and which is called *Mai d'agoas*, mother of waters, I looked back and asked myself,

* Navigators in the offing, who wish to find the entrance of the harbour, have only to look on the coast for what is termed the *Reclined Giant;* because the contours of the mountains actually exhibit the likeness of a man lying on his back. The foot of the Giant is the Sugar-Loaf, which forms the southern point of the entrance of Rio.

† When Duguay Trouin returned from his expedition, the people thronged around to see and to congratulate him. One day a lady of rank inquired the cause of a great crowd collected in a street: she was told that they were following Duguay Trouin. She hastened away, pushed through the multitude, and was soon by the side of the admiral. 'Be not surprised at my curiosity,' said she; 'I am tired of looking at statues, and am anxious to admire a living hero.'—'Go to the Louvre then,' replied Duguay Trouin.

whether this was a Roman work, and whether it was really the soil of Brasil on which I stood.

This remarkable structure is composed of two ranges of arcades, one above the other, forty-two in number in the upper story. These arcades form a communication between two hills, and are attached to a low building, provided with loop-holes to admit air to the water, and extending upwards of a league and a half along the side of the mountains to the foot of the Corcovado.

The heat was most oppressive; and though near a pleasing cascade, and under the agreeable shade of a *bertholettia*, I durst not sit down to rest myself for fear of the numerous reptiles, against which I had been warned. I therefore took the road towards a little cottage that was painted green, surrounded by a trellis, seated on an eminence which could not but command a delicious view of the country. Having in vain called the slaves, whom I supposed to be about the cottage, I entered. Judge what was my astonishment, when the first object that met my view was a portrait, of the natural size and well executed, representing a French general. His bosom was decorated with the insignia of several orders. He held a letter in his hand; and on the table lay plans of a fortified city and of a port. His look was severe, and his physiognomy strongly marked.

While I was reflecting on the singularity of my situation, I felt a tap on the shoulder; and an old man, overcome with fatigue and resting on a spade, asked me in French who I was, and what was my business. I explained to him the accident that had brought me thither, and in my turn inquired the name of the person who was represented on the canvas. 'That man,' said he, 'has been a French general, aid-de-camp to Napoleon, and governor in both hemispheres. He once enjoyed honours, dignities, and consideration; now he has lost them all. He has

fled from the hatred of men, the tumult of cities, and the intrigues of courts, and come hither to die far from every thing that attached him to life. His hand has ceased to wield the sword; his bosom is stripped of the marks of honour; the pains, occasioned by numerous wounds, alone remind him of his successes and of his glory. The soldier, whom you see on that canvas, is now a husbandman and a charcoal-burner: it is General Hogendorp*; it is myself!' I involuntarily pressed the hand of the veteran, and conducted him to his arm-chair.

How exile alters men! I could scarcely persuade myself that I beheld the noble warrior whose features I was admiring a few minutes before. They were shrivelled and shrunk: how much he must have suffered!

'You seem tired,' said he, a moment before my departure; 'take a glass of my thin orange-wine: I wish I could offer you bread; but the French general has none to-day.' My heart ached, and I retired.

I am yet ignorant what motive induced him to quit France, and to fix his abode in Brasil. So much, however, I know, that he was once powerful, rich, and esteemed; and that he is now poor, forlorn, and beneficent. I leave him with regret; but I shall visit him again, for he loves to hear me talk about my country, which was likewise his own†.

* It was Napoleon himself who gave him the picture.

† The Brasil newspapers have lately informed us that the prince-royal had paid a visit to General Hogendorp to ask his advice. This procedure is equally honourable to both.

LETTER XIX

Rio Janeiro.

I HAVE seen some large houses, and am convinced that they are not the places for studying the manners of Brasil. Not the least discussion; every body there seems to be of the same opinion; you would swear that the whole company is actuated by one mind and one soul. I never saw any thing more monotonous, more soporific, than the two companies in which I spent last evening and this. Almost every person spoke French, and yet I cannot tell on what the conversation turned. One unmeaning expression was succeeded by another still more unmeaning; and the formal, precise, and demure countenances of the parties only manifested a little animation at the sight of the tricks played by a monkey chained near the door of the room.

At the house of M. M..... G....., one of the directors of the bank, to which I was honoured with an invitation on Sunday last, I found at least rather more life. The company talked of Europe, and of the pleasures offered to strangers by London, Paris, or Vienna: they shook themselves, as it were, to keep awake: but I was astonished that in so large an assembly not a single word was dropped on politics. The generals descanted on their conquests—of fair ladies; the bankers on horse-races; the females on jewels and diamonds; the chamberlains on processions; the consuls said nothing: I was completely lost. A young Portuguese, who spoke French well, and who seemed to me, from his language, to deserve the deference that was paid him, answered my questions only by looks, on which I put a different interpretation from what he wished. At length, after

dinner, he came to me, and we had a conversation which explained to me the meaning of his signs.

'You must know,' said he, 'that it is here as extraordinary to hear any one start political topics in company, as it would be among you to abstain from them. Our power is so small, that we are persuaded very few people think any thing of us.' I attempted to refute his reasoning, and to insist on the importance of his nation; but he smiled at my endeavours, and replied only by recapitulating some circumstances of the different catastrophes which had brought him to Brasil, together with the flower of the Portuguese nobility.

'Judge not,' said he, 'of the love of the subjects to the sovereign by the number of the persons who accompanied him hither, though the virtues of the king would justify such a mark of affection. Some have been attracted to Brasil by the hopes of new favours; others have come that they might not lose those honours which they had already obtained: these have been instigated by fear—those by a love of disorder; and very few by attachment to the royal cause. Some persons, totally unconnected with the factions which overthrow empires, have been brought to Rio by nothing but a fatality which incessantly pursues them .....' My informant sighed, was silent for a few moments, and presently continued to give me the particulars which I solicited, in order to dispel the painful ideas that seemed to overpower him.

'Do not imagine that you will be able to form a judgment of the character of our nation in the short time that you have to spend at Rio. To study thoroughly the manners and customs of a country requires many years. All you can hope to do is, to glean a few characteristic traits. A nation, agitated as ours has been by years of disasters, may lose its primitive character;

and if I open the annals of my country, I find among our ancestors infinitely more virtues, and above all much fewer vices, than among my contemporaries. Whence arises this degeneracy?.... From ignorance and pride! It has been said in France, that 'the age of the fine arts, is the age of conquests.' This observation was true as regarded France, for France was victorious. The vanquished nation has nothing left for its share but ignominy and stupidity.

'To judge of the mass of the people by the great would be as erroneous as to judge of the great by the common people. All the great here are machines which a look or a gesture of the sovereign sets in motion. The powerful personages whom you find assembled in these apartments seem to you to be actuated by the same sentiments, by the same mind. Would that you could read their hearts! How many secrets there lie concealed! How many ambitious projects are there cherished! Look at that general, who presses with such affection the hand of his neighbour: to-morrow perhaps, at court, he will be his bitterest enemy. You observe the harmony and friendship which prevail between the two persons who are standing at that window: well, I have been informed upon unquestionable authority, that, victims to each other's intrigues, they yesterday lost the lucrative and honourable posts which they occupied. Without, all wears the appearance of serenity and peace, while continual storms rage within. How happy they appear in society; but how much to be pitied when alone and confined to themselves!'—'I can easily suppose,' said I, 'that all these persons disguise themselves at the court of Brasil, because a similar disguise is assumed at those of England, France, or Russia: but I cannot conceive why it should be worn in this room, out of sight of the sovereign.'—'Ah sir! not a word is spoken, not a motion made, in this com-

pany, but it is reported to-morrow at St. Christopher's in a thousand different ways. The king is as well acquainted with the most indifferent actions of those around him as he is with the number of tapers which decorate this or that church on any particular solemnity. If the people knew what it costs a man to maintain his ground at court; if they had the least idea of the pains and trouble he must take to learn to change his physiognomy, and to adapt it to the sentiments of those to whom he pays homage, how little would they envy those marks of distinction which they now admire—mere baubles which are scarcely ever won by valour or loyalty!

'Among your countrymen, it is by his qualities that a person whose name is not mentioned is almost always described; among us it is by his titles. At Paris you say, for instance, 'You know that young rattle-brain, so lively, so brave, so generous:' at Rio this language would not be understood. You must state the hour, the day, the house, when and where a person has been generous, brave, or lively; because all these sentiments were—or rather, because the mask which represents them was—put on or off, according to the interest of the wearer.

'So many animosities, base intrigues, and wicked calumnies, are nowhere else to be found. A man says, 'I love my sovereign;' he will be believed till he has conspired against the state. Not that the king is hated; on the contrary, he is generally beloved: and what sovereign better deserves the love of his subjects! But can we give the appellation of love of the sovereign to that almost universal apathy, manifested by all his subjects, in regard to the political events by which he is harassed and impoverished? Can those be said to love their sovereign who share his misfortunes, without striving to counteract the events in which they originated?

'You may perhaps regard me as an enemy of my country,'

said my obliging informant, by way of conclusion; 'but if you do, sir, you are mistaken. Vexations have, it is true, soured my temper: but it is impossible for me to disguise the truth, since fear has no power over me, and I disdain to seek or to receive favours.'

I thanked him for these details, and quitted the company at the moment when the general conversation turned on a *fête* which Viscount de R..... S..... intended soon to give in a church, and on which he meant to expend 6,000 francs (250*l.*) in tapers, and 10,000 francs (425*l.*) in fire-works.

The more these ceremonies cost, the more favourably those who institute them are received at court.

LETTER XX.

Rio Janeiro.

NO nation is so enslaved to pleasure as the Portuguese nation*. No nation is less ambitious of procuring honourable and useful pleasures. A man stretched in his hammock or on a sofa, engaged in counting the boards of his floor, or contemplating the trumpery designs of his tapestry, will assure you that he finds amusement in these occupations; just like him who said to me the other day in a public garden:—'I protest I am quite tired; I can go no farther; I have been walking very near a quarter of an hour; I shall stay at home for it to-morrow.'

There is a virgin here, called *Our Lady of Pleasure.* Her

* I say the Portuguese nation, though my judgment is formed only from the Portuguese settled in Brasil. I am assured that at Lisbon the nation is totally different, and I am almost inclined to believe so.

temple is Brasil; her sanctuary the hearts of the inhabitants. Some Portuguese, who have not degenerated, style her *Virgin of Repose*.

Here is no place of resort, no frequented promenade: all seek solitude as we do society. Before the arrival of the court at Rio, the Brasilians met in the public garden; and there, accompanied by the instruments of the country, they indulged in dancing and sports; which, at the same time that they gave to the young greater ease and grace, excited their emulation, and were calculated to kindle in them a spark of genius. But, alas! superiority in point of dress is unpardonable in the eyes of ladies, to whatever nation they belong. The Brasilians were covered with diamonds, by which the Portuguese dames were dazzled and shocked. Hence arose jealousy, discord, and the annihilation of all society. Every one now stays at home, and this is called *life**.

Scarcely an individual has any conception of a public ball. At the court nothing is danced but characteristic dances, performed by persons hired for the purpose, who moreover are very difficult to be found, though they are liberally paid. There are two French dancers here, both below mediocrity, and yet people go to the theatre merely to see and to applaud them. 'But,' said I one day to a person, 'has not your prince-royal the means of procuring the pleasures of Europe, of which he is so fond?'—'On the contrary, sir, his immense fortune is well laid out. He has equipages, is fond of hunting, active amusements, and military spectacles; he devotes himself with zeal and talent to affairs of state; he rides on horseback, not merely for the sake of scampering about, but for an useful end, and seems, by his bustling

* I am assured that at Bahia, and in particular at St. Paul, there are frequently very splendid balls.

and laborious life, to condemn the apathy of those about him. He is destined to act a great part. You have seen his consort—What do you think of her?'—'I think that the Brasilian females, who have the honour to approach her, must very often have reason to blush for their ignorance. There is scarcely any accomplishment to which she is a stranger; and there are few persons in Europe who study with equal success botany, entomology, mineralogy, and all the branches of natural history.'—'Such examples will not be lost upon my country. The day is, perhaps, not far distant, when we may feel pride in calling ourselves Brasilians; and this wish is cherished in more than one noble heart.'

LETTER XXI.

Rio Janeiro.

THE police is enforced at Rio with the greatest severity, and crimes are nevertheless extremely frequent there. How is this? because less pains are taken to prevent than to punish offences. The agents of this infernal police are every where admitted, every where entertained. They run in pursuit of a negro as we do in chase of a wolf. In concert with the other blood-hounds of the police, organised as military, and called the *king's guards*, they mutually instigate one another to cruelty. Not a day passes but some unfortunate wretch loses a limb through the barbarity of these butchers, who relate their exploits with a ferocious joy, and are so ambitious of surpassing one another, that to them ought probably to be attributed a great part of the murders which are committed here, and the perpetrators of which are sought in vain.

The appearance of Rio is delightful, and few cities of Europe can vie with it in regularity. I think it is larger than Lyons, and as it is diversified by small hills, planted with groves and gardens, the uniformity of the houses does not fatigue the eye. Almost all the streets are as straight as a line, and some of them are remarkably beautiful: those called Direita, Alfandega, Ourives, and Ouvidor, rival each other in richness. It is chiefly in the two latter that our *marchandes des modes* have their elegant shops, which is the same thing as to say that they are the most frequented.

The houses, though they have in general but one story, have a very neat appearance externally, owing to the balconies which adorn them. The arrangement of the interior is tasteless; and the dull and smoky apartments remind you of those of our Gothic chateaux. All the ground-floors are latticed, and these lattices would tend not a little to favour amorous intrigues, if love occasionally sojourned at Rio.

I had just finished reading Raynal, when I arrived at Brasil. I imagined myself transported to the seat of pleasure. How egregiously was I mistaken! Our philosopher, after describing the graces and the loveliness of the Brasilian females, gravely asserts, from his closet, that at night they throw flowers on the Europeans passing under their windows. Times are, alas! exceedingly altered: it is not with roses that the streets are now strewed.

We here meet with all the advantages arising from the state of a city that begins to be embellished, and all the disadvantages resulting from a city that is emerging from infancy, and increasing in extent. As to remarkable buildings, they are extremely rare. The Benedictine convent is the only one that is at all conspicuous. I was shown the royal palace, and I had to seek

it again: it may be compared to most of the houses of tradesmen in the rue St. Honoré.

The churches make no external appearance, excepting Nuestra Senhora de Candellaria, the front of which is rich and majestic. The city is divided into seven parishes. The chapel-royal, dedicated to St. Sebastian, and where canons officiate, is amazingly rich. Here it is, more particularly, that the taste of the nation may be appreciated, and from the enthusiasm with which the Portuguese speak of it, we may easily infer that it is the *ne plus ultra* of their creative genius. A spacious and elegant pew, in the choir, is set apart for the king, and the members of the royal family. Hither, on festivals, the people of Rio and foreigners resort to hear the dulcet notes of Italian *castrati*, who are the musicians of the chapel-royal, and are liberally paid.

Many of the streets are not paved, and others so wretchedly, that it would be better if they had been left untouched. In wet weather there are absolute pools in the public places; and unless a person have an itinerary of the paths that are not inundated, I doubt whether he would be able to extricate himself from the sloughs that cover the other passages. Officious negroes post themselves on such occasions at the corners of the streets, and for the *moderate* sum of eight or ten sous, carry you across in their arms, which are as black with mud as with their natural colour, and set you down on the other side. Sometimes, too, they pretend to slip, drop you in the midst of the mire, and laugh among themselves at your consequent embarrassment.

The city is embellished by three or four places or squares. The principal is that of Rocio, where the theatre, built by the king in 1805, is situated. In the centre of this area is a very elegant gibbet, surmounted by the arms of the kingdom, at the foot of which the nobles alone have the privilege of being be-



View of the Church of **La Gloria**
of Rio Janeiro.

headed. Some Brasilians even assert, that this gibbet ennobles: few commoners, I shrewdly suspect, have courted this favour. The other places are, St. Anne's, which is a mere market for cattle and horses, and that in front of the palace, which is every way worthy of the magnificence of that edifice.

LETTER XXII.

Rio Janeiro.

I AM not astonished that the first navigators should have taken the harbour of Rio for the mouth of a river. It is immense, and capable of containing all the shipping in the world. It is studded with a considerable number of islands, all remarkable either for their picturesque appearance, or for certain branches of natural history. Rats' Island, Serpents' Island, and Governor's Island are named after the different animals by which they are inhabited.

The entrance of the harbour is magnificent. The Sugar-Loaf, an enormous giant, contracts it, and by its nakedness forms an admirable contrast with the rich scenery of the neighbouring mountains. The episode of the giant Adamaster would be well suited to this spot, if the sea here were as fertile in shipwrecks as that about the Cape of Good Hope.

It is protected by the forts of Lago, Santa Cruz, and Villegagnon; and Duguay-Trouin would probably not be so fortunate now as he was of yore, when he imposed on the colony a contribution of 27,000,000 (of francs), as an atonement for the massacres committed by the Brasilians, at the time of the rash invasion of Captain Duclair.

To the north of the harbour, and in an indentation forming a small bay, is a delicious spot called Praya-Grande (Great Plain); it is the abode of contemplation: alleys of citron-trees overshadow the roads that border the gardens, with which the plain is covered. The exquisite perfume, wafted by refreshing breezes, produces pleasing ideas; and the solitude and silence around you are interrupted only by the light movements of immense numbers of large butterflies, decked with the colours of the rainbow, and the shrill cries of the humming-birds, which people the bushes and there construct their frail habitations. The mosquitoes, a great annoyance all over Brasil, do not detract from the charms of this delightful spot. There, on the ever-verdant turf, you may indulge in the most voluptuous repose, without apprehension of dangerous attacks from the venomous reptiles which infest other parts of the plain. There, you forget past sorrows in the enjoyment of present happiness. Your emotions are too tender not to resign yourself wholly to them. There, exempt from ambition, I could peacefully pass my days, if I had a friend or a mistress to diffuse still more charms around this lovely retreat. Sometimes, at the close of a winter's day, that is to say, when the diminished heat would beget fewer storms, and permit the unfortunate negro to take recreation after his long toils, we might sally forth from this delightful abode, and ramble to that ancient edifice called *Nossa Senhora de Boa Viagem*, where dwells a single hermit; and there, at the foot of the simple altar, which adorns and protects this venerated chapel, we would offer up our prayers in behalf of men tormented with the thirst of gold, in search of which they traverse the vast ocean. When the sun, by his oblique rays, should warn us that it was time to return home, we would retrace our steps, and a few small pieces of money, without exciting in the unfortunate slave a disgust of labour, would serve to recruit his exhausted strength,

afford us an additional pleasure, and tend to diminish the hardship of his lot. Ah! my friend, how exchanting is this spot!

It is to the brothers, Messrs. Taunay, who have been settled for these two years at Rio, that I am indebted for the pleasure of knowing this delicious place. Several of them can represent nature on the canvas with such ability, that it is no wonder that Brasil has not concealed from them any of her riches: others, more familiar with the art of a Gresset, delineate nature's charms in verses brilliant and diversified as herself. At this moment, the chisel of an eminent sculptor remains inactive in his discouraged hand, and a whole family, all the members of which cultivate the arts with success, lives unknown, or rather despised, in a half-savage country, where it hoped for patrons, and where it has found nothing but humiliations*.

LETTER XXIII.

Rio Janeiro.

I AM just come from the library, the first inspection of which has been satisfactory. It contains about 70,000 volumes, in general judiciously selected, and one-third of which consists of French works. Shall I be obliged to recur to my first opinion, respecting the occupations of the Portuguese? Let us see.

The director (for that is the customary title here)—the di-

* M. Taunay, the painter, has frequently been asked why in one picture he introduced a stronger light than in another; and why he always put snuff under the nose. Twenty portraits, all striking likenesses, have been returned upon his hands, on this account.

rector is a very well-informed man, as I have been assured; but unfortunately he is absent,—and the *cicerone* who attended me was not particularly conversant in Portuguese literature, since I asked him in vain concerning other works than those of Camoens, and even with the latter he does not seem to be very familiar*. He first conducted me to the room containing the French historians and poets, and handing me a volume, with manifest pleasure, observed: 'There is a profound thinker, sir; there is one of your greatest philosophers.' .... It was Raynal; and I suspected the sincerity of the eulogium. Then, with a triumphant air, he pointed to the complete works of Voltaire.—'What, sir, Voltaire here?'—'Why not?' hastily cried one of the two persons who were reading in the room, 'you certainly have him in France.'—'The conclusion is not just,' replied I; 'and it would be an extraordinary phænomenon to see the most sublime conceptions of a genius we are proud of proscribed among us. I hope we shall never witness such sacrilege.'—'I hope so for your sakes, sir; and what I wish for ourselves, too, is, that we may be allowed to enjoy the best works of all nations, and this is not a bad beginning. See here on this shelf, beside one another, Voltaire and Rousseau, separated while living, and brought together after their death. See here, too, close by them, Raynal and Pope, Lopè de Vega and Corneille, La Fontaine and your Pindar, Crebillon and Shakspeare, Racine and Bourdaloue, and Massillon and Bossuet. What are the errors of most of them to us? What need we care about their quarrels and their rivalships? Great men belong to every country; and confusion to those who cannot appreciate them, or who condemn them from a spirit of intolerance! Stupor is not death, sir; and the Portuguese nation

* *Sa Miranda*, the *Viscount de San Lourenço*, and *Mascarenhas de Ataide*, are unknown to this man. They are not so in Europe.

may yet be roused from its lethargy.' Surprised at the warmth of the speaker, I cast my eyes on a paper which he held in his hand: he guessed my intention, and showed me a page of Rousseau, which he had been translating. 'That is a lesson for my two boys,' added he; 'they shall translate this page, too: they will understand it.'

After I had examined the finest editions of our best tragic writers, and successively inspected the rooms containing law-books, those in the living languages, and manuscripts, which are not curious, my guide conducted me up stairs to an apartment richly decorated, in which were classed, in the best order, the first-rate productions of the different nations of Europe. 'This,' said he, 'is the study of Prince Michael, the king's second son.' —'Is he here often?'—'Look, sir, all the books are new, and most of them are yet uncut.'—'What will this young prince know?' —'That he is the son of a king.'—'That is little enough.'—'No, a great deal: it is what many in his situation have forgotten.'

I quitted the library, impressed with our greatness, and with our superiority over so many nations. I spent the rest of the day in visiting some of the public buildings. I inquired for the mint, but nobody could direct me. At length I applied to a Spaniard, who had the goodness to conduct me to it.

They have done quite right to place it in one of the most unfrequented streets of the city. The den of fraud ought to be kept out of the sight of the people, who might take examples from the abuses committed there. Spanish piastres, without being recoined, are here stamped with the arms of Portugal, and one stroke of the engine enhances their value upwards of two francs. Would he be a maker of counterfeit money who should employ the like means for increasing his wealth? It is said, and publicly said, that this kind of traffic is carried on by the English:

people are persuaded that this is a fact,..... and yet the abuse is suffered to continue.

The ingenious machines invented by M. Gengembre are not known at Rio. Those that are employed are clumsy and slow. The superintendants seemed to me to be far from active. Let us quit this place—the air of it is infectious.

LETTER XXIV.

Rio Janeiro.

THE Custom-house is situated in the finest and most-frequented street of Rio, the Direita (straight) street. I was apprized of the proximity of this establishment by shouts and vociferations. A hundred negroes roaring a national song, seated on small carts, to which they harness themselves when at work, wait to be employed. These negroes are slaves, and labour only for their masters. Who are their masters? Officers of the Customs! These officers have no other emolument. No person can employ any other slaves than those of the officers in the removal of goods. They are authorised to seize the packages; their masters publicly encourage them to do so, and would punish them cruelly for their disobedience. When they have gained possession of the goods, they dictate their own terms to the owners, who are obliged to submit. These abuses, it is true, are not practised with great houses; but small establishments suffer by them, and have neither power nor influence sufficient to emancipate themselves from their operation.

As to the management of this place of extortion, I could not learn any thing about it, except that the inspectors, like ours,

make their fortunes in a short time; and, as I am assured, never by legitimate means.

I am tired of observing abuses: to make amends, I will treat myself to the play this evening. The performances announced are *Zaire*, a comedy intitled the *Usurer*, a farce, a ballet, and two or three other trifles of that kind.

The interior of the theatre, though without ornament, is fine, very fine. The exterior is not of correspondent beauty. The public is indebted for this edifice to John VI., who caused it to be erected in 1812. I think it is as large as the Opera House at Paris, but without galleries. The boxes are all filled with ladies covered with diamonds, and crowned with flowers and precious stones. I am quite dazzled by them. The orchestra is spacious; the preludes of the musicians indicate that some of them possess talents. A tragedy of Voltaire's—this luxury, this brilliant assembly, every thing, the attraction of novelty not excepted, promise me a great treat. Shall I be again disappointed?

A symphony, by Haydn, serves for an overture: it is very ably executed. The curtain rises: the stage is immense: the decorations are beautiful. What a little Zaire! What a disagreeable voice she has! what a wretched delivery has her confidante! how awkward is the action of both! You would swear they were puppets set in motion by means of springs!

Twenty-two cocks' feathers, of ten or twelve colours, crown a turban, that encircles a head enchased in a stiff ruff, which the weight of an enormous shoulder-belt and a large mantle cannot rumple. A belt, enriched with diamonds, shames a pair of yellow pantaloons laced with white, against which swing, at the pleasure of the sultan, two handsome watch-chains. Green slippers, with large bows; blue silk stockings; a sword, such as we are told Charlemagne used; purple gloves, as a mark of dignity; a haughty look; one foot amorously advanced; seeking on the

stage, but without finding, his unfortunate mistress—such is the appearance of Orosmane. I supposed that all the spectators would burst with laughter, as I did! mine, however, was drowned by thunders of applause.

Orosmane is worthy of Zaire. Our Sultan is too deeply enamoured to desire to shine at the expense of his mistress: his gestures have no more ease or elegance than hers. Here are already three puppets. Enter Nerestan and Corasmin—four, five. All the *dramatis personæ* appear—all puppets! Lusignan wrung from me tears .... of pity.

After the representation of *Andromaque* and *les Plaideurs* at one of our theatres, an amiable *parvenu* observed to me: 'That piece affected me; but the little dogs at the conclusion spoiled the whole.' This remark will not be misplaced after the representation of the *Usurer*. Amidst a most improbable plot, I found that the piece was a medley of tragedy, comedy, drama, and farce. I inquired who was the author. My neighbour on the right told me, he believed it was a translation from Shakspeare; I might have believed so too, had I known the English dramatist from reputation only. My neighbour on the left assured me, that it was by a French writer, whose name was Voltaire: a third told me it was Molière's .... What blasphemies!

How uncomfortable I am! No matter, let us wait for the ballet! It is *Psyche*. Cupid is a Frenchman and a tolerable dancer: Psyche a Frenchwoman, rather too plump, but pretty and discreet*. Almost all the other dancers are Portuguese. Are those two Spanish Zephyrs real Zephyrs? You would say that air is their element. The young man wants two more feathers to his wing, and the young lady three more years to her age, and Venus will be in a fine rage. Happy he who shall stop her in her flight and fix her to the earth!

* M. and Madame.

I seek in vain the ballet of Psyche; it is a parody of that exhibited in Paris. It may almost be said that the second act passes in the throat of Cerberus, and that the gods dance there like devils.

I rise to depart: 'Wait a little,' said one of the clappers to me (for there are some here) 'the farce is going to begin.'—'Thank you, sir, I have seen it already.'.... At any rate, I have not absolutely thrown away my time: I have seen the two Spanish Zephyrs and the flower of the ladies of Brasil..... There were two handsome women in the boxes.

The names of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are on the curtain of the proscenium. This is all they have at the theatre of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

LETTER XXV.

Rio Janeiro.

SINCE John VI. has been in Brasil he has established professorships of natural philosophy, botany, and physiology. The professors receive their salaries, though they read no lectures: they repair every day to their posts, and want nothing but pupils. It is said that this neglect spares their vanity, which otherwise would be dreadfully compromised.

The Portuguese Brasilians undertake the defence of ignorance with as much pleasure as we commend merit: when, therefore, it was determined to found an Academy of Arts and Sciences, recourse was had to other nations. Almost all the members are French. But, only conceive, my friend, the culpable apathy of the nation. The members of the Academy are found: the choice,

whether good or bad, is made: they are paid their salaries. Such has been for upwards of two years the state of things, and not a single meeting has been held: the building destined for the purpose is not even half finished. Whose fault is it? It is the fault of the king's ministers and also of Mr. L..... director of the Academy.

The king pays a member of his Academy; so he ought: but because a man is a member of his Academy, must he give all his time to the king who pays him? What! if I compose a work, has the king a right to appropriate it to himself because he pays me as a member of his Academy? Am I not to dispose of my productions as I please?.... If an artist paints a picture, it belongs of right to the king, because the painter is a member of his Academy.—But this picture is worth ten times the amount of the salary which he receives.—No matter: if he is allowed to keep it, he has to thank the liberality of the king..... A warning to the French artists who shall solicit an appointment in the Academy at Rio, and come to bury their talents two thousand leagues from their country.

There is no college in this city. The rich, who wish to give their sons a little education, send them to the university of Coimbra in Portugal. The other children learn to read, and it is much if they learn that. Almost every father of a family has a *director* for his children. They soon find out that it is not necessary to know any thing. Happy are the young females who learn nothing of them!

The Conde dos Arcos is anxiously expected at Rio by all sensible persons. The reign of the monks will be over as soon as that minister has any power. To him is owing in a great measure the tranquillity which prevails: the country will soon be indebted to him for a benefit equally valuable to a kingdom, —the love of literature.

LETTER XXVI.

Rio Janeiro.

I HAVE mentioned the negro slaves to you, but I have not told you that the slave-trade is still permitted in Brasil.

Rio contains one hundred and twenty thousand souls, five sixths of whom are purchased slaves.

Fifty vessels are engaged in the slave-trade: I have seen one of these arrive. The idea of these unfortunate wretches crowded together, devoured by vermin, exposed to all sorts of diseases and privations, wrings my heart, and fires it with indignation against a government, which thus traffics with the lives of so many thousands of individuals, because their colour differs from that of its own subjects.

How painful soever it may be to visit the place where they are sold, I will overcome my repugnance; and while I behold them, I will drop at least a tear over their fate.

In a damp, dirty, pestiferous room, open on all sides, are huddled together men, women, and children, naked, bent down with misery; who are forced to sing when they are commanded, or to remain absolutely motionless, upon pain of receiving twenty lashes. Ribbons are tied round their necks; they are taught to make grimaces; they are sometimes burned with a red-hot iron to impose upon the purchaser, who, from the marks which he sees, supposes that the poor creatures have had the small-pox. There for whole months they await the decision of their fate.

A customer enters—it is a monk; I know him by his hypocritical look. He casts an eye over the room, which he presently leaves dissatisfied, and comes into that where I am. Here

is a number of females, some of them with infants at their breast. Unhappy creatures! strangle those hapless babes, or they will have to endure inexpressible torments.... The monk pauses; he desires a young girl to rise; she advances trembling, walks, runs, holds up her head, shows her teeth.—'How much for this?'—'Six quadruples.'—'She has a very large foot.'—'Your lordship will be satisfied with her.'—'Her legs are too small.'—'Yes, but look at these eyes; observe that gait, these teeth, these arms, that bosom; observe ——.'—'But consider only, six quadruples; it was but yesterday that a colleague of mine bought one at this very place for a great deal less.'—'Has your honour seen her?'—'Certainly I have.'—'Well then'... (whispering a few words) ''tis a fact, I assure you.'—'That alters the case; there are your six quadruples.' The bargain is struck; the poor girl casts a last painful look at her companions in misfortune, and walks off before her master, to change her way of life, without having reason to hope for a mitigation of her sufferings.

I discovered neither wickedness nor goodness in the monk's countenance. His eyes were fixed only on his new slave,—a European female would easily have divined their expression; the unfortunate negress durst not raise hers to them; she must, nevertheless, accustom herself to do so. She was a very pretty girl.

In the street of Vallonga, there are at least twenty marts for the sale of negroes. There is no street in the city where so much traffic is carried on.

These slaves are in general dull and reserved; there are others, of whom it might be said that they rejoice in their chains. They are brought from the coast of Africa. Those who are shipped at Angola are marked on the breast with a large R, and in general tatooed. These belong to the governor. The others are bought at Mosambique and Madagascar. Those of

Mosambique have the incisive teeth sawed, and brought to a point. Those of Madagascar are tatooed, and have very regular and well executed designs on the shoulders and over the whole back.

They all subsist on manioc-flour and blows; the allowance of the latter is too great, that of the former sufficient.

It is still considered problematical whether the negroes are men or brutes; they are employed as the first, but beaten like the latter. They are nearly naked, and I have seen negresses without any apparel whatever.

When a negro is purchased, his master throws over him a white tunic, bedizened with gold lace, and has him baptized, under the idea that this ceremony is sufficient to make a christian of him.

A slave who attempts to escape is flogged, and round his neck is put an iron ring, to which is attached a short sword, with the point turned towards his shoulder; and this collar he continues to wear till his master thinks fit to take it off. I have seen two negroes whose faces were covered with tin masks, in which holes were made for the eyes. They were thus punished because their misery had induced them to eat earth for the purpose of putting an end to their existence*.

'You must go and sell this,' says a master to his slave; 'and you must bring me home such or such a sum:' unfortunately he cannot obtain the sum required, let him run about crying his wares as long as he will. On his return he is cruelly beaten, and the barbarian, by whose command this punishment is inflicted, has not, perhaps, during the interval, taken two *vintens* (two-pence) in his superb shop: How atrocious!

* Among some of the tribes in the interior of Brasil, there are many persons who eat earth.

A Portuguese, lately going along a narrow path, met a negro, who stepped aside to let him pass; not satisfied with this, he ordered the slave to leap the ditch; the poor fellow muttered an excuse, and screwed himself up still closer. The Portuguese struck him with his cane; enraged at this treatment, and unable to contain himself, the black gave his assailant a blow on the head and ran away. The Portuguese discovered where he lived, signified to his master his wish to buy the negro, offered so large a sum, that the owner could not resist the temptation, and the wretched slave expired the following day under the lash*. These acts of cruelty are not punished here. Are not such traits characteristic of a nation?

I was waiting the other night for the ship's boat, and walking on the pier, which is contiguous to the royal palace. A negro, carrying before him a basket of fruit, called, from time to time, with a low and trembling voice, to the passengers to induce them to buy his commodities. It was late: I asked what custom he hoped to get at ten o'clock at night. 'No great deal, sir,' replied he; 'most likely none at all, but I shall stay a little longer.' —'Why so?'—'Why should I not put off my punishment as long as I can?'—Have you any doubt that he was soundly beaten that night?

Such as have not been very ill treated in their youth are in general tall, robust, and well shaped. You may see among them, especially about the custom-house, some who are remarkably athletic.

* If the king were acquainted with these abuses, they would, no doubt, be reformed; for his generous heart has, on a thousand occasions, given his subjects lessons of humanity.

LETTER XXVII.

Rio Janeiro.

AMONG the customs of Rio, I have remarked that the practice of lying in bed the greatest part of the day is most generally followed; hence the indolence and stupidity which are so generally prevalent.

With an income of 4000 francs, (about 165*l.*) and economy, a person may live: with less he would run the risk of starving. The bare walls of a house, consisting of two or three rooms, let for from 300 to 400 francs per month. It is true that it costs very little to furnish them in the Brasilian style; a drawing-room is handsomely furnished, when it contains half a dozen chairs, and a sofa; a table and a chest of drawers in addition, are indications of luxury and wealth.

The ladies in their attire mistake profusion for taste; they remind me of those old-fashioned dolls, which line the walls of our milliner's shops. They scarcely ever wear caps or bonnets. The flowers and feathers with which they adorn themselves do not tend to set off their olive-coloured and sallow complexions to the best advantage. They rarely lay hold of each other's arms in the streets or in the promenade. They go in a line one after another; and like the cranes, which follow their leader, if the foremost attempts to change the route, hover about, uncertain what course to pursue. Thus, at Rio, the lady who heads the procession must look back from time to time to see whether the file is broken by any obstacle, and whether each of her followers is in a line with herself. Female slaves, elegantly dressed, but almost always barefooted, walk behind their mistresses, at the

distance of four, six, or eight paces; the farther they are separated, the more dignified is the procession; this is general.

Funerals and all religious ceremonies, with the exception of some very extraordinary event, take place at night. To me this custom seems to be a very sensible one; for religion requires devotion; and in the midst of a busy crowd, engaged in a thousand occupations, religion is soon forgotten. The distance between forgetfulness and contempt is very trifling.

There are no seats in the churches. The women of the lower class sit on the floor—but full-dressed ladies, what do these do? they rarely sit down when they are handsome. The excuse that they would spoil their clothes is extremely convenient. I heard two pretty damsels complaining bitterly of the introduction of a bench at their parish church. 'Why this superfluity,' said they, 'in the presence of the Almighty?' This expression translated into plain language is: why should a female conceal herself when she is young and handsome?

I was astonished to observe the ladies in rainy weather going to church without hats or bonnets. I was afterwards informed that such as were desirous of being dispensed from going bareheaded were obliged to pay a considerable sum to their priest, who gave them a permit for all the other churches*. If such customs are established, it can only be, I should think, with the intention of laying the generosity of the faithful under contribution. Would it not be better to place seats in the churches, where, on payment of a moderate sum, females in full dress would be relieved from the necessity of squatting on the floor, from which they cannot rise again without ludicrous efforts and indecent contortions? But custom directs otherwise, and who dares arraign *custom?*

* I learned subsequently that this is an abuse, and that the ministers have no right to prevent females from entering the churches with their heads covered.

There exists, more particularly in Italy, a class of persons who ought to make it a rule never to open their mouths in public, and who, in defiance of all decorum, seek, on the contrary, every occasion for the display of their uselessness and degradation. There are eunuchs in Brasil, who are all Italians, and in the pay of the king. He who sings best (I know not how to distinguish him in any other way) is decorated with the Order of Christ. All of them are singers at the chapel-royal, and have large salaries. They perform in all the churches, but never at the theatre. If they were not paid and pensioned we should soon see no more *castrati* in Europe.

There is no country where children pay more respect to their father; after meals they always kiss his hand; and they never sit down in his presence, till, by a motion or a look, he authorises them to do so. I know not whether this is out of respect, but I know it is the *custom;* no matter—the existence of such a custom is of itself a proof of respect.

When a slave is guilty of gross misconduct, his master, if humane, does not inflict punishment himself, but employs a substitute, whom he pays, and whom the government pays also. The culprit is dragged away to a place fixed by regulation and custom; there he waits till his turn comes; for these castigations are slow and numerous. He has time to observe the tears of his precursor; from the fury of the executioner, you would suppose that he had some private revenge to gratify. The blood flows, and pity has no place in his heart; he is accustomed to tears and blood..... One hundred lashes are the ordinary quantity; and that quantity is almost always the *maximum* of the punishment, and this number ought not to be exceeded in one day. How many poor wretches, nevertheless, receive more than double the number!

I have strolled unintentionally to the place of punishment,

just at the moment when the execution of the sentence of one of these unhappy creatures was nearly over. Defying the pain, he counted with a loud and firm voice the lashes which he received, and seemed by his unshaken intrepidity to insult the barbarity of his persecutors.

Another, lying on a ladder to which he was fastened, after receiving fifty stripes with a rope, raised himself, stretched his arms as if just awakened from a sound nap, and, by way of taunting his tormentors, observed: 'It is not very comfortable sleeping on such a bed.' . . . . Yet such men are slaves!

It is at the door of the prison that executions of this kind take place; the culprit is tied to a post, and his blood flows into a little channel made for the purpose.

There are as many priests in this country as in Spain; in the latter the number is immense. The reverence formerly paid them is on the decline; it is the *custom* for them to live in sloth, and to this custom the priests of Rio strictly conform.

The processions do not excite respect: there is too much bustle, and not enough of devotion; the priests actually run through the streets. There are some processions which are real masquerades.

It is customary for the English to *ridicule* the Brasilians, and for the Brasilians to *hate* the English. Both nations are right.

LETTER XXVIII.

Rio Janeiro.

WHAT is the code of procedure?—The will of the king. What mischief might ensue if the king were a despot!

There are many codes, very sensible ones too, and extremely well digested; but no ignominious sentence can be executed without the sanction of the sovereign, who scarcely ever decrees the death of a criminal. He thinks that the arms of the most heinous offender may be rendered useful, and considers the death of a man as a crime against society. He has mines in Africa and in his dominions: these mines are wrought, and actively wrought, by convicts, under strict superintendance. How many honest men would perish in these works, under this burning sun!

It is said that fifty murders are committed annually at Rio. There have been five, for which no one has been put to death. They love to kill under the cane, but not juridically. They still speak of three negroes, who, after murdering their master, were caught quaffing his blood: they were hanged, but the sentence was thought too severe. I am sure, that there is not one of the galley-slaves, whom I see in the streets with the chain about their necks, who has not at least committed two murders*.

The negroes are never brought to trial, unless for heinous crimes. They are put to the chain, when the crime is proved, or merely denounced by one of the blood-hounds of the police to be guilty, and left there two or three years. If one of them effects his escape, so little search is made for him that he is

* The blacks, who are punished for crimes, are not fastened to the same chain as those punished for misdemeanors.

almost certain of not being retaken. They are employed in carrying water for the public buildings, and in sweeping the streets.

A negro, carrying a knife, is punished with flogging and the chain.

No foreigner is allowed to carry a knife, even in broad day, under very severe penalties. This law, however, admits of modifications; thus a citizen of known good character and probity would merely be sentenced to pay a trifling fine.

Duelling is tolerated among the Portuguese and Brasilians; and an officer, who is proved to have refused a challenge, runs the risk of being turned out of his regiment. If he accepts it, he is condemned to an arrest of a few days. In general, they are brave, generous, strict in regard to military discipline, and they prefer arrests to the contempt of their comrades.

Count D'A * * being banished from Rio, received orders some time since to repair immediately to the place of his exile. Viscount de R * *, who communicated to him the command of the sovereign, added: 'I am also directed to be witness to your removal.' 'Be so, then,' hastily replied Count D'A * *, snatching up a stool, 'and convince yourself that I have begun moving!' The stool was thrown, and the deputy was content to make his report; and congratulated himself that it had missed him. This is not French vengeance! Perhaps at court the law is more severe in regard to duels than in the army; perhaps Count D'A * * frightened Viscount de R * *; perhaps the stool hit its mark, and prevented the latter nobleman from fighting: perhaps he was forbidden to fight; and, perhaps too, he was heartily glad of it!

The lawyers are few in number. Is not this the same as saying, that law-suits are of short duration, since there are fewer heads to perplex the m?

When two advocates stand forth, the first thing the judges

frequently do is to inquire the amount of their fortune. If the disproportion is very great, this is a motive here for suspecting the integrity of the richest: doubtful of the goodness of his cause, the other would not plead. Money has some influence over the advocates of Rio. By a natural consequence of this state of things, it might be supposed that the advocates cannot get rich: be not uneasy on that score:—they act also as attornies.

LETTER XXIX.

Rio Janeiro.

WHEN the king, or any of the princes of the royal family, passes, the negroes fall on their knees: such is the *custom;* many Portuguese are negroes in respect to this *custom.*

Mr. Sumpter, the American consul, being in a chaise, one day met the queen's carriage in the street; he stopped his horse and made his obeisance: the guard cried, 'Alight! Alight!' Compelled by force, he alighted. It happened, shortly afterwards, that he again met the queen as she was passing: the guards again insisted on his alighting, and even assailed him with abuse and threats: on which he produced a pair of pistols, sprung to the door of her majesty's carriage, and swore that he would fire if he was farther molested. I can assure you that he quietly continued his ride*.

I know not, my friend, whether these particulars will amuse you, and make you acquainted with the manners of Brasil; but they are so many points of comparison, and from facts alone

* The king, wise and humane in his decrees, no longer requires foreigners to kneel as he passes; the princes have imitated his example.

can, in my opinion, a judgment be formed of the character of a nation.

Knowing, for example, the morals of most of the monks, I judge of the virtue of their bishop from their hatred of him, and the scandalous manner in which they speak of him.—This prelate, whose reputation the most atrocious calumnies have not been able to tarnish, has lately held a visitation in his diocese; his tour lasted three years, although he travelled from six to ten leagues a day, and he is said to have expended on it four years' income. Why was he not accompanied in his peregrinations by men of science, and naturalists?

Very few beggars are to be seen here; some aged, infirm negroes, who have been turned out by their masters, after their strength has been exhausted in their service, are wandering about the city, and support their wretched existence by appeals to the charity of foreigners. The small number of mendicants is to be attributed as much to the care which parents take to bring their children up to some business, as to the want of generosity in the Portuguese and Brasilians. The habit of witnessing the chastisements incessantly inflicted on the negroes hardens their hearts, and renders them insensible to the sufferings of others; the women, in particular, are inconceivably cruel, and spurn from them a beggar as they would a venomous reptile.

The commerce of Brasil is very important; the port of Rio presents, in regard to this point, a most gratifying prospect; ships of all nations are to be seen there.

Let it not be imagined, however, that to make his fortune, a man has nothing to do but to bring a rich cargo to Brasil. Nothing is more precarious than the speculations of all these improvident merchants; who, instead of studying the resources of a country, the most lucrative kind of commerce, and the most

probable chances of success, cross the seas, feed themselves with hopes that can never be realized, and arrive in a region where every thing is new to them, not excepting that branch of industry with which they are most familiar. Here, as in every other country in the world, the most lucrative speculations depend on the moment; and one man will lose all he has by the same means that shall quadruple the capital of another. The being a day too late may derange the most brilliant combinations.

Many mercantile men persuade themselves that the more remote a country is, the more certain and lucrative must be their speculations; they should correct this notion, unless they wish to be convinced by fatal experience. To prove the justice of this observation, I shall cite the example of all the French, who, since the arrival of the court at Brasil, have come hither to try their fortune: two have enriched, and ten have ruined themselves; one has trebled his capital, while twenty have lost a third of theirs; to say nothing of the fatigues and dangers of a long and perilous voyage.

A state is similarly circumstanced with an individual; the richer he becomes, the less he likes to send his capital to a distance; and the less he leaves to chance. His speculations are more certain; and if a single transaction cannot materially increase his wealth, several at least concur in doing so. He is a gainer upon the whole, and, with greater resources, he possesses also greater advantages; for he has the facility of retrieving his losses. Hence a thousand branches of industry, which clash and cross each other; the success of one thwarts the success of another, and amidst such a chaos of operations, so diversified, and so widely spread, how is he to distinguish those which afford the most favourable chances?—how, at a great distance, is he to fix

with certainty on one of them, without being sure that it cannot be counteracted by the others?

I am well aware that it is not money which constitutes the wealth of states, but commerce, which is but *an exchange of superfluities for necessaries:* but because a state possesses a great deal of money, it will for that very reason *exchange it for commodities*, with the value of which it is well acquainted, and from which it is sure to derive considerable profit. When I say that a state traffics, I mean the citizens: and the state is rich when the citizens are wealthy.

The more commerce flourishes, the greater ought to be the improvement of arts and manufactures. But if there be, as we are assured there is, so intimate a connexion between these three branches of the greatness of states, how happens it that the arts are so grossly neglected in Brasil, and that it has next to no manufactures?

No Athenæums, no Academy of Painting, or Sculpture, no eminent men in this line! A few Frenchmen, attracted by the prospect of wealth, and the sense of their superiority over the Brasilians, have settled at Rio; many of these, it is true, are in prosperous circumstances; but not a few are languishing in poverty. Talent is sometimes patronised, without being esteemed or honoured. The government says, 'We want men of merit; let them be invited hither, and let them be paid!'—Just like a sultan when he says, 'I want eunuchs to guard my women: let them be procured, and pay them their wages.'

On occasion of the king's coronation, palaces and triumphal arches were constructed of wood. What violations of taste! The triumphal arches are great gates on which are painted figures which the vilest of our daubers would be ashamed to own.

The inscriptions which adorn these arches and these palaces

are very fine; they proceed from the heart, which is a citizen of the world, and are dictated by gratitude and love. Their paintings indicate the infancy of the arts. O Taunay! what could induce you to come to Rio!

As to the useful arts, these are so trifling that one would think they were not necessary to the aggrandizement of a country still in its infancy. Agricultural implements, machines, manufactures, and the apparatus for coining, are all rude and ill contrived. Handicraft businesses are still in their infancy. You may see twenty journeymen in the shop of a shoemaker who sells one pair of shoes a day. The use of wheel-barrows is only of a few months date, and is yet uncommon. In short, all the implements are as clumsy as they are destitute of ingenuity. Why be ashamed, or refuse to borrow from other nations, what may enable you soon to rival them!

LETTER XXX.

Rio Janeiro.

THERE is a class of persons, of whom I ought not, perhaps, to say any thing to you, my friend; but they differ so much in their manners and customs from those who follow the same profession with us, that I cannot help giving you a few particulars concerning them. I allude to the public prostitutes, whom you find here in every quarter and in every street. They are, perhaps, as numerous as at Paris. Instead of proclaiming their shame by stopping passengers, like their frail sisters in Europe, they frequently repel those who accost them, and yield only to the most urgent solicitations. It is true, that as soon as this contrivance is known,

strangers are no longer duped by it, and laugh at all their grimaces; but it is not less true, that they at least save appearances: and for persons who have arrived at this degree of degradation that is a great deal. They have another peculiarity which distinguishes them from the street-walkers of Paris; this consists in their being covered with a mantle bordered with black velvet, with which they form a very elegant drapery. This mantle is their livery. Would you take this to be coquetry?—no, it is address: almost all of them are disgustingly ugly; but the Brasilians do not examine things so closely. I am assured that the *honest* women, whose husbands are absent, very often wrap themselves up in the significant mantle, and that, like those whose costume they borrow, they are not to be won but by the warmest solicitations. The influence of the manners of Europe begins already to be felt in Brasil.

This chapter naturally leads me to that which follows.

LETTER XXXI.

Rio Janeiro.

THE monks, an ignorant and debauched crew, sufficiently powerful to place themselves out of the reach of the law, but still too weak to seize the supreme authority; a scandalous troop of sluggards and libertines; an association originally holy and useful, now impious and pernicious—the monks swarm in every street. The sacred character with which they are invested formerly opened to them every door, and their virtues begot confidence. At present fear produces the first of these effects: but those who are credulous enough to admit them, soon repent with bitter tears a moment of weakness or superstition. They are

bitter tears for a moment of weakness or superstition. They are no longer the zealous imitators of a Vincent de Paul and a Las Casas, who, bearing the torch of truth, penetrated into savage deserts to shed the light of religion over cruel nations. They are base hypocrites, armed with the torch of discord, who insinuate themselves into families merely to abuse their power and to introduce into them hatred and dissension.

There are in this city three monasteries and two convents. The finest, as well as the richest, is the Benedictine monastery, situated on an eminence ten paces from the city, and overlooking part of the harbour: twenty-two monks consume its revenues, almost all of whom display in their hypocritical physiognomy unequivocal signs of their scandalous debauchery. I traverse every corridor; I enter almost all the apartments: not a creature is to be seen. I go to the chapel, which is astonishingly rich—nobody there either! Lustres, candelabras, basso-relievos, saints, virgins of gold or massive silver. You would not suppose it to be the temple of a God of poverty, if you did not know that the example of the Master is not always followed by his disciples.

What mean these carpets, these velvets, and all these richly gilt chairs, which announce the most degrading effeminacy? Why are these dealers in the most delicate fowls standing at the vestibule of the convent? Of what use are so many attendants? Am I in the palace of a Crassus or a Lucullus? Let us go farther and ascertain. This library is thickly covered with dust—of course it is deserted: this refectory is handsomely furnished: is this the study? From the elegance and the order which prevail in it, you would be tempted to believe so, did not the relics of a banquet shut up in cupboards with glass doors, and heaps of empty bottles, prove that it is destined for a very different purpose.

I quit the monastery, or rather the palace, and at the door I

meet with a young cenobite, who appears quite astonished at the sight of me. I go up to him, and request permission to inspect the sacred mansion; 'Sir,' replies he, 'my brethren are gone to distribute alms, and I must not now quit my post.' From his demeanour, from his look, which is any thing but severe, and from the contour of his jolly physiognomy, it is manifest that our recluse is rather a priest of Cythera, or an apostle of love, than the preacher of an austere morality.

I had been assured that the rule of the Benedictines was extremely strict. Is good cheer a proof of austerity? It is a fact that monks will renounce every thing rather than good cheer.

P. S. I have heard the conversation of a monk of the monastery of ——, which would have shocked a Swiss corporal. Two of them a few days since ran away with two young females, whom they had debauched. And the law which bears so hard on miserable slaves does not touch such wretches! Would you believe it, my friend, that a woman had the audacity, in open court, to claim the property of a deceased monk who was her paramour, and that she was supported by the monks of another fraternity! Such scandalous scenes are not uncommon here.

The two convents are respected and respectable. One of them, to be sure, that of Ajuda, people have ventured to attack, because, on certain days of the year, the grandees of the kingdom have, it is said, the privilege of entering it; but up to the present time, they cannot adduce above a score of instances of young ladies being obliged to quit it for the purpose of .....

How slander always delights in exaggeration!

LETTER XXXII.

Rio Janeiro, January, 1818.

AS the character of the Brasilians is, in some measure, to have no character at all, it is a matter of very little consequence with them to live well, provided they do live; to avoid pain is their sole concern. They do not like to be agitated; motion is disagreeable to them. Lull them to sleep, and they live: awaken them, and they fall: and I verily believe, that a citizen, compelled to go four or five leagues on foot in one day, would be much more severely punished than if he were sentenced to a week's imprisonment. The only occasion on which they rouse themselves from their species of lethargy is when you reproach them with it. ..... Surely we may still have some hopes of the Brasilians!

This public garden wholly deserted; this beautiful promenade of the aqueduct totally abandoned; these vast, magnificent forests, which contain so many treasures, that an active hand would have so little trouble to augment; these rivers so limpid, and so full of fish, which now flow silently and uselessly through half-savage countries; these thousands of noxious animals which beset the houses, and which it would be easy to destroy or to drive away; these roving and cruel tribes, which spread consternation to the very gates of the principal cities—are not all these demonstrations of the culpable apathy of the Brasilians? Show them, nevertheless, the results of this disgraceful negligence, and they will laugh at you: their indolent memory will rouse itself to point out to you what, at a period not very remote, Brasil was before its conquest; and their cheeks, usually

colourless, will be suffused with a certain flush of modesty, as if the glory of the Diases, the Cabrals, and the Albuquerques was their own glory—as if the conquests of their ancestors were the fruits of their toils and of their fatigues.

'In all parts of this vast region of the New World,' said a Brasilian to me yesterday—'in the plains, in the centre of the mountains, on the sea-coast, we possess flourishing cities, populous towns, spacious and secure harbours, which draw hither the speculators of Europe. They imagine that they are coming among savages, and find here none but civilized people. They are astonished, stupefied at the wealth of our country, and at the commerce of our cities, and they leave us with admiration of our glory and prosperity.'

Every Brasilian now holds the same language; and to hear them, you would suppose that Brasil possesses no other riches than what they have brought thither.

The ungrateful wretches! they affect not to know that scarcely a thousandth part of that vast country is known*; and that if a few establishments, scattered at wide distances, indicate to travellers slight traces of an incipient civilization, the immense spaces which separate them are almost destitute of inhabitants. These blind and presumptuous people forget that the communication between two provinces is always extremely difficult, and sometimes impracticable, on account of the torrents which ravage the country, and overthrow the frail barriers that have been opposed to them. They take good care not to tell us, that

* Brasil has few productions that have not been discovered by M. de Saint Hilaire, whom the love of science conducted to that country, which he has explored from the Rio de la Plata to the river of Amazons. Those only who know something of Brasil can form any idea of the hardships which that zealous naturalist must have encountered: it is to be hoped that the treasures he has collected will soon be exhibited to astonished Europe.

from Bahia to Rio, the two principal cities of Brasil, you can travel only on foot or on mules, and that a high road, fit for carriages, is but just begun. Neither do they say a word about the necessity which the traveller is under to carry with him all the necessaries he may want on his journey, or the trouble he must take to provide himself with slaves, who are sometimes not the most faithful, to guide him through the trackless forests and the immense deserts. No inn along his route; no protection against the attacks of cannibal tribes; no resource but his own courage against the ferocity of ounces and jaguars; no reliance on his guides, who are not always to be conciliated by rewards, and whom threats scarcely ever overawe. They are too near to liberty not to be humbled by their slavery; and these men, so timid and so cringing in our cities, seem, amid forests, to re-conquer that independence of which they have been deprived.

Yes, my friend, Brasil is still half-savage; but under an active and generous prince, this country, so highly favoured by Heaven, may soon become a flourishing colony; and the period is, perhaps, not far distant, when the pen of history shall record its mighty deeds, and tell the nations of Europe that but one man and a few years were required to produce a rival to them in the New World.

LETTER XXXIII.

Rio Janeiro, January 22d, 1818.

THIS is the anniversary of the birth-day of the princess Leopoldine. It is a grand day at St. Christopher's: the flower of the

nation will be there; and thither I am going to see the flower of the nation, the bull-fights, and the fireworks.

The road leading to the king's palace, situated four or five miles from the city, is an absolute quagmire. The carriages of the nobility, by which it is encumbered, will almost bear a comparison with our hackney-coaches.

There is the residence of the bishop.—It is a very elegant mansion. Yonder is the palace of the king.—It is a tolerably pretty house. Here are the preparations for the *fête*..... You would say that there is nothing about this habitation but fireworks—nothing to be seen but squibs and crackers. The circus destined for the bull-fights is tastefully decorated: the whole presents an imposing spectacle.

The two persons walking in the arena are the prince-royal and his younger brother; they are chatting familiarly with the natives of the country, who are bringing in the bulls in their cages. A kind of anxiety may be perceived in the gestures of the prince-royal: it is because his brother is with him, and there is some danger.... I am glad to see them going.

Meanwhile the music announces the arrival of the court: the galleries are filling with the grandees of the kingdom. In the first row are the princesses and the ladies of honour. What luxury! what magnificence! There can scarcely be a more brilliant sight.

Those are noblemen who are engaging the bulls: they are on horseback. Commoners on foot afterwards attack them. I dare say there is not a Spanish *taureador* who would deign to enter the arena. Only two men have been killed: what a trumpery affair!....

The preparations for the *fête* are much finer than the *fête* itself. Is it not nearly the same every where?

LETTER XXXIV.

Rio Janeiro.

I HAVE always been extremely fond of little anecdotes, collections of curious facts, and brilliant repartees, because the attention has not time to tire, though it is ever active, and the impressions produced, whether agreeable or painful, gay or religious, only graze the soul without lacerating it. Physical motion fatigues the body; moral motion refreshes the mind.

All the facts which I am going to relate to you I have collected in the country itself; I have been assured that they are all authentic; and I see no reason to doubt them.

A very wealthy goldsmith had, among his slaves, a negro from the coast of Mosambique, on whom he daily tried the strength of his arm. Ill usage and privations had rendered this poor wretch so imbecile, that every morning he went regularly and held forth his left hand to his master, who fastened it in a vice, while, with a large file, he filed away his fingers by little and little. . . . . The fingers were all gone, when the master again summoned him, as usual, into his presence, and ordered him to hold out his right hand. Inflamed with rage at this requisition, the black seized the same file by which he had been so cruelly mutilated, and struck his master with it till he extended him lifeless on the floor. He then flew to St. Christopher's, and loudly insisted on seeing the king; the monarch ordered the slave to be admitted. The latter, throwing himself at his feet, confessed that he had just committed murder.—'Unhappy wretch! what

induced you to perpetrate the crime?'—'Revenge.'—'What had been done to you?'—'Look at this mutilated hand.'—'What fault had you committed to be thus treated?'—'I do not know.'—'Let the witnesses be sent for immediately, and meanwhile let this *man** be taken care of.'—They arrived, and attested the innocence of the negro.—'You are free,' said the king; 'these two slaves of your master's are yours, and I give you part of his wealth to set you up with. Remember your sufferings and your master's punishment: go.'

A monk of Rio harboured revenge against a Frenchman, who had supplanted him with his mistress. He called a negro, and said to him: 'Hark'ye, here are three piastres; they shall be yours if, by means of this knife, you dispatch, in less than half an hour, the Frenchman who has just gone into that shop. Will you do it?'—'Give me the knife.'—'Mind; he has a hat in the French fashion, and a very short blue coat. I'll wait for you.'—'Prepare your piastres.' . . . . A man quitted the shop, and fell dead two paces from the door. 'Wretch!' cried the monk, 'you have not killed the man I described; you have committed an useless crime, and shall have nothing for your pains.' The culprit, filled with indignation, and careless of life, named his employer, and delivered himself up to the crowd collected round the corpse. The affair was brought before the proper tribunal: the slave was sent to Angola, and the monk sentenced to two years' confinement in his convent.

A few days since, the queen, passing through a street, heard violent screams issuing from a house. She stopped her carriage, and ordered one of her guards to summon the master of the house to her. 'Who is it that is screaming so terribly in your

* Thus the blacks are men in the estimation of the king.

house?'—'A slave, who is being flogged for stealing half a pound of sugar.'—'How many lashes have you already inflicted?'—'Sixty.'—'How many is she to receive?'—'A hundred.'—'I request you to remit the rest.'—'Your majesty shall be obeyed.'—'I thank you,' said the queen, and drove away. She had reached the end of the street, when, suspecting the sincerity of the master, she sent back one of her guards to see whether he had discontinued the punishment, and the man found that he had resumed it with greater cruelty than before. The queen hurried back, and ordered the negress to be brought before her: 'Fortunate for you,' said she, 'are the stripes you have received; they have obtained your liberty. As for you, wretch!' added she, turning to the master, 'you may rejoice that, by way of punishment, I merely deprive you of your slave.'

I have seen—yes, I have myself seen—two young ladies, whose countenances wore the expression of mildness and benevolence, endeavour, by way of pastime, to cut, at a certain distance, with a whip, the face of a negro: whom they had ordered not to stir from the spot. This exercise seemed to amuse them. I would mention their names if their father, who came in after the first essay, had not severely reprimanded them for their cruelty. This I saw with my own eyes.

When the Count Dos Arcos had quelled the insurrection at Pernambuco, the king, on receiving the agreeable intelligence, asked the heir to his throne what reward he could confer, in token of his gratitude for so signal a service. 'Create him prince-royal: I shall not be jealous of him,' replied Don Pedro. This answer is noble: it has not surprised me.

Being introduced the other day to the Senhor de R. . . . ., I heard a young man say aloud: 'I know not why the disgrace of a blow received should not be wiped away by a return in kind.

Surely the parties must be even after that. Why should they incur the additional risk of being run through the body or shot through the head?' Surprised at such language, I could not help observing to my neighbour how much those sentiments differed from those of gentlemen among us. 'You need not wonder,' replied he; 'recollect you are at Senhor R....'s, who knows better how to pocket an affront of this sort than to revenge it. To-morrow, at Count D. A.'s, this young man will hold very different language.

As soon as the tribunal has pronounced sentence of death on a criminal, a man, either the superintendant of the hospital called *Mercy*, or his assistant, posts off to the palace, throws himself at the feet of the sovereign, and with loud cries implores pardon for the convict. A slave was lately sentenced to be hung for having assassinated a colonel and a priest. 'Mercy! mercy!' incessantly cried the agent of the hospital; 'in the name of your father, and for the repose of the soul of your mother, mercy!'—'He must die,' answered the king: 'two years' ago, he murdered a colonel; I commuted his punishment: he has now assassinated a priest; the law must take its course.' At that moment the Count Dos Arcos entered, and implored the king to remain firm. 'He has committed an atrocious crime,' said the minister; 'let him be executed forthwith!'—'A crime,' said the king, 'he has committed two.'—'Begging your pardon, sire, the second was your majesty's, because you had already once saved the life of the villain.' The black was executed. I know not which is most to be admired, the courage of the minister, or the magnanimity of the king, who can take such a lesson.

Very lately the king refused to sign the sentence of death, passed on a slave, because the priest, who was to attend the culprit to execution, informed his majesty that the criminal would not

confess himself. 'Send him to Angola,' said the monarch: 'I have no wish to damn his soul.'

One more example: The crew of a merchantman, bound to Bahia, among whom there were some slaves, lately murdered the master and mate; after which they ran the ship aground, to possess themselves of the cargo, giving out that their officers had been drowned. An investigation took place, and, urged by remorse, one of the villains confessed the crime, and stated the circumstances; all were condemned to die, and the sentence was submitted to the sovereign for his signature 'What!' he exclaimed, 'do you wish me to put to death these eight unfortunate wretches? No; the world would suppose that I have none but murderers in my kingdom. Let me know who were the ringleaders in this crime, and send the others to Angola.'—'But, sire,' observed one of the ministers, 'all of them are equally guilty.'—'Well, then, strike out the first four; let the others serve for an example.' A moment afterwards, changing his mind: 'No,' said he, 'two will suffice; people shall not accuse my heart. Which of them revealed the crime?'—'Alas! sire, one of those who are doomed to perish.'—'Well, then, I pardon them all!' The sentence was torn in pieces.

These facts I submit to your consideration.

Adieu, my friend! When I meet with fresh traits, illustrative of the character of man, I shall not fail to communicate them to you; they characterise the nation also, and facts are always more satisfactory than hypotheses or arguments.

LETTER XXXV.

Rio Janeiro, January, 1818.

THE king, it is said, can raise an army of 150,000 men in time of war: I doubt whether he can.—Lord Beresford is marshal-general of all his armies. A nation is greatly to be pitied which cannot find within itself a man capable of protecting it.—The prince-royal, it is said, is not very fond of the English lord. I believe it: the prince-royal is a true Portuguese.

The major-general of Brasil is St. George. Don't suppose me to be joking, my friend; I am perfectly serious. St. George is Beresford's lieutenant; and here are some particulars respecting the honours that are paid him.

A grand procession is held to celebrate the virtues and the exploits of the saint, and the first families in the kingdom are expected to attend it. A wooden image of St. George, with a laced hat, surmounted by a dozen plumes of feathers; the uniform of his rank, black velvet gaiters, and holding both his arms before him, is placed on a horse superbly caparisoned, and kept upright by two attendants, who support him in the stirrups; which precaution, however, does not prevent his being pretty decently shaken. He is followed by twenty-four of the most distinguished persons of the court on horseback. Immediately after this, comes the king's carriage, followed by all the guilds, green, blue and white, where men and boys, accoutred in the most ridiculous manner, remind us of those assemblages of grotesque memory, from which reason and good sense were excluded. Is it by such buffooneries that sentiments of respect for so holy a

religion are to be inspired? And do the governments which authorize such exhibitions think thereby to honour a God of truth?

The procession sets out from the palace*, and accompanied by obstreperous music repairs to the paymaster's, where, after some ceremonies too ridiculous for recapitulation, a purse, containing the saint's pay for the past year, is twisted round his arm. (I am assured that he sometimes gives receipts for it.) The cavalcade then proceeds to the chapel-royal, where the wooden image, fastened to a platform, delivers to the right reverend the bishop the purse and money, to be distributed in alms to the poor. One of the priests undertakes the distribution: the priests of the chapel-royal pretend to be poor, though they have very handsome incomes.

If the navy of Brasil is reduced to zero, that is not for want of officers. The king has in his pay twenty-two admirals; and in all his ports only four ships and a half, which he can scarcely keep up.

The right of wearing the order of Christ without having deserved it now costs four hundred piastres, which are paid into the exchequer at Rio. It has cost the first *castrato* more than that.

Almost all the nobles are bedizened with orders and decorations. This merely signifies that they are nobles.

Lord Beresford frequently appears in the Order of the *Seven Battles*, consisting of a chain hung round the neck, from which are suspended seven small square plates, a few lines distant from one another. I have not seen this decoration on any other person, and know not at what period this order was instituted.

* A Brasilian, now in Paris, told me the other day, that the procession does not follow the route which I have indicated; but he would not rectify my error. The procession itself he could not deny.

People are very greedy of decorations in Brasil; and, upon the whole, they have great facility for gratifying this appetite.

I wish I could give you some notions of all the ministers of this court; but most of them are unknown. Of others, different opinions are entertained. Let us state facts.

The Count Dos Arcos has long been viceroy of Brasil and governor of Para and Bahia. His conduct has found as many partisans as detractors; and what is rather extraordinary, persons professing the same political opinions frequently entertain sentiments diametrically opposite, respecting this minister. When he was appointed governor of Bahia, being shocked at the ignorance of the people, he endeavoured to excite in them a taste for literature; and with that view, he made a present to the city of his valuable library, which he placed in an extensive and commodious building, and invited the rich under his government to lend also such works as might be useful to the Brasilians. He offered premiums to the citizens, and encouraged them to study by his example; and if he failed to obtain such results as he hoped for, this was solely owing to the supineness of the Brasilians and Portuguese. To this minister the public is likewise indebted for the establishment of an Exchange at Bahia, and for many minor institutions, tending to promote commerce, and to give increased security to the property of ship-owners.

M. Bezerra, the minister of finance, is said to have been a man of extensive knowledge; but not of the kind necessary for the post which he occupied. "A mathematician was wanted, and a dancer gained the appointment," says Figaro.

To the count de Barca, a friend and patron of the sciences, Brasil owes the formation of an institute on the same plan as that of Paris. His health, which was always precarious, prevented him from devoting his whole attention to this noble insti-

tution; and his death has given it a mortal blow. M. Lebreton had been appointed its president.—As to the other ministers, nobody seems to know any thing about them.

LETTER XXXVI.

Rio Janeiro, January, 1818.

I HAVE seen Rio, and endeavoured to give you a sketch of its manners. In spite of my ardent wishes, I have not been able to visit the Capitanias of San Salvador, Minas, and San Paolo, nor any of those in the interior, which are still more curious.

As, however, the information which I have collected is authentic, since the persons whom I have consulted have themselves traversed part of those provinces, I should accuse myself of neglect, were I not to communicate to you the facts witnessed by them, and the observations which they have made there.—Brasil is so interesting a country; the manners of its original inhabitants offer so many subjects for meditation; the history of some of the cannibal tribes is interspersed with circumstances so extraordinary, with facts so improbable, that the accounts of the early navigators seem to require confirmation. I have a thousand reasons for pledging myself for the authenticity of the particulars which I here transmit to you.

Hitherto, the sovereigns of Europe who have undertaken the conquest of a savage country seem not to have been aware, that the surest way to reduce it, is to send thither as many people as possible. The first enterprises were undertaken with such slight resources, that it is no wonder most of them should have failed.

Another ill effect resulted from this first error: when hardship, fatigue, and the climate had swept away part of the crews, the rest, disheartened and disappointed, frequently fought merely to escape death. The men were therefore sacrificed, blood flowed on all sides, and the sad relics of an expedition that had cost large sums returned home after gaining some bits of gold, and a glory equally useless and transient. When we consider the number of victims which America has devoured, we cannot help shuddering with horror; and we involuntarily ask, whether that rich country is begirt with ramparts and defended by invincible nations?

Brasil, like the other portions of that continent, has had its massacres, its persecutions, and its cruelties. Whole tribes have been immolated; whole nations exterminated: others have been compelled to retire to the summits of the mountains, to hide themselves in the recesses of the forests, and to remove to situations where they are separated from their foes by immense deserts, rivers, and torrents. Here the Europeans incurred real danger: ferocious people inhabited this country. They were strangers to generous sentiments; their songs were howls and war-whoops; their feasts, hideous and revolting scenes of devoured carcasses; their bowls, the yet dripping skulls of their vanquished enemies. Among these formidable tribes, that of the Tupinambas was distinguished for its courage and cruelty; and when Pedralvez landed in Brasil, he found it in possession of nearly the whole coast. The name of this nation was derived from the word *tupan*, thunder, which seems to indicate its strength and power.

The Tupinambas, like almost all the savages, painted their bodies with different colours, and tatooed them by means of incisions. By these marks the supreme and subordinate chiefs were distinguished. They subsisted wholly by hunting and fishing, and intoxicated themselves with a strong liquor, called

kukouin, made, according to M. de la Condamine, in the most disgusting manner. As for religion, they had scarcely any: they acknowledged two superior beings, whom they invoked in behalf of themselves and against their enemies.

At the birth of a son, the father gave him lessons of cruelty, and sung a hymn in honour of the warriors who had particularly signalized themselves in battle. He then said to him: 'Look at this bow, and at this club: with these weapons thou must attack thine adversaries: with thy courage thou wilt procure us their mangled limbs to eat, when we shall be no longer able to fight. Be thyself eaten if thou canst not conquer; I desire not to have a son who is a coward.' After this exhortation, which became the daily lesson, the name of some weapon, animal, or plant was given to the boy; and from the earliest age he accompanied his father to battle, and there received from him still more impressive lessons of cruelty.

Their funeral ceremonies were attended with extraordinary pomp; and the women, generally so cruel among the cannibal tribes, then exhibited tokens of the profoundest grief. They tore their hair, lacerated their breasts, mutilated their limbs, and on all sides were heard frantic howlings. 'He is dead!' cried they; 'he, whose valour supplied us with the carcasses of so many enemies! there he lies!' The corpse, clasped in their arms, and bathed with tears, was deposited in a grave, to which were carried offerings of fruit, fish, game, manioc-flour, and the arms of the vanquished chiefs.

When any tribe had received an injury, the elders convened the warriors, excited them to revenge, and reminded them in long speeches of the achievements of their ancestors. The first onset was truly dreadful. They began at a distance to threaten their foes by brandishing their arms; each party insulted the other with the most opprobrious language; and when their fury

was inflamed to the highest pitch, they rushed upon one another, striking with their clubs, and infixing their teeth in the limbs of their enemies; and it frequently happened, that a warrior felled to the ground would crawl, when expiring, to the dead body of an adversary, bite it with voracity, and die with apparent joy, when he had glutted his revenge.

In all their engagements they strove to take a great number of prisoners, whom they carried off as trophies of victory. By an almost inconceivable refinement in cruelty, these captives were well fed, and permitted to choose wives, till it came to their turn to be butchered for the purpose of supplying the most horrible of banquets. The skulls were hung up in the habitations of those by whom they had been made prisoners, and it was these ensanguined records that acquainted sons with the exploits and glory of their fathers.

Their weapons were clubs and bows five or six feet long; and their musical instruments a kind of pipes made of the bones of the arms or legs of their enemies. Besides the figures with which the chiefs adorned themselves by way of distinction, all the Tupinambas perforated the lower lip, and introduced into it a piece of wood of particular shape. The women were exempt from this ridiculous custom; and before their toilet, that is to say, before they had besmeared their bodies with mastic of different colours, they possessed charms sufficient to captivate strangers and to justify the affection of their husbands.

The Botocudos, a very numerous tribe, some individuals of which I have seen at Rio, are still cannibals; they are, as travellers assure us, the most subtle of the natives of this part of America. I have myself taken a drawing of a young Botocudo, who was sent to Mr. Langsdorff, the chargé d' affaires of the court of St. Petersburg; and I have seen him exhibit, on board our ship, a specimen of his dexterity with a bow of his country, with

which he scarcely ever failed to hit at the ship's length a diver that we had wounded, and never missing it but by a mere trifle. I showed him a bow with two strings, and inquired how it was used: he eagerly seized it, placed a pebble in the little net in the middle, and several times struck with it an object that we pointed out to him. This archer was nevertheless but a child of eight or ten years, and it was nearly two since he had quitted his native forests.

Mr. Langsdorff, being desirous to add the skull of a Botocudo to his collections, sent word to the chief of a tribe that if he would procure him one, he should have a number of curious things and some iron implements in exchange. The chief to whom this application was made, instead of forwarding to him a mere skull, according to his desire, sent him this boy, that he might do what he pleased with him. The poor fellow imagined that he should be put to death; and it was some days before Mr. Langsdorff could persuade him that the food with which he was supplied, and the kindness with which he strove to dispel his apprehensions, were not the preludes to his execution.

The Mundrucus, who give their name to a province, are the most formidable of all the natives of Brasil. The other tribes call them *Païkicé*, or head-cutters, because these people have the barbarous custom of decapitating all the enemies who fall into their power, and embalming their heads in such a manner, that they will keep for many years as fresh as if they had been just taken from a living subject. They adorn their huts with these horrid trophies, and the man who possesses ten of them may be elected chief of his tribe.

Such is the cruelty of these savages, who still live in the forests, that they spare neither sex nor age. They have compelled a number of other roving tribes to place themselves under the

protection of the Portuguese settlements, which however cannot always secure them from the attacks of their enemies*.

The Araras form a very numerous tribe, nearly as formidable as the Mundrucus, but less warlike. They have a weapon called *esgararatana*, which is a tube formed of two excavated pieces of wood, fastened together with bees-wax, and strongly tied with thread made from the bark of the banana-tree. It is sometimes five feet long, and the mouth, which is perfectly round, is but an inch in diameter. With this tube the Araras blow poisoned arrows, several inches in length, and having at one end, instead of feathers, a small tuft of cotton, which is pushed in with some effort. When the natives wish to kill any animal, they dip the point of the arrow into a thick liquor extracted from various poisonous plants. I am assured that death speedily follows a wound from one of these arrows, and that the Araras are the only natives of Brasil who thus poison their arms.

The Jummas, the Mauhes, the Pammas, the Parintintins, and many other tribes, still rove about in the vast wildernesses of Brasil, and are sometimes engaged in sanguinary conflicts: but the manners and customs of these savages are so much alike, and they so nearly resemble those of some of the South Sea islanders, which I expect to have to describe to you, that I shall defer my account of them till I have made my observations on other parts of the globe. We shall perhaps then find some points of approximation between nations so remote: and for my part, I cannot help thinking, that a traveller, who should direct his attention exclusively to the points of resemblance existing between people

* It is chiefly among these people that many Albinos have been met with. I saw, at the king's palace, seven or eight of them; and took a drawing of a female, half white and half black. It is said, that in the interior of Brasil there are Albino horses, to which Azara gives the name of *Melados*.

separated from each other by the whole diameter of the globe, and who should account for the phænomena of that resemblance in a manner consonant with reason and good sense, would open a rich and useful mine, which a philosophical and observant spirit would in its turn work for the benefit of mankind. That many insulated and formerly unknown tribes may resemble each other in the character of their countenance and in some general and unimportant features, may easily be conceived: but that the Botocudos, for example, should have such a coincidence, if I may so express myself, with the natives of the Carolines; that the customs of the Mundrucus should, almost in their minutest circumstances, resemble those of the New Zealanders, is an argument with me for believing, that some day or other we may find approximations between these different nations, which, without diminishing the fame of a Cook, a La Perouse, a Gama, a Columbus, or a Magellan, may tend to prove that these tribes, now so far asunder, but yet so closely resembling each other, have been subject to the same customs, have shared the same toils, and have been separated only by one of those catastrophes which have convulsed the face of the globe and changed the laws of Nature.



LETTER XXXVI.

Voyage from Rio Janeiro to the Cape.

WE sailed on the 29th of January from Rio, after supplying the place of part of our crew with fresh hands. I shall not attempt to assign a reason for the desertion of our men.—I should be afraid of hitting upon the right one.

We are steering impatiently for a new colony; and after spending two months among Portuguese and Brasilians, are proceeding with pleasure to visit the Dutch and English. I begin to like the voyage much.

February 17.

On awaking this morning, I was alarmed with the intelligence that Theodore Laborde, one of our midshipmen, is so dangerously ill that his life is despaired of. In giving directions for working the ship he broke a blood-vessel in the thorax.

February 24.

Laborde expired yesterday.... I am not able to give you the particulars of the dismal ceremony which has just taken place; but you will not be displeased to learn some of the circumstances of the last moments of the friend whom we deplore. I give you them in the words of the doctor:—

'The patient himself, who enjoyed his intellectual faculties unimpaired, was one of the first to discover his real situation; and the more this unfortunate young man had seemed destined for life, the more admirable were the courage and strength of mind which he now evinced. He shook hands with each, and took leave of us, and also of the other officers. We were all dissolved in tears.

''Death is nothing,' said he, reaching us his hand, 'were it not for leaving behind us sorrowing parents, and friends who are very dear to us.'

'His pains were very great. I held one of his hands in mine, while my finger rested on his pulse, which indicated that he had yet some time to suffer. 'Will it be very long?' he frequently asked; I encouraged him in the best manner that so affecting a scene would permit me. All at once, he was seized with such

a stoppage of breath, that his hand sunk upon his breast, and he ceased to speak. In a short time he came to himself, and said to me: 'I thought it was all over.'—He also observed: 'I wish I could be as happy as Aristippus, who, when his physician advised him to turn on the other side, answered: 'If I turn myself, I shall instantly die; but to please you I will do it. He did so and died.'

'He was still in dreadful agony; he described to me the pains he felt, pressing my hand from time to time. At length, by one of those kind dispensations of nature, which seems desirous in our last moments to conceal from us the change we are about to undergo, he became delirious, and thus continued nearly to the last.

'I have remarked that the nature of our voyage had imparted to several of our number an exaltation of ideas, and an elevation of sentiments, suited to the great things we were about to behold, and calculated to steel the mind against the dangers which we were likely to incur. Of this Laborde exhibited the first example.'

I must add, that with every victim which death snatches from us, we learn to appreciate more highly the care, attention, and tenderness of our doctors. Messrs. Quoy, Gaimard, and Gaudichaud, scarcely ever quitted the bed of the patient. M. de Quelen, our chaplain, afforded him the consolations of religion, and acquitted himself of that painful duty with a zeal and piety that are above all praise.

LETTER XXXVIII.

Table Bay (Cape of Good Hope.)

THOUGH fertility is in general a valuable quality for a writer, and though the happy traits of a brilliant imagination frequently diffuse an additional charm over any work whatever, still I doubt whether it would prove very useful to the voyager, solicitous to describe with accuracy the countries and nations which he visits. It seems to me, that were he to suffer himself to be hurried away by the desire to please, it would be difficult for him to keep within due bounds; he would go beyond the truth, for he would view things with an enthusiasm which he cannot communicate to the reader. Frequently, too, dazzled by the copiousness of his ideas, he would look in vain for truth, and would give but a false idea of a nation, with whose manners and customs we wish to make ourselves accurately acquainted.

The moral portrait of a traveller ought to be prefixed to the work which he publishes; in order that, with a knowledge of the principles and the qualities of the author, the reader who seeks information may easily discern the truth.

I am well aware that there are different ways, more or less amusing, of describing the manners of nations, and that the interest excited by reading the history of the world is heightened or diminished by the manner in which it is related. But I am far from thinking that voyager most worthy of esteem who should be held up as a model of correct language, elegant style, erudition and wit; but he who should cause the reader to say, 'I

believe that I have a correct idea of the people and country, the description of which I have been perusing.'

Were I desirous of astonishing you, instead of awaiting the result of the excursions which we shall make, on our return, in the interior of Africa, I should now give the reins to my youthful imagination; and, recurring to the notes I have made respecting the savage tribes bordering on this colony, I should conduct you at random to places which as yet I know only from accounts, the authenticity of which I cannot guarantee. I confine myself, therefore, to what I have seen.

The environs of Cape Town, viewed from the sea, exhibit the image of a niggard nature. Enormous rocks cut into pyramids and fantastic shapes; precipices which the eye dares not measure; platforms without trees, without verdure, and without water—banish every idea of pleasure, and excite none but sentiments of terror and melancholy. Before you have even explored this uncultivated land, you are impatient to leave it; and the first emotions you experience would induce you to form an opinion of this country, which more correct and more pleasing delineations would flatly contradict.

The crest of the mountains which, commencing at the southernmost point of Africa, extend along both coasts, gradually recedes from the shore on the west side, from the very spot on which Cape Town stands, soon runs inland, till it again turns off suddenly to the sea, at the distance of nine or ten leagues from the Table Mountain.

The first navigators who doubled this cape gave it the appropriate appellation of the Cape of Storms. The sea there is always violently agitated: the dark tint of the mountains; the roaring of the waves, lashing and shaking the masses of rock that break their fury; the idea of a return which must have appeared to them so distant;—in short, every thing in their en-

terprise was dreary and disheartening. When reflecting on the numerous victims whom this sea has engulphed, I cannot read without the liveliest emotion the episode of the giant Adamastor, in the poem of Camoens; and the more I consider the unparalleled audacity of a Dias and a Cabral, the more I am astonished at the little enthusiasm excited by such celebrated names.

The road is not nearly so safe as that of Teneriffe. The most impetuous blasts frequently rush down from the Table Mountain, lash the surface of the deep into lofty billows, and cover the atmosphere with a fog which baffles all the resources of the mariner. Heavy clouds then move along the Table, without ever quitting it; and this is frequently the sign that is consulted by navigators who design to put in here. Not a year passes without the loss of some vessel in the very harbour.

LETTER XXXIX.

Cape Town.

FROM the brilliant whiteness of the houses of the Cape, you would take it at a distance for the foundations of a city which had just begun to be built. When you arrive there, you imagine that you are entering a city which is but just finished. The fronts of the houses, the windows, the steps, are all astonishingly clean. The streets are broad, as straight as a line, and in general bordered with trees which keep the apartments agreeably cool. Almost all the houses have, opposite to the entrance, superb terraces, embellished at all hours by the presence of ladies dressed with extraordinary elegance. The streets serve for places of public resort. You there enjoy a view both of the town and

country: and it is undoubtedly owing to the presence of the ladies in their balconies that the parade (*Champ-de-Mars*) and the Company's Garden, the only practicable promenades, are completely deserted.

You perceive, on entering, that the Cape is a military post. It is defended by several forts, but still more by the danger of the roadstead. The Field of Battle (*Champ-de-bataille*) first presents itself to the view: ten or twelve thousand men might be reviewed there. It is surrounded by a double alley of pines, which, with the oak, are the only trees that it is easy to rear in the vicinity of the city. The hurricanes which descend from the Table Mountain have inclined them in an extraordinary manner; and these alleys are dull and gloomy as the tree that covers them.

The barracks, facing the parade, are a real palace, and the troops that inhabit them remind me, by their cleanliness and general appearance, of the imperial guard. The garrison, in time of peace, consists of about four thousand men.

The Company's Garden, so highly extolled by the older voyagers, is greatly fallen from its ancient celebrity. Superb alleys of oaks constitute all its beauty, and wild beasts all its wealth. The royal tiger is magnificent: the lion and the ostriches are remarkable for their large size. For the rest, here are now no useful, no medicinal plants—nothing but grass and acorns. The English often go to dine in this garden, where you continually breathe a pure air.

The architecture of the houses is original and diversified, though it possesses a local character, which renders it extremely pleasing. The town is computed to contain fourteen or fifteen thousand inhabitants. The population of the colony is about ninety thousand souls. How do they employ themselves? is a

question that naturally occurs at the sight of the immense quantity of land which they never think of cultivating.

The fair sex is magnificent; and whether it be that I am still influenced by the disagreeable impressions made upon me at Rio, or that I was predisposed to find in this colony beauties which nature has denied it, I protest that I should have great difficulty to recollect only three females who were really plain. They have the very complexion of Frenchwomen, or if any thing, it is rather more delicate: they have their costume too, and their elegance; but I must confess that I look in vain for their amiableness and their winning graces. The ladies, both married and single, go out alone in the streets: their husbands or brothers drink tea while they are taking their walk. At Rio they never go abroad even with their father; and yet there is a hundred times less licentiousness here than at Rio. Are then bolts and prisons always safeguards of virtue?

It is in vain to try to distinguish the public edifices: the private houses rival them in grandeur and elegance. The town-house is magnificent, and reminded me of those beautiful mansions which you discover, at intervals, in the environs of Genoa. The churches are small but clean. In each of them instruction is daily given to negro slaves. They are taught the truths of the Lutheran and Calvinist religions; they have only to change their abode to change their tenets also. If these Blacks did but reflect!...There is no Roman Catholic church at the Cape.

The court of justice is immense. I think it must be as large a building as that of Paris; and quite as many birds of prey are to be seen there.

The theatre is a little *bijou*, of bad taste and cleanliness. Here are sometimes performed French pieces, done into verse

by one Ignace Boniface, who is the favourite dramatist of the Cape. He has lately translated into irregular verse *Robert Chef de Brigands*, *Jocrisse corrigé*, and other master-pieces of the same stamp.

The public library is composed of about sixty volumes bound in old parchment, a very beautiful edition of the Holy Bible, two sculls of savages, and eight or ten weapons of the Hottentots. The librarian is, as I was assured, a man of great weight. . . . . That he certainly is, for he weighs at least twenty stone. To me he appeared massive in every way. Surprised at an application to see the establishment of which he is the director, and flurried, perhaps, by the idea of the importance which that title would give him in our estimation, he could not at first find the keys; and we were therefore obliged to wait above half an hour before we could gain admittance. He talked to us about some plans for the enlargement of the place; and when we expressed our surprise—'You must not imagine,' said he, with a consequential look, 'that this is all our stock: we have in a garret half as many more volumes, which the rats would totally destroy if I did not keep an eye upon them . . . . and some cats too. I hope to show you them on the shelves when you return. I beg your pardon, gentlemen, for being obliged to leave you, to attend to my duties as churchwarden. To-morrow morning, between five and six, I shall be quite at your service.' We quitted Mr. Churchwarden-Librarian, thanking him for his politeness, but little disposed to avail ourselves of it a second time.

Out of one hundred inhabitants of Cape Town, scarcely two know that there is a public library, so little is it worth seeing, and so indifferent is it to them whether they are deemed ignorant or not.

LETTER XL.

Cape of Good Hope.

THE inhabitants of the Cape dress in the European, that is to say, in the French fashion, but without taste. They have all their habitual society, where they talk of nothing but the hour at which they are to meet next day; of their sorrow at being obliged to part; of the dress of Mrs. Such-a-one; of Mr. Such-a-one's horse; and of the number of cups of tea or jugs of beer which they drank the day before. In this manner they pass their evenings, without a spice of scandal; and it is rare but that when they rise in the morning they have totally forgotten their last conversation.

According to an ancient custom, a tradesman who becomes a bankrupt is obliged to go into mourning, which he also wears when he loses his wife. The first is the full mourning.

The abolition of the slave trade is said to be very prejudicial to the welfare of the colony, as it is now become necessary to employ free Hottentots in tending the cattle and in agricultural labour. These people demand high wages, and almost always apply their gains to the purpose of relieving themselves from this species of servitude.

Negro slaves cost about 4,000 francs (166*l.* sterling). They appeared to me to be neither so handsome nor so strong as those of Brasil; but quite as lazy, and as fond of appropriating to themselves what does not belong to them. Theft with them is no crime, not even a misdemeanour; to steal a useful, agreeable, or curious thing, is an action so innocent, so convenient, so natural! . . . . . To take what is denied them is so just, so conformable with that perfect equality which they profess among

themselves! .... It is an absolute tyranny to punish them for such trifles. Among the Spartans, a theft committed with dexterity was rewarded; and among you, gentlemen, it is cruelly punished! ..... What barbarity! ..... This, however, is just what they would say if they could reason. But, alas! they thieve from instinct; they thieve, because to strive to possess one's self of the property of another is a law of nature, and they have never followed any other; they thieve, because they are taught that it is wrong to thieve, when it is found impossible to cure them of the propensity. A slave, flogged for a theft, will steal again a few moments afterwards, by way of reprisal; persuaded that your treatment of him is unjust, and determined to revenge himself for that injustice by an action which you call unjust. 'Why have you received those fifty stripes with a rattan?' said I to a negro, who had just been chastised by order of his master. 'Because I stole a silver spoon,' replied he, while at the same time he picked my neighbour's pocket of his handkerchief.

It would be as difficult to cure a negro of the passion for thieving as to keep a Gascon from boasting, a Norman from perjury, a Breton from drinking, and a Frenchwoman from being a coquette.

The colony was flourishing when it belonged to the Dutch. Its present commerce is next to nothing, thanks to the wise administration of the English. Five or six houses vie with each other in importance: the rest are their tributaries as it were; and, if they still support themselves, it is upon their ancient reputation.

Goods are removed from place to place in waggons, drawn by twelve, fourteen, sixteen, and eighteen oxen, and driven by a man seated on the load, who, with an enormous whip, lashes any of the animals he pleases, with a dexterity that is truly surprising.

The great market-place of the city is magnificent: every thing, even to a pot of butter, is sold by auction, after paying a duty of entry. On the day I was there, I counted upwards of fifty waggons, the loads of which were sold. M. Rouvière, to whose politeness I am indebted for some useful information respecting the productions of the colony, assured me, that during the last month the great market was attended by upwards of nine thousand vehicles of all sorts, each of which pays a duty of 70 to 75 *centimes* (7d. or 7d.), exclusively of that imposed on the sale of commodities. This duty is as ruinous as ours, but it is not dignified with the appellation of *Charitable Duty (Octroi de Bienfaisance)*.

There grows, in the vicinity of the Cape, a tree, from seven to eight feet high, the leaf of which is a kind of wool that serves for tinder. The negroes have the art of making with it very pretty socks, which they sell at an extremely cheap rate. For the rest, there are very few colonies that so well deserve the attention of the botanist and mineralogist; and though almost all the scientific navigators have pretty closely examined the country, I am of opinion that much is yet left to be gleaned, and that a studious and active person might there make excursions equally interesting and profitable.

Provisions are very dear at the Cape; and perhaps this may be owing to the paper-money. The dealers in butchers' meat (I mean those who sell *beef-steaks*) generally make their fortunes. The colony is English, you know.

The Caffres, a savage and warlike nation, are now at war with the Hottentots, and with the whole colony. Their method of fighting is appalling and murderous. Stationed behind their bullocks, which they hold by the tail, and goad forward, they rush with them upon their enemies, at whom they throw their long and deadly javelins with wonderful address. Their other

weapons are poisoned arrrows and heavy clubs. They cover their bodies with cuirasses and bucklers, made of hides, which will even turn balls. Two English regiments have lately set out from the Cape to oppose these savages; and to check the dangerous incursions which they make upon the Hottentots, and even to the very factories. The people of the Cape assure us, that this war cramps their trade; for it was from the country of the Caffres that they obtained most of their furs, and their ostrich feathers, which have since become articles of great speculation.

LETTER XLI.

Cape of Good Hope.

MATTER is as dry here as the soil, unless you are determined to create phænomena; and since I feel in the humour for chatting with you, my dear friend, I must, for your information, give you a few particulars concerning an eccentric character, well-known here, and as duly appreciated by strangers, as by his fellow-citizens. Should you ever come to the Cape, don't forget to call and see him; you will not repent the trouble; and I can promise you some moments of pleasure. The person to whom I allude is the *Political Shoemaker*

This extraordinary man has acquired not less notoriety by this title, than by the capital shoes which he makes. From the fishing-boat to the ship of the line; from the jolly churchwarden to the half-starved scribbler of melo-dramas; from the tragedy-queen to the humble washer-woman, he knows every body, and every thing that occurs, either in the harbour, the town, or the

country: he would hang himself if he were to remain ignorant for twenty-four hours of any circumstance, however trivial, that happens in the colony. With a telescope constantly pointed to the Lion's Head, he watches the signals, runs to the landing-place, examines every face, seeks such as are strange to him, begs scraps of news, accosts and follows passengers, and does not quit them till he is certain of learning more elsewhere. There he is sure of fresh news, fixing upon new victims, and quitting them only to return to his seat, convinced that it will not be long before he shall have visitors.

On the day of our arrival he was very early in the morning on the top of the Table, looking for stones and plants. He perceived us! .... How unfortunate! .... He should be too late for our landing. Away he throws what he has collected, runs, tumbles, rolls down the hill, and arrives breathless at the beach. How lucky! Nobody is yet acquainted with more than the general outline; the details, the circumstances of the event are unknown. Every one says: 'It is the Uranie cutter, commanded by Captain Freycinet, who accompanied M. Baudin, brother of the brave officer who lost an arm off St. Domingo.'

Without having seen our commander, without knowing an individual among us, he described us all to the first comer, stated our different ranks, offered any wager that he was right, and burned with impatience to convince the whole town of it.

Heaven must this once have been pleased to baffle his designs. The *Political Shoemaker* could not be there when we paid our visit to the governor. On the most frivolous pretexts he called upon all his customers, manufactured news expressly that it might be contradicted, in order that he might get at the truth. Before the day was over, he knew the christian and surname, age, and rank of every officer on board; and certain that he was now right, he went home and amplified his notes. Here

lodge Messrs. So and so; there so and so. The gazette of the day is composed, and the *Political Shoemaker* satisfied. Now come along, and he will show you fine things.

I heard mention made at my lodgings of this modern M. Roch*, and desirous of becoming acquainted with him, I requested my landlord to accompany me to his house. We accordingly set out. By the way I inquired what had procured this disciple of St. Crispin the title of *Political*, rather than that of *Inquisitive*: 'Come along, sir, you will soon know; here is the house.' 'It is remarkably clean.' 'Don't stop about trifles at the door: walk in.' .... The smell of leather conducted me into the room on the right. A man, apparently between forty-five and fifty, of a most prepossessing countenance, seated on a high stool, was giving directions to two slaves, who will some time or other, perhaps, become pupils worthy of himself. He rose, took off his spectacles, untied his apron, and saluted us. 'Good day, M. Arago!'—'Good day, sir; how do you know my name?'—'The Uranie is arrived; M. Arago, draughtsman to the expedition, lodges at M. Rouvière's; he has a dark complexion, animated eyes; a portfolio under his arm. You are come with M. Rouvière; your complexion is not fair; your eyes are animated; this portfolio completely establishes your identity: good day, M. Arago!' 'You are a conjuror, sir, and a physiognomist.' 'Oh! I have seen a great deal, run about a great deal, and observed a great deal: I am never wrong, sir; never wrong .... But I beg your pardon: a chair for the gentleman: but you had better walk into the parlour, you will be more comfortable.'

This parlour is adorned with enormous dried specimens of *fucus*, stags' horns, ostriches' eggs, fans of peacocks' feathers, and large fragments of rock.—'So!' cried he, with a triumphant

* A character in a pretty French comic opera, entitled *Avis au Public.*

air, 'you are already astonished at my penetration..... What then would you say, sir, if I were to tell you that more than fifteen years ago I predicted the fall of Napoleon, (there it is!) the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors, the marriage of the Duke de Berry to a Sicilian princess, and the exploits of his sons? We received intelligence a month ago that his illustrious consort was brought to bed. How fortunate for my prediction.'—'His child is dead.'—'Indeed! it would have been a hero.'——'It was a girl.'—'That is extraordinary! this is the first time I have been out. I would lay a wager that some fall, some....'—'She died in the birth.'—'Oh then I need not be surprised that I was wrong: it is impossible to answer for such events.'

Tired enough already of the political pretensions of the shoemaker, I was going to acquaint him with the motive of my visit, and to ask for some shoes, when he suddenly resumed. '*Apropos*, sir,' said he, with a doleful look: "Europe has lately been the theatre of a very dreadful event. The battle of Waterloo has deprived France of many of her brave fellows! I foretold, sir, that those guards would die rather than surrender.' 'That was no difficult matter.' 'Certainly not: but it was Columbus's egg—say before-hand what will happen; and don't wait for events before you pronounce: but let us waive that subject, and proceed to an affair almost as terrible, and much more glorious for you, the battle of Toulouse! *Long live Soult*, sir! *Long live Soult!* There's a general for you! O that I had been there!' '*I* was there, sir!' 'Why, did you not tell him to exterminate that odious race of islanders?' 'He did.' 'Some of them, however, escaped..... But then, with so small a force it was impossible to effect more. So! you were at the battle of Toulouse! (N. B. I was not.) As a draughtsman probably? I know that country well.' 'I dare say you do.' 'I have been all over it.'

'That is very clear.' 'And at this distance, I have detailed the action, and drawn an accurate plan of the battle. You shall judge, sir, whether I have misconceived the thing.' He immediately fell to work, and in a trice the two armies were drawn up on the parlour floor. Some stout lasts are the French; a new shoe is a substitute for Soult. Wellington is represented by a boot-strap, and his soldiers by scraps of leather. A chair is the hill where the carnage takes place; a calf-skin the Garonne; a pail the canal: nothing is forgotten. The shoemaker gives the word, every thing moves and acts. With one touch the rapid historian overthrows columns, causes our troops to advance, puts to flight the descendants of Lusus, tumbles them into the river, and *leathers* the English. Here one of his divisions falls back: he hastens up, and order is restored; he is himself the commander-in-chief—'Quick! open a battery there!' and it is instantly represented by two brass candlesticks. 'Come, my lads, charge with bayonets!' and he rattles away with his awl. The fire flashes from the eyes of the narrator: he rolls about with enthusiasm; and when the action is over, he claps Soult under his arm; throws the French upon a sofa; throws the English aside among the rubbish; puts a general in his pocket; gives Wellington a kick; and rises breathless, and proud of his triumph.

'Excellent, sir, excellent! one would swear you had been at that battle, your representation of it is so correct!' 'I was there, sir; yes, I was there: and from this place I directed all the movements; for I foresaw this engagement. Stop a moment: look at this map of the conquests of the French; observe all these dots; they are so many cities taken by them! (So saying, he showed me a paper quite black with dots). There is Vienna—and there Berlin.' 'Where then?' 'Yonder:' and his finger, covered with wax, stuck to the map, and tore off the sur-

face of the paper. 'This map is rather the worse for wear; but I keep it, for I made my first campaigns with it, and we ought not to be ungrateful to our old friends .... Will you do me the honour to take a glass of wine? The ungrateful man has but one fault: all the rest may be accounted virtues in him. You will take a glass of wine, sir:' 'No, I thank you, sir; I came to .....' 'To-morrow, sir, I will measure you: and we will resume the conversation.'

Next day it was my turn, and I am certain, that without being displeased with my stories, he was not a little astonished by them. What absurdities he had the politeness to listen to, and to believe! how many gulls he must have made in the succeeding days!

You see this man with astonishment the first time; with pleasure the second; but it is wise to avoid a third interview: so *striking* are his gestures; so animated his politics; and such is the danger of being in a field of battle where he is executing his manœuvres. I was assured that he lately seized one of his auditors by the hair, and dragged him about the room in the midst of his glowing narration, under the idea that he had taken prisoner one of the enemy's generals.

N.B. The *Political Shoemaker* could never be prevailed upon to make shoes for English feet.

LETTER XLII.

Isle of France.

WE quitted the Cape, my dear friend, without much regretting it, but with hearty wishes that we might soon see it again. We

not only consider it to be the last place at which we shall rendezvous in the course of our arduous voyage; but we promise ourselves much pleasure from the excursions which we calculate on making in the interior of the colony. How do I long for the happy moment which shall restore me to the tender solicitude of the best of mothers! How remote seems the ardently wished-for instant when I shall clasp my friends in my arms—enjoy their surprises, nay, even their fears; since they will be to me evidences of their affection! To-day, in particular, I feel the value of this touching friendship: to-day, when every thing about me reminds me of my country, and excites within me such delicious emotions!

At the Isle of France, the manners, costume, language, but above all, the hearts and feelings of the inhabitants are completely French. I should here forget my country for the very reason that every thing reminds me of it; I should forget it if man did not live as much in recollection as in hope; and if present happiness could efface past pleasures! Why am I not there with my friends? Why am I not there with my family?—The Isle of France is the Paris of India; and at what a time, too, is our judgment of it formed?

There is, in my estimation, an infinitely greater distance between Paris and Bourdeaux than between Paris and the Isle of France. The people of the Mauritius take much stronger interest in what is passing in our capital than those of Lyons. The news, to be sure, is rather stale when it arrives here: but does that matter? Ingenious and useful discoveries are more esteemed here; and as the inhabitants of this island stand less chance of enjoying them, they enjoy them so much the more.—Hence the consideration for all those who have made such discoveries: hence the esteem for all those citizens who cultivate and patronise the arts.

An artist, or an author, who is a virtuous man, will first be respected here as a virtuous man, and then as an artist; whereas, at Paris, merit very seldom has any share in the consideration in which this or that person is held.

In France, no sooner does a stranger make his appearance in a company, than it is asked—Is he rich? Is he noble? Here they inquire—Is he a man of character? Is he a man of talent? In France, he is made much of when he has titles and wealth; but here, when he can produce credentials of his integrity. In short, at the Isle of France a man is respected according to his intrinsic worth, and not by the amount of his revenues, his places, his titles, and the merits of his ancestors. Which of these is the country that an honourable man would choose?

LETTER XLIII.

Isle of France.

THE Isle of France has recently been visited by two dreadful calamities,—a hurricane, and a conflagration, by which the hopes of two thousand families have been destroyed.

In the night between the 25th and the 26th of September, 1816, a tremendous fire consumed fifteen hundred and seventeen houses in the finest and most opulent part of Port Louis: all the household furniture, all the colonial merchandize, several notaries' offices, the best and most copious library in India, in short, every thing, fell a prey to the flames, every thing was annihilated. There is scarcely a family but has some individual loss to deplore: the disaster was general. The wealthy man beheld all his property consumed, beside the poor wretch who lost his only

asylum. Splendid mansions and the humblest cabins were swept away with the same rapidity; a whole quarter of the city has disappeared: you still walk there over nothing but ruins, and you would take it for a city which Vandals had recently sacked.

O Farquhar! thy heart was wrung by the horrid sight of a town laid in ashes; and thy tears were those of a father, who deplores, without the ability to alleviate, the melancholy lot of his children. Why didst thou not foresee that thy departure would be an additional calamity to the colony!

The hurricane, which raged in the night between the 28th of February and the 1st of March, 1818, completed the work of destruction begun by the fire of 1816. All those families which, by means of astonishing zeal and activity, had, if not retrieved their fortunes, at least placed themselves in a situation to look forward to the future with hope, beheld their property, and all their ideas of happiness, swept away at once.

The evil in this case was doubly severe, as well from its nature, as from the wretched state to which the colony was previously reduced. Numbers of houses were overthrown, trees uprooted, plantations laid waste, ships wrecked or materially damaged. How many mothers beheld their children perish under the ruins of the roof that served to shelter them! Here the violence of the wind stops a son flying to the aid of his aged father; there a brother is bearing away in his arms a beloved sister, and in a few moments they are separated without the possibility of rejoining each other; and yonder an affectionate mother seeks an asylum for her infant, which disappears together with her. The mischief was the more extensive, inasmuch as but few precautions could be taken against it. The signs by which the approach of hurricanes is known did not appear till all human efforts were fruitless. A few particulars, extracted from the

Archives of the Isle of France (a journal of which one of the members of the *Oval Table* is editor) will give you some idea of the violence of the tempest which caused such ravages.

'At Minissi, the delightful villa of Madame Monneron, one of the most amiable ladies of the Isle of France, was her daughter, together with one of her female friends. The asylum which they had at first chosen being deemed rather unsafe, they resolved to leave it and to repair to the mansion, only a few paces distant. They ordered a negro woman to open the door as quickly as possible. The tardiness of their domestic saved their lives. Just as they were about to cross the threshold, the roof was blown off, and fell almost at their feet.

'In the quarter of Moka, an interesting family (that of Mr. Suffield, director of the post-office) had just quitted the house, when it was overthrown, and a child was crushed to death by the ruins before the faces of the father and mother, who were also injured.

'At Trois-Ilots, a misfortune still more severe befel M. Launay. It seemed to him as if his house was tottering, and he hastened to leave it with his wife and children. At that moment the house was actually carried away; his eldest son and the negro who held him in his arms were buried under the ruins, and his two other children were dangerously hurt. No doubt all of them would have perished, had the house been driven in the direction which they had taken, for it fell a hundred feet from its foundation. The wind dispersed the fragments: the furniture and effects all disappeared. Linen and wearing apparel were carried into trees upwards of six hundred fathoms distant, and mattresses were found still farther from the spot.

'In the great bazar of the town, a man, hastening to the assistance of his family (for this motive alone could induce any one to quit a safe asylum), was seized by the wind and dashed

several times with violence against the posts which support the shed. The wind left him in a dreadful condition.

'In the country, those who, from the effects of this terrible scourge, were left without habitation, and sought shelter in the woods, were exposed to still greater dangers. The torrents occasioned by the heavy rain, and the fall of branches and trees, put their lives every moment in jeopardy. Madame Labutte, of Black River, and Madame Desfontaines, of Moka, were in this cruel situation with their whole family.'

I should never have done, my friend, were I to attempt to picture all the scenes of desolation caused by this tremendous hurricane. The description given of it by M. Mallac, editor of the *Archives*, is below the horrid truth. I fear it will be long before the wounds inflicted by it on the colony will be healed: they are too deep.

Some persons assert that they felt two shocks of an earthquake. In this disorder of nature, in this conflict of all the elements, it is possible that they were mistaken. The mercury in the barometers fell to eight lines below 27 inches; it had never been known so low in the Isle of France.

General Hall has succeeded Governor Farquhar.

It is amidst all these public calamities that a stranger, on his arrival in the Isle of France, is welcomed there and feasted by all the inhabitants. Their politeness is frank, and sets him to whom it is addressed perfectly at his ease. The offers of service in general are sincere, and the demonstrations of friendship strong and lasting. You quit this country with regret, when you have had the good fortune to be introduced to good company. Every thing reminds me of the capital, and in some cases comparisons are in favour of the island. If you find there persons whose education has been invariably directed to the cultivation of the soil, at any rate they have the good sense not to set up

for wits, and the frankness to admit that there are things which they know nothing at all about. The fair sex are very handsome. The ladies dress with elegance, but with simplicity. The girls are brought up in sentiments of modesty which heighten the lustre of their charms. Perhaps it might be well to introduce them a little earlier into life; their first entrance into the world is with them rather too solemn a moment: their minds are filled with chimeras which frighten them; and hence they are liable occasionally to inconsistencies. Perhaps too they are open to the censure of being too sensible of their beauty when they possess any. All about them encourage too flattering illusions, and are too profuse of their homage. Ever engaged in little attentions, the young men rarely have recourse in society to the weapon of slander: their language is select, and their attentions delicate.

It is a common saying in the Isle of France, when speaking of an Italian, an English, or a French woman: *She is a very good figure for a European.* I find no fault with this expression, but the use of it; though I admit that the Creole women in general are the finest figures I have ever seen. I should like, however, rather less *decision* in their gait. I should prefer a little more *timidity.* The awkwardness of the English women has somewhat spoiled theirs: they sometimes skip as they walk, and if they do not take care, they will soon become wholly English. What a pity! I had heard extraordinary commendations of their dancing: I know not whether it was because these eulogiums were rather too pompous, but with the exception of five or six ladies, I thought them all very indifferent dancers; but I must not omit to observe, that almost all of them waltz with enchanting grace and ease. Their balls are very gay, and exempt from a punctilious etiquette, the foe to pleasure and the companion of *ennui.*

LETTER XLIV.

Isle of France.

PORT LOUIS is a spacious and safe harbour. It was chosen in preference by the captains on the East India station, for laying in a fresh stock of provisions, and refitting their ships. There are several commodious establishments for this purpose, belonging to private individuals; and you would scarcely meet with any superior to those of Madame Monneron and Messrs. Piston and Rondeaux.

Viewed from the harbour, the town has a melancholy appearance. The houses, which are almost all of wood, have a blackish tint, that is disagreeable to the eye: in front of the spectator, the mountain, called the Pouce, alone exhibits a few plots of verdure, by which it is relieved; but on the left, rather more in the distance, the Pitterboth; and on the right, considerably nearer, the Morne des Signaux, crown a bare and wild landscape, but full of harmony and fine tones of colour. An abler pencil than mine might give you a good idea of it: I felt that the task was above my powers.

On entering the town, you find it extremely dull, notwithstanding the little enclosures with which almost all the houses are surrounded. That part which has been burned must, however, have exhibited a more respectable appearance. The proximity of the buildings gave it at least the look of a town, and they formed passages which might be called streets. Now, in the centre of the town, you still fancy yourself in the country.

The interior of the houses is not destitute of elegance, but in point of cleanliness they are far behind those of the Cape. Here every thing is of finer quality, there in nicer order: at the Mauritius the articles of furniture are more costly, more

sumptuous ; at the Cape they are more homely, but more convenient. In short, cleanliness is a luxury in this colony; in the other a necessary; and in this particular the Cape must be preferred to Port Louis : in every other the Isle of France has greatly the advantage.

The landing-place is between the *Trou Fanfaron* and the *Tour des Blagueurs:* this might be taken for a piece of pleasantry. The government-house, which faces you, consists of two wings, which stand so close, that they must, in some degree, intercept the light from the apartments in the centre building. A gallery of very close columns runs along the front, and makes it look still meaner. A certain taste, though whimsical, governs the architecture of the Cape; here you see it violated at every step. You would say that this is a proof of obstinacy, or rather eccentricity.

There is not any public place in the town, if we exclude the bazars, which are only large markets; but the Champ de Mars, situated at the foot of the Pouce, is spacious, and kept in good order. Hither the ladies of Port Louis resort on Sundays, to display their finery, and to hear the harsh tones of military music, which would be expected to drive them away.

At one end of the Champ de Mars is the tomb of General Malartic, formerly governor of the island. This piece of architecture, left unfinished, is in a strange, but severe and grand style.

The town is divided into quarters or *camps*. The *Malabar Camp* is that generally chosen for their residence by the Indians and Chinese, who come to the island with the intention of staying there some time: it contains nothing but miserable huts. The *Free Camp* is composed of small buildings, occupied by the free Mulatto women. The intermediate space between the camps is what is called the *town*.

You may go at all hours into any house of the *Free Camp*, taken at random, without incurring the displeasure of the mistress,

or running any risk of being turned out, provided you jingle a few piastres, or drop, as if undesignedly, a handful of bank notes. You know there are certain streets in Paris, where the first comer enjoys the same privilege.

It will always be by comparison that I shall judge of the most important objects of our voyage, and upon this principle I shall be less liable to mistakes. Had I proceeded directly to the Isle of France, and not seen Negro slaves any where else, I should have considered their situation so happy, as to prefer it to that of the greatest part of our labourers. They know nothing of slavery but the name: they are obliged, indeed, to work, but the kind treatment of their masters encourages them, and doubles their zeal. In Brasil, they are beasts of burden, whom the whip urges to action: here they are men, who are restrained by just punishments, and stimulated by rewards. At Rio, a slave must remain a slave all his life; here he may cherish the hope of some day becoming free. In Brasil, so little account is taken of a Negro, that search is scarcely ever made for the perpetrator of a murder, on one of these unfortunate creatures; a smile of satisfaction is never suffered to play upon their lips; and a moment's pleasure is deemed in them a crime. Here, on the contrary, it is always a song that excites them to labour; they are permitted to call to mind their native country, and that, perhaps, because the comparison produces in their minds feelings of gratitude. In Brasil a Black has but two ideas—that of his slavery, and that of the revenge which he constantly cherishes in his bosom. Here a slave thinks, and, what is still more, he profits by his reason.

An aged Negro lately called upon M. Pitot, one of the most respectable merchants in the colony, and begged to know if he would sell one of his Blacks. 'You are an honest man,' said he; 'you will not impose upon me. I have two sons who are slaves.

I mean to give liberty to one of them, as soon as I can find a good substitute for him. I have saved sufficient to pay you in ready money; and I hope to lay up enough before I die to redeem my second son.'—'But why,' asked M. Pitot, 'do you not rather purchase your own liberty?'—'For good reasons, sir. I am now old, and if I cease to be a slave, I must support myself the rest of my life; whereas, in my present situation, when age shall no longer permit me to work, my master will be obliged to keep me, and when I am sick, my children will have it in their power to take care of me.'—I am very sure that this Negro found his reward in the compliance of M. Pitot, and that he had no reason to repent his bargain.

It would be the height of prejudice not to admit that there are many bad subjects among the Negroes of the Isle of France; but they are severely chastised, and their masters have the satisfaction to observe that these punishments are generally productive of good effects.

The Europeans, who come for the first time to the colonies, are incessantly deploring and exclaiming against the wretched condition of the slaves. In their eyes corrections are acts of revolting cruelty and tyranny: their philanthropy cannot suppose an unfortunate creature, deprived of liberty, to be capable of doing wrong. Their hatred of the colonists is vented in works dictated by humanity and the love of order; and their principles tend, at the same time, to nothing less than the subversion of institutions, which, though severe, are wise, and absolutely necessary to the existence of the colonies. I formerly entertained such sentiments myself, but did not then consider, that a man, who here receives fifty or sixty lashes, would be punished in France with several years imprisonment. What, ye apostles of humanity, would be done in France with a servant who had robbed his master of gold or jewels? He would be sent to the galleys, after being publicly branded. Here he would receive fifty stripes, and his punishment

would last ten minutes. If there be any cause for astonishment, it is that such mildness should prevail here, and such barbarity in our wise Europe.

LETTER XLV.

Isle of France.

I KNOW not why this island seemed to me, on my arrival, a country of romance. The names of *Grande Rivière*, *Rivière Noire*, *Piterboth*, *Pamplemousses* and *Rivière des Lataniers*, charming places, celebrated by the muse of Bernardin de St. Pierre, and which interested my boyhood, excited in me a curiosity which I could not forbear gratifying. Paul and Virginia, I was going to accompany you in your walks, to follow you into the ravines, to stroll by your side at the foot of the *Trois Mamelles*, to assist you in recrossing the torrent, to visit your cottages in the *Enfoncement des Prêtres*. I was going to enjoy the caresses of your tender mothers, and to contemplate with emotion the two palm-trees, which dated from your birth and were to fall with you. Why, alas! must such sweet illusions be destroyed! Why is Paul now but an imaginary being in my eyes; why is Virginia merely an almost unknown victim of the waves!... I arrive, and inquire for the *Pass of St. Geran*.—There it is, near the *Ile Plate*. The keel of the vessel is still there; I contrive to break off a piece of iron from it..... Virginia was found there..... Yonder is *Tomb* Bay. In vain I seek the tomb of Virginia: it is said to be in M. Cambernon's garden, at Pamplemousses, opposite to that of Paul.... A fiction of course.... I attempt to follow the interesting Creoles in their excursions, but have not

the strength: they go twenty leagues a day, on foot, and over rocks and precipices.

It was easy for Bernardin to infuse interest into his novel without altering the topography. He had lived in the Isle of France; he wished his work to be regarded as historical, and he has himself furnished criticism with weapons. If I read Paul and Virginia again, I am certain that I shall be less affected, for I am acquainted with facts which will destroy all the charm of my earlier perusals. The love of the two principal characters will appear to me a mere freak of Bernardin's imagination, and when I would seek consolation for their sorrows, I shall say to myself: *Their sorrows are but fiction!*

Madame Latour, whatever the eloquent author of the *Studies of Nature* may say, did not die of grief for the loss of her daughter Virginia, in the shipwreck of the St. Geran, since, after that fatal event, which is a fact, and the death of her first husband at Madagascar, she was three times married (out of grief perhaps), the first time to M. Mallet, whose family is not extinct; the second to M. Creuton; and the third to M. de Colligny. She was grandmother to the family of St. Martin, still living in *Wilhem's Plains.*

The pastor, who acts such a fine part in the novel, was a Chevalier de Bernage, son of an *echevin*, of Paris, who belonged to the musqueteers, was engaged in a duel, killed his antagonist, and withdrew to the Isle of France, where he resided at the *Rivière du Rempart*, half a league from the spot where the St. Geran struck. He was highly respected by his neighbours, to whom he rendered important services, and acted as mediator in their little quarrels.

As to Paul, there are no data whatever of his existence: thus the whole edifice on which the novel was built falls to the ground of itself.

This country, as I have observed, appeared to me to be a country of romance. Several important facts, and some extraordinary historical events, seem to justify my notion. Various persons there knew the daughter-in-law of the Czar Peter, who, apprehensive of being included in the charges brought against her husband, and dreading the like fate, escaped from Russia and retired to Paris, where she long lived in obscurity. She there married in the sequel a M. Moldac or Maldac, serjeant-major in a regiment that was sent to the Isle of France, and who, after his arrival, was promoted, by command of the court, to a majority. The husband was apparently acquainted with the rank of his wife, and never spoke to her but with respect. M. de la Bourdonnaie himself, and all his officers, treated her with the same consideration; and it was not till after the death of her second husband, that the wife of Petrowitz disclosed her rank.

There died also, during our short stay here, a Madame de Pujo, wife of a French colonel of that name. She was the celebrated Anastasia, the mistress of Benyowsky, who took her with him when he fled from exile in Siberia, and who accompanied him to Kamtschatka, to China, to this colony, and to Madagascar, where he was killed by a detachment of French troops, sent by the governor of the Isle of France to remove him from that island, of which he sought to make himself sovereign, and where he had already formed a considerable party.

Few men have experienced so many vicissitudes as Benyowsky, and his daring spirit alone can account for his success. He had one leg much shorter than the other, and it was upon this that he habitually rested; but when irritated, he raised himself upon the longer, his sparkling eyes became still more expressive, and his strongly-marked features assumed so fierce a character as to strike terror into all around him. His astonishing presence of mind in the greatest dangers, his invincible perseverance in

his daring projects, his unparalleled success—what more did he require to reign over a people with whom fool-hardiness is the chief of virtues?

These circumstances alone, though romantic, would not have been sufficient to make me persist in my first notion, had not the aspect of the country and its situation in this hemisphere encouraged me in it. If I went to sketch the cascade of the *Reduit* or that of the *Chimère*, I always figured to myself two unfortunate and exiled lovers choosing for themselves an asylum among those bare rocks which the most amorous of birds, the tropical swallow, skims with rapid wing. There I erected their cot, which I surrounded with a little orchard: I sat down on the turf seat consecrated by misfortune, and sauntered in imagination round the peaceful basin formed by the noisy cascade. If I climbed the Pouce mountain, I never failed, when pausing beneath a spreading tree, to look back at the immense ocean: I was astonished that Nature had lavished her gifts on this little spot of ground, and that the arts and sciences had fixed their abode there. There, at the foot of that gigantic and fantastic mountain, the Piterboth, I raised a temple to the genii; I charged the amiable sylphs to protect incessantly the peaceful and industrious inhabitants of the neighbouring quarters; it was always by my orders that benefits were distributed, labour rewarded with abundance, zeal with favours, affection and friendship with reciprocal friendship and affection. Sometimes I dispensed slight sorrows in order to give a higher zest to happiness, and I made these sequestered shores my favourite abode.... In the tempestuous season, I beheld, shuddering, the fierce north wind lash the waves, lift them up with violence, sweep away my beloved cottages, and spread mourning, and desolation around. But when mild zephyr.... You see I am pretty far advanced in the land of chimeras. I am on the plain that overlooks the *Champ-Delor*; and the scenery around me is so enchanting, that it may well

excuse my extravagance: it was certainly a dream, but which I should wish to last for ever, were not the remembrance of our happy days and of your flattering friendship a much more real and delicious enjoyment to my heart.

LETTER XLVI.

Isle of France.

THERE is no instance in this island of a single murder committed by a Creole: and yet some barbarous writers dare to calumniate these peaceful colonists, who still shudder at a horrid catastrophe which occurred here many years ago.

Several officers and soldiers, belonging to a French regiment in garrison at the Mauritius, broke at night into the habitation of Madame Lehelle, one of the handsomest women in the colony, of whom one of these officers, the Sieur de V * * *, was madly enamoured. This lady, alarmed at various threats thrown out by her passionate admirer, had requested her husband not to quit the house, situated in the extensive woods of Flacq; but as business called him to town, he thought he might without danger leave his wife at home by herself for a few hours. A soldier named Sans-Quartier, who was permitted to hawk things about the country, contrived to have the door opened for the assassins, who, after committing the crimes of rape and murder, set the house on fire. An aged invalid, who was kept to protect the place, fell a victim to his fidelity: the female slaves were violated, and the men butchered. It seems that Madame Lehelle found means to get away, since one of her shoes was picked up in the wood about a quarter of a mile off, and she was herself found murdered near the same spot.

All the soldiers implicated in this shocking affair were executed; and the Sieur de V*** owed his life solely to the regard in which his family was held. Sans-Quartier at first escaped, and spread consternation over the island; but, being at length taken, he was conveyed, gagged, to the place of execution, to prevent his naming the instigators of the crime, and broken alive on the wheel.

Since this horrid affair, there has not been, I repeat it, a single murder committed in the Mauritius. And it is on account of some severe punishments which it is necessary to inflict on offending Negroes, that the hasty pen of pretended philanthropists dares to attack the mild manners of the colonists!.... Let them traverse this island in every direction, and they will still find the doors of the houses open even during the night; and these hospitable habitations guarded by confidence and honesty.

The Creoles, in general, are weaker than Europeans, and not accustomed to fatigue. If they have ever so short a distance to go, they ride either on horseback or in a palanquin; and I have found few good walkers among them. They nevertheless endure with ease the privations and heat of the tropics; but, unused to lower temperatures, they have great difficulty to habituate themselves to the climate of the north of France.

The maturity of persons of both sexes, and of all classes, in the Isle of France, is extremely early. Girls there are frequently marriageable at the age of eleven years; and it is not rarely the case, that at fifteen, youth of the other sex have used, and perhaps abused, all their physical faculties.

The women are very fruitful: instances are known of their having twenty-five children; and a Negress was delivered, a few months since, of five, all of whom lived several weeks. The average number, however, produced by Creole women may be computed at four or five, and by the black women, whose conduct is not too licentious, at six or eight. I have heard of a mulatto

woman who had thirteen children at seven births. This fertility is the more surprising, as libertinism with these women is not looked upon as a vice, and they give themselves up to it as if they had nothing to fear from its baneful effects.

There is no public library or Athenæum at the Isle of France; but the colonial college, which is one of the many benefits of the government of General Decaën, may vie with the best of our provincial Lyceums, both in regard to the choice of the professors, and their zeal in the performance of their duties.

The boys, however, becoming men before their time, quit the academic forms before the full completion of their education, and have the double misfortune to forget quickly what they have learned, and to have too early a sense of their independence. I have accordingly remarked, that the best-informed inhabitants of this colony were such whose education was finished in Europe, and who left it before they had imbibed our vices and our absurdities.

It is high time, in my opinion, to correct this defect, which may lead to the most pernicious consequences. I see the evil, but cannot point out a remedy for it. Each house, I know, has its library, and youth, on leaving the college, may, you will tell me, continue their studies at home. I think otherwise. To me it seems difficult, if not impossible, for a young man, who, for the first time, tastes the sweets of liberty, to withstand the allurements by which he is soon surrounded. Females, whose thoughts, ever since they began to think, have been exclusively directed to pleasure, whose education has tended solely to that object; and who, from inclination, profession, and duty, are devoted to the worship of the god of gardens, grant their ready favours to these giddy youths, who rarely resist their intoxicating caresses, lavish on them sums of which they rob

their families, and are almost always too much dazzled to perceive the precipice to which their blind infatuation is hurrying them.

Enticing balls, and entertainments, at which these mulatto women preside, daily collect swarms of admirers, who sigh no longer than the moment in which they venture to declare themselves. At these brilliant parties, luxury displays all that can flatter and dazzle the senses. The most superb cachemirs, the finest laces, abound there: and a mulatto woman has frequently been known to purchase, without hesitation, a dress which a wealthy Creole lady has thought far too dear. Add to all this elegance, a person fraught with graces; forms with which the Grecian sculptor might have embellished the master-pieces of his genius; a conversation always interesting, and seasoned with traits of sentiment; manners the most gentle; a desire to captivate, which heightens the charms of beauty itself; an enchanting smile, which provokes a compliment; a look, which invites you to be bold; exquisite cleanliness; talents; the most tender attentions; in short, all the qualities of the heart, compatible with the absence of modesty; and the most rigid stoic will conceive at least, if not excuse, the dominion which these women retain so long over their admirers. Must I farther confess, and shall I not be passing a severe judgment on the Creoles, if I add, that the connexions formed with free mulatto women become real marriages; and that the imprudent man, who imagines that he is forming a tie, which he can dissolve in a few days, often finds himself entangled for the rest of his life.

It is only for want of connexions with the whites that the free mulatto women consent to marry men of their own class; and they think it much more honourable to be the mistresses of young colonists and Europeans than the lawful wives of free

mulattoes, whose conduct, generally dissolute, promises them but little happiness from their union.

The mulatto Creole women are in general tall and well-shaped; but they have large feet, from their habit of going from childhood without shoes. Their breasts are small, but well placed; their teeth extremely white; their eyes full of languor; their hair long, black, and not curly; and their arms and legs rather slender. Some of them have very fair, nay even light complexions, and it would be very difficult for a stranger to distinguish them from the *ladies*, whose tone and language they easily acquire.

It is impossible at present to foretel what may be the ultimate result of the total disappearance of the shade that yet separates the two classes. Will the *ladies*, already less mortified by the homage paid to their rivals, be at length induced to tolerate an approximation which is still odious to them, but which the whites of the colony, and the Europeans in particular, consider as inevitable a few years hence? Will the government interfere in this important quarrel, and permit marriages between free women and the white colonists? It has already winked at several unions of this kind; and, for my part, I am of opinion that, by the force of circumstances, what is now regarded as a favour will finally triumph over the repugnance of the whites and the original intention of the legislator.

Besides, I cannot see that this would be any great misfortune, or indeed any misfortune at all: for, every thing duly considered, it is perhaps better that, in proportion as the original stain becomes effaced, the whites should admit among them that portion of the mulatto population which, from education and good conduct, shall appear worthy of the favour. The disproportion between the black and white population will disappear; and perhaps the catastrophe with which the so-called philan-

thropic system of the English threatens the colonies will be averted, or at least removed to a greater distance, because the number of persons interested in preventing it will be sensibly increasing every day. There is also reason to believe that, in order to attain this distinction, so ardently desired by all persons of *mixed blood*, mothers will study to give a better direction to the education of their children, and that a gradual improvement will be effected in their morals. Several Creole ladies, without children, have already taken young mulatto girls, given them the best education, and instilled into them the best principles. Twenty years ago these girls could not have gone into company with their adoptive mothers; but this prejudice has lost much of its strength, and the example of some persons of influence in the colony will probably soon become a general rule.

An amiable mulatto girl, not less virtuous than handsome, has been recently married to a young man highly respectable in every point of view; and though he has thought fit to leave the colony, from an apprehension that the public opinion there might be unfavourable to him, he has never yet regretted, amid the felicity resulting from this union, the sacrifice which he has made to his interesting partner.

The first step is taken: not to oppose these connexions is to authorise them; and a few happy examples will, I think, completely destroy antiquated prejudices.

A mother in the Isle of France must be of a very delicate constitution to think of putting her infant out to nurse; and it would be with great difficulty she would consent to renounce a duty at once so painful and pleasant. She would rather assist nature with the bottle or with goat's milk; and scarcely ever abandons her children entirely to the care of a stranger. This repugnance arises chiefly from the apprehension lest the negro women, to whom they are obliged to recur, should not be healthy, and

transmit to their nurslings some of the physical complaints with which they are generally afflicted. The Creoles suckle a long time when dentition is slow and painful, but in general they are weaned between twelve and fifteen months.

The Mulattoes and the Creoles are not so long-lived as the whites; and the women of the same classes, on account of their dissolute way of life, seldom survive the age of thirty-five or forty.

In speaking of the balls of the free mulatto women, I forgot to tell you, that the whites alone are admitted to them, either as dancers or spectators, whilst their brothers, husbands, and relatives are not allowed to be present. Several of these Ninons speak French very correctly, and even write it with purity: some of them, since the conquest of the island, have learned English, and express themselves fluently in that language. The guitar is their favourite instrument, and in general they sing very well: but dancing is the art in which they excel; and I have seen some who, if they had been instructed by abler masters, would have appeared without disadvantage among our best female dancers of the capital. The free mulattoes, on their part, succeed very well on the violin; there are few who do not play by rote, but they have a wonderful knack at retaining all the tunes they hear, and perform them with remarkable correctness and precision. They themselves compose charming waltzes and country-dances, or vary those of the French composers with great taste. Their worst scrapers are never out in regard to time; and I have seen at Port Louis several minstrels, with whom the celebrated Julien himself would perhaps have been afraid to compete.

The only villages in the island are those of the Great River, and that of South East Harbour. On different parts of the coast there are a few fishing huts, especially in the vicinity of the military posts, the most important of which are at Mahebourg and

Flacq. The population of the whole island consists of from ten to twelve thousand white inhabitants, ten or eleven thousand of all nations, and eighty thousand slaves.

LETTER XLVII.

Isle of France.

I TOLD you in a former letter that I found more gaiety among the negroes in the Isle of France than among those in Brasil, and I was not mistaken. It is happiness that inspires their songs. A certain tone and certain manners prevail among them, and divide them into various classes. The blacks employed about the persons of masters, whose service is easier and less humiliating than household occupations, frequently assume a consequence which proves that pride is not confined to any condition, to any country, or to any class: they never address other slaves but in a commanding and imperious tone. It is from among them that masters select the inflicters of their punishments; and it must be confessed that they acquit themselves of this office tolerably well; for these chastisements are much more to be feared when applied by them. But then, what rejoicing is there among the inferiors when these petty tyrants have committed some fault! They are eager to witness the punishment inflicted on them, and their malicious joy proves that they make no distinction between him who orders and him who executes.

The blacks scarcely ever attain so advanced an age as the whites, and this I attribute to their extreme lewdness, which they

cannot indulge, on account of their daily labours, but at moments which they ought to devote to rest. It is well known that nothing is more common than for slaves to absent themselves at dark, when they will go several leagues to see their women, and not return to the residences of their masters till the bell summons them to work. The abuse of spirituous liquors, of which all the blacks are passionately fond, is another cause of their early decrepitude; and it is very rare but that at fifty the negroes of both sexes appear as infirm as the whites do at a much more advanced age. There are, nevertheless, very aged blacks, especially in the caste of the Indians; which is attributed to the circumstance of their being, in general, reserved for domestic service, because they are handsomer than the other slaves. They appear to me to be also more solicitous to please, more dexterous, and infinitely more cleanly than the negroes from Madagascar, and still more than those of Mozambique.

The law for the abolition of the slave trade having come by surprise upon the Isle of France, which was not allowed any of the preparatory delays granted by Great Britain to her own colonies, the inhabitants found it impossible to import from Madagascar and the coast of Africa, the number of women requisite for producing an indispensable equilibrium between the sexes, in order that the births might equal the mortality. The consequence of this state of things is, that the small number of women on the island being devoted, either from instinct or lasciviousness, to the pleasures of a much more considerable number of males, are scarcely ever fruitful, and always unhealthy. The natural result must be a rapid decrease in the population of this colony, and of all others in the same predicament, unless the British government becomes convinced of the necessity of applying a remedy to the evil.

Abortion is frequent among the negro women; because, con-

cealing their pregnancy as long as possible, lest they should be separated from the great gang of negroes, and be sent under the inspection of overseers to work in the garden, or to make sacks, baskets, and mats, they continue to labour in the fields, and meet with serious accidents, of which even their owners are not apprized. Their nocturnal excursions; their dances, from which, in spite of pregnancy, they will not abstain; and their unbounded licentiousness, all contribute greatly to the frequent miscarriages which occur in most establishments. To all these causes must be ascribed the almost general aversion of the negresses from the performance of the duties of maternity, which induces them to take infusions of savin, and other pernicious plants.

The same philanthropists, whose works have, during the last twenty years, diffused over Europe so many false or ridiculous notions respecting the blacks, have asserted that the negresses commit this crime, merely that they may not transmit to their children the cruel yoke under which they themselves groan; whereas their only object is to rid themselves of the trouble of nursing their infants, which would be a complete restraint upon them, especially during the nights devoted to their amorous excursions. The fear of being more closely watched, and kept more confined than in their ordinary state, also makes them dislike having children; and when they cannot avoid it, their carelessness of the health, and even of the life, of their offspring can scarcely be conceived. A thousand times have these mothers been seen to beat the poor little creatures with such violence, that their owners were obliged to take them away, and commit them to the care of others. On this account, there are on almost every estate old negro women, appointed to nurse all the children as soon as they are weaned. By this method many accidents, chargeable solely to the neglect and the cruelty of the mothers,

are obviated. There are, however, honourable exceptions to this almost general rule; and some good mothers are to be found among the best characters on the estates, but more frequently in the town. The negresses attach such value to the liberty which they enjoy at night, and during the hours of rest in the *camp*, that nothing is more difficult than to make them attend upon ladies. I have seen young and very pretty slaves refuse compliance with the commands of their owners to this effect, and even defy chastisement; and though sure of being better dressed, better fed, better liked by the whites, and above all, better paid, run away, whenever force was employed to keep them in the house; and not relinquish their vagabond life till their owners, worn out by their resistance, consented to send them back to their labour in the fields.

According to a regulation of one of the last governors, a runaway negro, when caught, was to receive fifty lashes, and the person who caught him was to be paid a reward of two piastres. What was the consequence?.... Two of them would draw lots which should be the deserter; the other, who pretended to have caught him, after the punishment of his accomplice, shared with him the reward given for his apprehension. Can you now suppose that thirty or forty lashes are too severe a punishment for an offender, when a fellow voluntarily submits to it for the sake of a piastre?

The blacks of all classes are very fond of music; they easily remember our airs, and sing or whistle them with more taste and feeling than they would naturally be supposed to possess.—They also compose little airs, fraught with melancholy expression; and the melody of which is pleasing to the most practised European ear. You shall have an opportunity of judging for yourself; for I have procured some of the most harmonious, of which our best composers would have no need to be ashamed.

Their dances are known by the general denomination of *Chega* or *Tchega*, (*Chica* in Brasil), a Mosambique dance, which has some resemblance to the fandango; and would not be seen with less pleasure if it were executed by other actors, and if the voluptuousness which pervades it did not degenerate towards the conclusion into disgusting lewdness. The *Chega* may be compared with a drama embracing all the degrees, all the shades of an amorous passion, from the first declaration to the triumph of the lover inclusively. In the town, the actors display less indecency; but in the country, a negro and a negress step forth into the middle of a numerous circle, to the sound of the *tam-tam*. Their countenances are at first inanimate, their gestures inexpressive. They approach, look at each other, turn successively on their heels, receding and advancing several times. Their looks soon show more animation; their motions become at the same time more rapid and more tender, and by degrees both arrive at a state of amorous intoxication, which cannot fail to scandalize the least modest of the white spectators. The ardour of the lover and the coquetry of his mistress are expressed in their faces with the greatest energy: they pout, and then make up matters again; and every time this little scene is repeated they approach nearer to one another; the lover becomes more urgent, his mistress more kind; she seems ready to yield; but a last effort once more removes her to a distance from her conqueror. The latter, piqued at her resistance, runs away too; but the tender looks which they exchange as they return soon put an end to this momentary ill humour; both again approach each other, their knees touch, their lips meet, and ..... the white spectators retire or turn their faces another way. Not so the blacks who surround them; their sparkling eyes, their expressive gestures, their stamping, their shouts, announce the deep interest they take in the scene that is passing before them, and the impatience with which they

await the moment of figuring in it in their turn. It frequently happens that, irritated by the lascivious looks of the female dancer, whom all the provocations of her lover cannot allure to the *denouement* of this erotic dance, a fresh champion enters the lists, and takes the place ineffectually occupied by an unfortunate rival. The first dancer retires without betraying ill humour or mortification, and, mingling with the spectators, he, like them, stimulates with voice and gesture his happy successor.

These dances, in which the blacks on every estate would gladly indulge every night, are not permitted by their owners excepting on Saturday evenings; because the Sunday being a day of rest, they may then recruit themselves from the fatigue of the preceding night.

The female mulatto slaves, and such of the negresses whose personal advantages permit them to sell their favours at so high a rate as to enable them to dress well enough, disdain in general the national dances, and scarcely ever attend any but balls, where country-dances, the Russian dance, and the waltz, reign without rivals. These parties are held more especially on New year's day, at the commencement of cane-cutting, and particularly on occasion of the wedding or christening of any of the members of the family of their owner, who never fails to contribute liberally to their entertainment.

LETTER XLVIII.

Isle of France.

THE duty that I have yet to perform, in order to complete my correspondence respecting this colony, is very delightful to my heart, as it is discharging the debt of gratitude.

There exists here, under the denomination of the *Oval Table*, a society of amiable and enlightened men, who every week meet to enjoy banquets at which the sincerest friendship and the most unreserved gaiety preside; and who, free from the superciliousness of the poetasters of the capital, estimate their trifles at their real value, are not offended at a severe criticism, and, strangers to the silly quarrels of so many wits, versify to sing, and sing to make merry.

Judge of my pleasure, I had almost said my pride, on receiving a note from the president, inviting me to one of these jovial parties. I wished to be first at the place of meeting, eager to express my gratitude, and fearful of losing a moment of a banquet from which I had been promised the most exquisite pleasure.

In a grove, none of the greenest to be sure (for we must nothing embellish), I found already assembled a Mallac, whose correct and easy muse seems to be no stranger to any species of composition; a Bernard*, by whom Thalia, with regret, beheld her court deserted, but whom glory won and associated with the triumphs of a general, his guide and his friend; an Arrighi, who celebrates with equal success heroes and good wine; a Chomel, cashier of the bank, whose treasures he preserves, while he lavishes those of which Apollo has been lavish to him; a Coudray, whom the confidence of government has placed at the head of the colonial college, and who fully justifies this honourable choice; a Tenaud, the vanquisher of the fair by means of elegant madrigals; a Depinay, more useful still at the bar than at those banquets, where his presence cannot be dispensed with; a Mancel, whose humorous productions it is easier to admire than to imitate; a Josse (who is not a goldsmith), as familiar with the

* Aide-de-camp to the brave General Decaën.

pleasing trifles of a Bertin and a Parny as with the sublime truths of a Newton and a Descartes; a Pitot, the Berenger of this hemisphere, whose charming pieces have been so often plundered by the piratical song-writers of the capital. I shall say nothing of his brother, whose extraordinary talent for painting you will soon have an opportunity of admiring at the exhibition in Paris; of a Fadeuille, who cures more patients than he kills (a circumstance too rare among us); of a Maingard, covered as well with the palms of glory as with the crowns of Momus; of an Epidarise Colin, the worthy rival of Parny, whose pupil he was*; and of many others, not less esteemed than estimable, and who, gay disciples of Epicurus, know no sorrows but those which afflict their friends.

There are men of wit in this society, and of these doubtless not a few; but that character alone is not sufficient to procure admission into it. The first quality required in a member is that of an honest man: they desire good songs, but they insist on good principles; and a proof that they have never erred in their choice is, that amidst all the disasters which have befallen this colony, amidst revolutions which have given them new masters, this useful and pleasing institution has stood its ground. In their sanctuary, gaily seated between Pomard and Chambertin, these intrepid Epicureans seemed to bid defiance to fortune, and in the midst of their festivities strains of gratitude, from victims of misfortune, whom their kindness had relieved, sometimes arose, mingled with their jovial songs, and intoxicated them with a still more exquisite pleasure.

* It was with great pain that I learned, on my return, the death of this young advocate of the highest merit, the rare qualities of whose heart had won him, even in a higher degree than his talents, the esteem and admiration of all who knew him.

I have been lucky, my friend, or these gentlemen have been extremely indulgent. My muse, as yet a novice, attempted, in feeble strains, to pay a compliment to their interesting institution; and whether it was that gratitude successfully guided my pen, or that they forgave my rhymes on account of the sentiments, they decreed that I should be their guest during our stay in their island. Their offer was too kind for me to refuse it; and I am not so averse from pleasure as to require the frequent repetition of so flattering an invitation.

The president, M. Thomy Pitot, whose house is the resort of all that is amiable and respectable in the colony, welcomed me with the greatest kindness. I went thither the first time out of politeness; the second, for the sake of pleasure; the third, out of gratitude; and in the sequel, if I was apprehensive in the morning that I could not enjoy the same happiness, I considered the day as lost*.

Why did we arrive so late at the Isle of France! Why did we leave it so soon!

Almost all the members of the Oval Table presented me at parting with flattering pledges of their friendship. You shall read, on my return, some of these pleasing productions. You will see if any of the writers are worthy of celebrating glory, and if any of them can wield the lash of satire. Adieu!

* I received, not long since, the melancholy intelligence of the death of M. Pitot. What a loss for the colony! What a grief to all its inhabitants! What an affliction to his numerous friends!

LETTER XLIX.

St. Denis, Isle of Bourbon, 1818.

THE distance between the Isle of France and that of Bourbon is about a hundred miles; but the one is nearly two hundred years behind the other.

Their soil is equal in quality, their productions alike, and their climate nearly the same. Both were discovered at the same time by Mascarenhas, a Portuguese. Both are subject to violent hurricanes; both have frequently been ravaged by them: it is possible that a single day may annihilate both colonies. In 1816, a destructive conflagration consumed the hopes of more than a thousand families in the Isle of France. The tremendous hurricane of 1818, which laid it waste, spared its neighbour. Whence, then, that prodigious difference observable between them, and the immense superiority of that which has ceased to belong to us?

The one has a safe and capacious harbour; the other affords the navigator no protection against the fury of the ocean.

Rocks crowned with verdure, frightful precipices, lofty and majestic mountains, torrents, waterfalls, huts, a few houses, and a volcano—such is Bourbon to him who seeks only the grand effects of Nature. Magnificent cocoa-nut trees, vast plantations of cloves and coffee, and extensive fields of sugar-canes—such is Bourbon to him who looks for wealth.

St. Denis, the residence of the governor, is a large town, to judge from the space which it occupies, but very small, calculating by the number of houses: when you go out a-shooting, you

may give a call to your neighbour. Every hut has its kitchen-garden and its rural promenade; you are at one and the same time in the country and in the town.

There is no college either at St. Denis or at St. Paul: the people of course are ignorant, not because they will not learn, but because they cannot. The old and the young are almost exclusively engaged in agriculture; and it must be confessed, that if they have not in general that brilliancy which distinguishes the inhabitants of the Isle of France, their judgment is, perhaps, sounder. A fine clove-tree is worth more, in their estimation, than a fine verse; and they would not hesitate a moment between the possession of a few acres of land, and the ability to produce a capital poem. Such were not the sentiments of Parny and a Bertin, whose native soil I am now treading.

Ships may anchor, it is true, in the road of St. Denis, but they must always be prepared to get under way. South-east winds, of excessive violence, frequently compel captains to veer the cable away to the end, and to seek shelter at St. Paul, where, however, they are very little safer.

In the hurricane season, that is, January, February, and March, the sea there is calm indeed; but what a calm it is! Can the prudent and attentive captain, who has but once witnessed one of those calamities which in a few hours blast the hopes of the most flourishing houses, enjoy a single moment's tranquillity*? During the other seasons of the year, hurricanes are less

* In the last hurricane which ravaged this colony, a negro slave had already saved from certain death, and at the risk of his own life, five unfortunate persons who were struggling with the waves. He was about to plunge, for the sixth time, into the sea, when he was withheld by the affrighted colonists, who told him that he had won his liberty. 'There is another who is drowning!' cried the black: 'I shall be free a quarter of an hour later;' and another wretched creature was rescued from destruction.

to be apprehended, though the sea is tremendous, and it is impossible to feel perfectly secure beside those enormous perpendicular rocks.

The landing-place is dangerous. A wretched bridge, supported by enormous cross-beams, which project several fathoms along the pier, serves for the embarkation of goods. When the sea is smooth, this is the way by which people come on shore; but when there is too great a swell, active and experienced pilots equip a boat on the beach, with which they quickly push out as soon as a wave has broken, or avoid it with wonderful address, which sometimes, however, cannot prevent them from upsetting, and incurring imminent danger. When the weather is too tempestuous, a flag is hoisted in front of the quay, and all communication is then cut off: Bourbon is a real place of exile.

Though the trip is commonly made in twelve hours, yet, owing to contrary winds, we were three days in reaching our anchorage. I am fond of land and dislike the water: without calculating, therefore, whether it was dangerous or not to proceed to the town with a stiff breeze and a high sea, in a frail boat, I embarked the day after our arrival for St. Denis, which, however, I fortunately reached. Experience, indeed, should have taught me more prudence; and since the moment is past, and your friendship, being spared the alarm, will not reproach me, I must give you an account of an accident by which I had well nigh perished at the Isle of France.

M. Lienard, a respectable merchant, to whom I had been furnished with a letter of recommendation at the Cape, and who contributed to render my stay at the Mauritius so agreeable, invited me to go a fishing in one of his boats, and to spend a Sunday with him in the *Tomb Bay*. His invitation was too flattering to be refused, and as he wished to have some more companions, proposed M. Duperrey, one of our ensigns, and M.

Berard, midshipman, both friends of mine, and desirous to be of the party. It was agreed that we should start early the next morning.

The wind was high, blowing in gusts, the sea rough, and we knew that the boat was small, though a good sailer. My three companions called upon me in high spirits, and we proceeded to the harbour. We were all swayed by the same sentiment, but produced by different causes. M. Duperrey thought it very imprudent to set out in such weather, but durst not say so, lest his courage might be suspected; M. Berard was an excellent swimmer, and relied more on his luck than on the goodness of our vessel; and M. Lienard, who remarked that the wind was violent, at the same time extolled the qualities of his boat, but secretly hoped that we would beg him to postpone the excursion to another day. For my part, I, who can swim very little, was sensible also of the danger, but my vanity was stronger than my fear. The blacks, who were to work the boat, obeyed without a word. In short, away we went, loudly promising ourselves a great deal of pleasure, but inwardly anticipating some dangerous accident during our trip.

We set sail and had got out into the road, when the wind suddenly shifted, and laid the sail aback; we eased off the sheet, but as it is difficult to furl sails of cotton stuff, the blacks, who were on their legs, performing these operations, gave more scope to the wind by lightening the bottom of the boat: a sea came and completely upset her, and there we were all in the water, scrambling to get hold of something or other. Messrs. Lienard and Duperrey kept themselves for some time astride on the boat, which was also attacked by the blacks, on whom respect has no influence at such moments. Berard perceived a buoy, to which he swam; and I, regardless of what was passing around me, supported myself and was measuring distances. How correct the

eye is in such a situation! I should not have been a foot wrong in two hundred: but as a person is somewhat flurried at so critical a moment, I did not think of every thing. I had imagined that I might reach the nearest vessel, a short quarter of a league distant; but I had not remarked that the current was against me, and that my clothes absorbed two-thirds of my strength. Before I had got many fathoms, I found myself disheartened; but as I perceived a boat putting off from the nearest ship, and was aware that I should always be in time to let myself go to the bottom, I kept afloat, swallowing now and then a mouthful of salt water with which the wind treated me, and which I did not relish any the better for my situation. At length I beheld the friendly boat bearing down right upon me, and even perceived the exertions of the rowers; she approached, and I verily thought she must have cut me asunder, when a judicious turn of the helm made her tack, and I seized an oar that was held out to me: judge whether I grasped it tightly or not!... The officer commanding on board seized me at the moment when my strength was quite exhausted, and pulled me into the boat. How comfortable I felt under the feet of the sailors, and how little I regretted the lock of hair that was pulled from my head!... Other boats arrived, and picked up my companions; Berard was the last taken on board. He was found at a considerable distance, sitting contentedly on his buoy, which he had already once quitted, to save his portfolio of sketches*.

We got home thoroughly drenched, and firmly resolved to go henceforward on no more such *parties of pleasure*, unless in more

* M. Lienard lost his plate and provisions, M. Duperrey his epaulettes, which were fished up two days afterwards; and I a portfolio of sketches, some money, and an elegant and convenient stand, which I used for drawing in my excursions, and which I owed to the friendship of M. Taunay.

favourable weather and with a calmer sea. I shall keep my promise.

In vain do I seek, my friend, I can find nothing to praise at St. Denis, excepting the public garden, which is small, but laid out with taste. It is the only spot in the town where you may enjoy at all hours of the day an agreeable coolness.

The church is small, naked, and unworthy of the majesty of our religion. It contains but three pictures: the first, which adorns the high-altar, is a Christ, that appears to me to belong to a very good school. It has great breadth of touch; the colouring is faint, but in harmony; and the figures are grouped with skill: I conceive it to be the work of an eminent master. The second, a St. Denis carrying his head in a silver salver, is a poor performance in comparison with the former. The third, a mere daub, is supposed to represent M. de la Bourdonnaie. Over it is this glorious inscription: *To his exertions we owe the salvation of two colonies.* I had real pleasure in contemplating this monument of gratitude, which will long survive, for it is environed by respect.

LETTER L.

St. Denis, Isle of Bourbon.

I HAVE spoken too slightingly of the inhabitants of Bourbon, and with pleasure I do them, in this letter, the justice which they deserve. My precipitation in giving my opinion of this colony needs an excuse, and here it is—I had just quitted a magnificent island, where, at delightful balls, and surrounded by elegant and lovely women, I had very often forgotten my

own country: I had bidden a painful adieu to a society of enlightened men, who had all honoured me with their particular kindness: my heart, devoid of hope, was incessantly carrying back my memory to the past. The pain I had felt at the last place of rendezvous at parting with indulgent and liberal-minded friends: a desire, no doubt excusable, to resist the allurements of new friendships, that I might spare myself fresh regret: all contributed to render the passage from one island to the other painful and disagreeable to me. Add to these gloomy reflections the effect produced upon me by the appearance of a bare, parched coast, destitute of vegetation, intersected by torrents, and you will have some idea of the ill humour that at first accompanied my excursions. I recorded my impressions at the moment I felt them; and incidents were necessary to render my mind a little composed.

Nature now wears a more smiling face; the town is more animated; the young men have more merit; the ladies are more lovely; every thing is altered in my eyes, or rather my manner of viewing them has alone taken a different direction. I confess, my friend, I saw badly: reflection sets every thing in its proper place.

I am just come from the ball: the assembly was charming. It was almost the Isle of France; it was almost Paris. Do they not dance better here than at the Mauritius? I think they do. I am indebted to M. Achilles Bédier for a delightful evening; a similar one I already owed to M. Montbrun-Desbassayns, whose family received me with the most flattering attention. Poor France! poor country! thy flag may wave on that staff, which overlooks the road; but not a wish, not a sigh, escapes my heart. I am very well here; perhaps because I am among Frenchmen..... A gun is fired, the ship is getting under way.

What! already! .... How this life displeases me, how tiresome is the sea! I had rather join the ship by land, and traverse the country. M. de Lescouble, an inhabitant of St. Denis, a lover of the arts, which he cultivates with success, has the goodness to act as a guide to two of my friends and me. He knows the easiest paths, the most curious situations, the most difficult passages: he offers his services with so good a grace that we cannot be too prodigal in our thanks.

I confess I have been not a little surprised at the beauty of the roads, in the midst of forests, among enormous rocks, and on the steep declivity of huge masses of lava. Under the government of M. de la Bourdonnaie (for we must recur to him, when we would speak of any benefits conferred on these two settlements*), magnificent roads, called *rampes*, which secure both horse and foot passengers from all danger, have been cut over steep mountains. Were there only a bridge over the river des Galets, which is sometimes a ravaging torrent, the communication between St. Denis and St. Paul would never be interrupted.

On all parts of this road the vegetation did not appear to me very rich. I remarked only here and there a few fine patches of verdure, chiefly in the valleys, and on the slopes of the hills. However, the landscape painter would here find much to enrich his port-folio, as the prospect varies at every step, and at every step nature varies her productions; and if the eye look down alarmed amid tremendous precipices, or raise itself, astonished, to majestic summits, it may roam with tranquillity, from time

* Accounts from the Isle of Bourbon inform us, that M. de la Bourdonnaie is not the only governor who has known how to dispense benefits there. M. Freycinet, the brother of the commander of our expedition, to whom the king has entrusted the government of this colony, finds there, at present, friends and admirers.

to time, over magnificent valleys, animated by scenes in which the negroes are exhilarating their labour by the monotonous sound of their wild airs.

A town that you look for, when you are already in the middle of it, is a singular spectacle. Such is *St. Paul.* I was in the principal square, without having the least suspicion of it; and had gone through half the town without seeing any houses. To my mind it is the most melancholy abode in the world. Sand, sand, nothing but sand. The English have certainly lost nothing by the exchange, and we shall always have reason to regret the Isle of France.

LETTER LI.

St. Denis (Isle of Bourbon.)

THIS island has repeatedly changed its name. The Portuguese, who discovered it, gave it that of *Mascarenha:* when it was visited by M. Bory de St. Vincent, it bore that of *la Réunion.* This traveller examined it with such attention, that, to use the words of M. Bosc, in the report he made of M. Bory's work, we have not more authentic accounts of the natural history of any country than those he has given of the Isle of Bourbon.

A considerable volcano, separated from the rest of the island by a vast enclosure of rocks, is incessantly in action. Rising more than 1300 toises above the level of the ocean, it is crowned by three craters. Bory gave the name of the celebrated *Dolomieu* to that which he observed burning. His companions gave

his to that which is separated from *Dolomieu* by the central peak; a real chimney, through which the subterranean fires keep up a communication with those of the sky. Such a compliment was due to the man who was so active in his researches; who visited acclivities, to which no inhabitant of a very populous island had yet penetrated; who, surmounting a thousand precipices, constructed an excellent map of the country; and, braving hunger and thirst, and the rigours of a climate alternately freezing and scorching, discovered a thousand new productions, that had escaped the researches of the two great naturalists, Commerson and Dupetit Thouars.

The narrative of M. Bory de St. Vincent has found unjust and bitter detractors, from the very circumstance of its being valuable, instructive, and interesting. But he has been revenged of the dastardly attacks of envy by the success of his work, now possessing a place in every good library; by the justice all learned foreigners and the Academy of Sciences have done him; by the numerous friends he has left in an island, where his name is mentioned with the greatest kindness; and by the testimony of various travellers, Englishmen among the rest, who, taking M. Bory's book for their guide, have acknowledged the minute accuracy of his descriptions*.

No one had pursued with greater perseverance the practical

* I found at St. Paul a man of great merit, M. Billiard, who has just published his travels to this country and the Isle of France, which abound with interesting and striking details. This young and learned author made me a present of the Atlas of M. Bory; and, having the drawings before my eyes, and comparing them with the places themselves, I convinced myself of their scrupulous accuracy. I must confess, in order to produce something better, I often sought after faults, but always in vain. As a *drawing*, the Atlas is highly estimable; *translated* by the engraver, it has lost something of its value.

study of *ignivomous* mountains. Descending into their very mouths, living in their depths, to examine their bowels, he wrote more than one page of his eloquent narrative by the light of their burning lava; at which, also, he warmed himself during those nights, when the thermometer under the torrid zone sunk below the freezing point.

In fact, although situated between the tropics, the Isle of Bourbon, the shores of which produce the same vegetable treasures as India, has also, like that, its frost-bound spots. Beside the volcano, at the summit of which the mercury often descends to the point of strong freezing, it contains very lofty table-lands, and many summits, on which severe cold is felt; among others the *Piton des Neiges*, one of the *Salazes*, is not less than 1700 or 1800 toises high.

Every thing is volcanic in these imposing masses, that have evidently issued from the bowels of the earth, from whence they were torn by powerful eruptions. On this *Piton des Neiges*, solitary, bare, storm-beaten, sadly towering over an unbounded horizon, Bory de St. Vincent, absorbed in contemplation, perceived on the remains of a lava, which ages had reduced to sandy particles, the traces of a human foot. This foot had climbed with toil tremendous rocks; no doubt it was that of some unfortunate negro, who, fleeing from slavery, had come in search of liberty to the utmost verge of the atmosphere. Farther on lay the whitened bones of some poor creatures, who, preferring independence in a desert to slavery in society, had terminated their misery on the solitary basaltes.

A rich vegetation covers the island that now occupies our attention, and presents to the eye of the observer the most splendid variety. On the coast you admire the coffee, cotton, nutmeg, clove, and all the valuable trees of the equator, presenting man with the superfluities as well as the necessaries of

life*. As you quit that, and ascend toward the interior, other vegetables are eager to shade the earth. The areca succeeds to the cocoa tree, the pandanus to the plantain. The ebony, various timber trees, and ferns that rival in height the tallest trees, fill the depths of the forests. When arrived at an elevation of 600 toises, the hunter is in the zone of canes, a species of bamboo, at once of the most elegant and most majestic shape. These slender canes, fifty or sixty feet high, resemble verdant spires: along the stalk, though woody, flexible as a lock of hair, are whorls in continual agitation, from the midst of which the wind sometimes elicits acute tones. The zone of canes continues to 800 toises, that is to say, its extent is 200; and it seems to form the limit of high trees. The only tree of any consequence above this is that heterophyllous mimosa, which, seeming to sport with forms, produces leaves like those of the willow, and others as jagged as those of the most elegant acacias, intermingled with each other.

Here the aspect of the country is totally changed. Bushes alone adorn the rugged rock; and strong grasses, verdant moss, with a few humble heaths, vegetate at their base. Through the thick miniature forests, which such a mixture of productions often presents, protrude vast squares of ancient lava, blue, grey, reddish, or rust-coloured, warning man that his feet rest on abysses; and that the rich vegetation he admires serves to crown burning furnaces, which at some future day perhaps will prove the tomb of these riches of nature.

We have now left the abode of man. Here the wild goat has taken his final refuge,—the offspring of those formerly left in the

* M. Hubert Joseph, a distinguished naturalist, was the planter, to whom M. Poivre sent the first clove tree, nutmeg, &c. with which the island is enriched. The storm of 1806 broke to pieces the first clove planted, the fragments of which have been preserved with religious care.

island by the Portuguese who discovered it: and it may be remarked here, by the way, that these people, as well as the Spaniards, seldom set foot on an unknown land, without bestowing on it some of the riches of their own country. Happy would it have been, if the fanatic ministers of a tolerant religion had not, by their religious persecutions, obliterated from the hearts of the unhappy savages that gratitude to which a few benefits had given a commencement.

The volcano of Bourbon, still in a state of eruption, exercises its ravages in a space called *the burnt country*. The quantity of lava it ejects is extraordinary; its flanks are covered with smaller volcanoes, which there appear as simple hills; yet these hills are not inferior in size to that Vesuvius at which Naples trembles. Etna alone exceeds it in height*; at the same time it is inferior in activity. The road hitherto pursued to reach the volcano was that through the interior, called *Plaine des Sables*. M. de *Cremon*, and a M. *Bert*, of whom M. Bory de St. Vincent makes honourable mention, were the only persons who had reached its triple summit by this way. It is certain, that Commerson, and even Dupetit Thouars himself had viewed the summit only at a distance. A breach in the enclosure, improperly called *Pas de Belcombe*, was the only passage said to be commodious. M. Bory found a much safer path; and on another occasion he ascended the mountain from the side next the sea, previously deemed impracticable; and this he thinks the easiest road, at least he has recommended it to future visitors.

The isle of Bourbon, which is nearly circular, may be from fifteen to seventeen leagues in its greatest diameter, which is from north-west to south-east; and nine in its smallest, which crosses

* Cotopaxi is twice as high as Etna. What an awful sight to behold M. de Humboldt inspecting this enormous crater!

the island from north-east to south-west. *St. Paul* and the *Cascades* are the least dangerous anchoring-places. Man has vainly attempted to master the elements, in order to secure by some mole a shelter against the raging sea. This has more than once destroyed the solid jetties, the erection of which had been begun: and the enormous rocks thrown up by itself are the only structures that have yet been found capable of resisting the fury of the foaming billows. Accordingly, the island is completely dependent on its neighbour Mauritius, which the English, a few years ago, took from France*.

LETTER LII.

St. Paul (Isle of Bourbon.)

BEFORE I quit these colonies, which derive their wealth from negroes bending under the yoke of slavery, I conceive I owe you some account of the qualities that serve to characterize the individuals of the different casts. In a few days, perhaps, I shall see man in the state of nature; and I may be enabled to judge of the difference that exists between him who lives free, though wild, and him who lives a slave in the heart of our cities.

The black Creole, generally inferior in stature to the whites, is tolerably well made, active, adroit, and vigorous. He has pleasing features, a bright intelligent eye, and a gentle disposition. He is passionately fond of women; not so much addicted

* M. Millius, one of the most distinguished superior officers of our navy, brought from the isle of Bourbon, of which he was governor before M. Freycinet, a valuable collection of plants and very curious insects: a proof, that to the care he took of the colony, he added the study of the country intrusted to him.

to drinking as the blacks; and much more nice in his dress. He has a great aptitude for the mechanical arts; and his moral qualities are such as to cause him to be preferred to all the blacks of other nations.

The negroes and negresses of Guinea, or Yaloffs, are tall and slender; their eyes are large and soft; their countenance is agreeable, their demeanour open, their skin smooth and as black as ebony. They have fine teeth, a large mouth, legs rather small, and feet very large. They have something more noble in their air and walk than the other blacks (a few *Malgaches* excepted); dance with much more gracefulness and expression than the other slaves in the colony; and the women in particular are passionately fond of the *chega*.

The *Malgaches* are not so tall as the *Yaloffs*, but better shaped. Their skin is not so dark, their features are agreeable, and their eyes soft and intelligent. They are strong, active, and very adroit. They are divided into several casts; the complexion, stature, make, hair, and character of which are singularly diversified.

We now give as little credit to the dwarfs of Madagascar as to the giants of Patagonia. Several travellers had spoken of them from some loose reports, the accuracy of which they did not take the trouble to investigate. The two individuals brought to the Isle of France, a few months ago, as belonging to this species, are only instances of those freaks of nature that occur occasionally in all parts of the world.

The *Caffres*, or *Mozambiques*, are of a middling stature, often squat made, and very strong, without any want of agility. They are not so intelligent as the *Malgaches;* but better able to endure fatiguing labours, enjoy more robust health, are less disposed to run away, more attentive to their duties, seldom steal, except to increase their allowance of food, and are less careful about their

dress, or rather they care nothing at all about it. The *Mozambiques*, when well fed, and treated with justice, rarely give their masters cause of complaint. They are preferred to all others for agricultural labour.

The *Malgache* women have generally an agreeable look, and are of a gentle and timid character. They are well shaped, have fine, but small bosoms, fine eyes, slender hands, and large flat feet.

The *Oras* are particularly handsome, and preferred by many Europeans, or white Creoles, to the mulatto women themselves. If they yield to the wishes of a suitor, they do not boast of their affection, but give proofs of it; and are desirous of imparting the happiness they enjoy. In this caste, wonderful instances of tenderness and attachment have been found*.

The female *Mozambiques* are short, fat, and ill-made. They have very prominent hips, very full bosoms, and broad backs. Their countenances are seldom agreeable, though the expression of them is rather mild. They rival the males in strength, and are equally adapted to the most toilsome labour.

The epithet of *Mozambique* given here to a black often occasions the most desperate quarrels.

The *Mozambique* is the most wretched of slaves.

* I was told of two young *Oras*, who lately starved themselves to death, because they could not captivate the heart of their master.

LETTER LIII.

Endrachts-land, Peninsula of Péron, (in New Holland), October, 1818.

WHY should I tell you of the days, useless as they may be called, that I pass at sea between the waves and the sky? of those days of sadness and *ennui*, in which barbarous and coarsely energetic words alone salute the ear; when the heart, impatient for the future, dwells only on the return home, alas! so distant; while the eye beholds the wave that bears us close over a friend, who will have no tomb to be watered with a tear, or a sailor, worn out with fatigue, whose last moments have been rendered still more terrible by cruel neglect? When shall I make a voyage without having to lament the loss of a companion?

After having been forty-five days at sea, on the 11th of September, at half-past one o'clock, we got sight of *Edel's-land*. During the night we shortened sail, and reached the island of *Irck Hatighs*, along which we coasted on the 12th as far as Cape *Lovillain*. We had on our left *Dorre* island, distant three leagues, and *Bernier* island, not quite so near. In the evening we anchored two leagues from the shore, in eleven fathoms water, on a bottom of sand and broken shells. A prodigious number of whales were sporting on the waves, approaching the vessel, which they sometimes struck with their enormous tails, and spouting into the air brilliant jets of water that reflected the colours of the rainbow. Several monstrous sharks likewise followed, in a constant and regular course, the light track of the ship; while a few turtle of prodigious size seemed, with their hard shell, to brave the murderous teeth of the most voracious of fish.

Before we weighed anchor, a boat, under the command of M. Fabré, in which were Messrs. Quoy, Ferrand, and young Taunay, son of the celebrated painter, went ashore; and, leaving us to pursue our way to the peninsula of Péron, where it was to join us, made for the island of *Irck Hatighs*, to begin their observations. At six o'clock we had anchored in *Dampier's*-bay, between the point of the shoals and cape *Le Sueur*, a league and a half from the shore.

The coast, from the moment we first saw it, exhibited nothing but a picture of desolation; no rivulet consoled the eye, no tree attracted it; no mountain gave variety to the landscape, no dwelling enlivened it: every where reigned sterility and death. If a few birds of prey skimmed, with rapid wing, the flats washed by the waves, where, we asked ourselves, could they satisfy their hunger? where could they quench their thirst? Do all the beings that dwell on this inhospitable land drink salt water? Where are their resources? for they must have wants: where are their enjoyments? for they must have desires. Threatening reefs, sometimes rising to the height of forty or fifty feet, seem desirous of opposing the audacity of the mariner, and forbidding his approach to this land, abandoned by nature. Its outline is uniform, without breaks, almost without difference, and always very low. At the first view, you take in an immense distance: but beware of looking for any enjoyment; the search would be merely wasting your strength, without finding the least relief.

The point of Dampier-bay, where we are now lying, affords a secure anchorage, though the south-west winds blow there with violence; but the sea never runs very high. Landing is extremely difficult on account of the sand-banks, which stretch out into the sea for a league, and is scarcely practicable, except at high water. Accordingly a boat, that was sent ashore the day after our arrival, was swamped half a league from the land; and it was

not without infinite trouble that we got the still ashore that we wished to set up, and the tents that were to form our camp. The officers and sailors spent the night on the peninsula, and made large fires to protect them against the cold; but their search for fresh water was useless, and the aspect of the country inland gave them no hope of success.

P. S. I forgot to tell you, that in making fresh water with our still, we set fire to its chimney, and arrived here with scarcely a drop of water on board.

LETTER LIV.

New Holland, Peninsula of Péron, Endracht's-land, September, 1818.

THE man of real courage braves danger, when honour commands him; the imprudent alone tempts it for no end. Once more scold your friend: he bows to your reproof.

On the 15th, at eleven in the morning, M. de Freycinet having given M. Lamarche the command of a boat, to go in quest of a proper spot for fixing our observatory, I requested leave to accompany him, and to join our comrades already settled on shore. We set out with a pretty fresh breeze; but as we neared the land we got under the lee of the peninsula, and were obliged to have recourse to our oars, to reach a little bay, two leagues and a half from the spot where our friends were encamped, and having only four feet water, though the tide was in. I was put ashore; and, M. Lamarche proceeding to leeward, I took the opposite direction alone. The heat was suffocating.

You would have laughed at the singularity of my accoutre-

ment. A straw hat, with a flapped brim, and terminating in a point like Robinson Crusoe's, shaded my head: a soldier's musket and bayonet gave me the appearance of a buccaneer: a huge cow's horn held my powder, and banged my side; and, to complete my grotesque equipment, I carried, in the best way I could, a large tin box, which, like a prudent traveller, I had filled with provision, as if I had several days to pass before I could join my friends.

To avoid the sand on the seashore, I attempted at the outset to climb the hill above it, but this undertaking I was obliged to give up. The loose gravel slides underneath your feet, and carries you back with it: the shrubs, with which you try to assist yourself, are either armed with thorns, or soon give way: and in addition, along the summit of the flat is a perpendicular stripe of soft, red earth, that renders the enterprise doubly difficult. Accordingly, I came down again, and was attacked by such a prodigious number of flies, assailing my eyes and my mouth, that I had all the difficulty in the world to protect myself against them. Soon however I perceived, that the part of my face exposed to the sun was most vigorously assaulted by them; and that they avoided the shade as eagerly as I sought it. After this discovery, it was more easy for me to evade their attempts, which I did by walking backward from time to time.

Still my baggage was not light, and I was fainting with fatigue. At half after one I saw two birds, that I took for cassowaries, to which I gave chase; but to my regret I could not come up with them. Obliged to sit down to rest myself, I resolved to employ myself during the rest of the day in collecting shells, with which the shore is covered; to spend a portion of the night by the side of my box, now eased of part of its pro vision; and to wait under some bushes, that afforded but little shelter, till the heat had abated, before I pursued my journey.

In a few moments, however, conceiving I should find more pleasure in joining my friends, I redoubled my efforts, and resumed my course. After I had taken a dozen steps, I distinguished on the sand some traces of a naked foot, that reminded me of the situation in which Robinson Crusoe once found himself, under similar circumstances; for I could scarcely suppose that my companions had come as far as this. I confess I was a little alarmed at the sight; and my first thoughts turned my eyes toward the boat of M. Lamarche, which, to my great regret, was sailing briskly away from me. At three o'clock I heard a great noise on the plain: and believing it to proceed from some of our people, whom I supposed to be in pursuit of game, I answered it at first by a loud shout, and, a moment after, by firing my gun; attempting again, but still in vain, to quit the sand of the shore, which scorched my feet, and rendered walking extremely fatiguing to me. At length I had the satisfaction to perceive one of our tents; and it was not without a lively emotion that I reckoned myself to be now but a little half league from my comrades. One thing astonished me, however: there were only eight or ten of them ashore, and already I counted as many on a hillock at some distance from the camp. I could not suppose that they could all be so far from our still, which had been set up the day before, and from the instruments that were landed, without some urgent motive. I was quickly convinced that my doubts were too well founded.

While I was considering what step I should take, I saw M. Gaudichaud, the botanist, and M. Tournier, the principal steersman, who being kindly anxious for my safety, and fearing that the savages might intercept me, came to my assistance; and to acquaint me that the natives of the peninsula, about fifteen in number, seemed disposed to attack us, if we did not immediately

retire; which they made us easily understand by their gestures, and pointing to the ship.

This unexpected news gave me great joy. I was afraid I should finish my laborious voyage without seeing any savages; I was enchanted with the thought of being able to enrich my Atlas with some of those grotesque and curious scenes, that excite so much interest, and without which such a work as mine is dull and fatiguing. In short, I wanted some interesting anecdotes, which the recital of my friends now gave me the promise of. I had not the culpable desire of coming to action with these poor creatures, destitute of resources, and teaching them the terrible effects of our fire-arms; nor did the idea of our superiority over them increase my confidence by diminishing the danger: but I was actuated by a different sentiment, the hope of forming such a connexion with them as should bring us acquainted with such particulars of their wretched life as could not fail to be highly interesting.

I requested my two friends to take charge of my heavy baggage; and forgetting the fatigue that had overpowered me, I ran toward the natives, who were on the shore, and running away from four sailors, whom M. Pellion, one of our midshipmen, had judiciously ordered not to fire but at the last extremity.

Exchanges had already taken place, and the prudence of M. Pellion had prevented the fatal result, to which a first interview might have led. The savages had been presented with necklaces of glass beads, looking-glasses, and little knives: they had sent clubs and assagays; and this species of barter appeared to please them much. One of my friends, M. Adam, made them a present of a pair of drawers: these they tore to pieces, and shared the fragments. They obstinately refused to drink some wine and water which was put into a bottle; and rubbed

their bodies with a piece of bacon, which a sailor had bartered for a small club. But what they appeared most to admire was a plate of tin, which they handed from one to another, and which was ultimately kept by the oldest of the troop. All these exchanges were made with a certain mistrust on the part of the savages: they watched us as dangerous enemies, and were continually pointing to the ship, exclaiming, *ayerkadé*, *ayerkadé*, (go away, go away).

Desirous, however, of knowing whether they were destitute of fresh water, as we supposed, I fixed their attention by some gestures, and pretended to drink some sea-water out of the hollow of my hand. They did not appear to be surprised at it, and showed no signs of aversion, though I am certain they understood me.

They were divided into three bands. The first (I mean the boldest) had come down on the shore, and by degrees had approached within a few paces of us: two of these only had long curly beards; the others appeared very young. The second remained on a hillock of white sand, better than a quarter of a mile from us; and the third, in which we perceived a woman, was on the summit of the hill above our heads. The savages on the shore scarcely allowed us to approach them pretty near, except for a few moments: they fled with astonishing rapidity when we attempted to go close to them; yet I wished to ascertain the character of their physiognomy, and of the different marks on their bodies, to be enabled to impart more truth to my drawings. I thought, therefore, I should succeed better by endeavouring to accost those who were above our heads; and a still more cogent reason determined me to take this step. I had already remarked, that previous to their making certain movements, the savages, who seemed disposed to attack us, frequently turned their eyes toward an old man, painted with stripes

of various colours, who seemed to give them orders, and was distinguished from the rest by a shell hanging to his girdle, and covering his navel. This old man, towards whom I directed my steps, making friendly signs, and crying *tayo*, held under his arm an animal resembling a little lion-dog, painted red. The woman was near him, and carried an infant seated on her hips, supporting him with her hand, or with a girdle of hair. When I was pretty near, she retired behind some shrubs, not out of modesty, or to avoid my looks (she was perfectly naked), but because she appeared to be afraid. In vain did I show the old man a white handkerchief, and make motions as if I would throw it, in order to give it him; he still preserved the most immovable stillness. At last I recollected that I had a pair of castanets in my pocket, and presuming that the sound might please them, by playing a sort of tune on them, I began to rattle them briskly. Judge of my pleasure: the old man rose with astonishment, and, without quitting his weapons or his little animal, fell to dancing in such a grotesque manner that we were ready to die with laughing. Some of the savages of the first band, following his example, danced also; while one of them, sitting on his heels, beat on an assagay with two little clubs, without keeping time, or seeming to regard it. I held out my castanets to the old man, and surprised, no doubt, that so small an instrument should make so much noise, he showed me, as if to induce me to barter, the animal of which he appeared so fond; giving me to understand, that he would leave his present on the hill, near a shrub which he pointed out, after I should have deposited mine there. But I was not to be duped by his offer; I knew already how little dependence was to be placed on the engagements which they appeared to contract. Several of our people had been deceived by their empty promises, and had found nothing in the places where they had led us to expect they would leave some article. Nevertheless, to satisfy

him it was not from mistrust I did not accept his proposal, I climbed a little higher up the hill, but giving him to understand, that it was impossible for me to reach the spot he pointed out. In vain would he have induced me to make a long circuit to it: I pretended not to understand him, and again descended to my companions, after having thoroughly examined the lines of his face, and those of two or three others who were with him.

As soon as I left him, he set up a loud shout, raising his voice at intervals, like one of our musicians singing the gamut by *thirds;* at which all the savages of the other two bands joined them, and they departed, making signs that they would come again at sunrise. Highly satisfied with our first interview, we are expecting them with the greatest impatience; for we have resolved to be sufficiently generous to remove from them every cause of apprehension.

The sun sets: every thing is dead. The myriads of flies that devoured us have disappeared; no insect wings through the air; no voice disturbs the silence of this melancholy solitude; a sharp cold benumbs the limbs.—The sun re-appears: the air is again peopled; a consuming heat oppresses us; we seek repose, and find nothing but fatigue. What a frightful abode!...

LETTER LV.

Peninsula of Péron (New Holland).

THE 16th, at seven in the morning, we had been to collect our store of oysters; the reefs are studded with them, and as the tide

was out, we were not obliged to go into the water. While the sailors, having collected as many as they wished, were carrying the full baskets to our camp, where we lived without any regard to rank or station, we perceived in the offing two boats, holding a course to windward of us; and though the cove toward which they were steering was at some distance, I determined to go and meet them, and acquaint them with the visit the savages had paid us. Besides the pleasure of being the first to announce this interesting news to our friends, I was also afraid that, unaware of the danger of penetrating into this inhospitable country without proper precaution, some of them might be so imprudent as to expose themselves inconsiderately to the weapons of the natives, who might this time collect their forces, and return in considerable numbers. But, fearing my comrades might oppose my intentions, I set off without saying a word, armed with a double-barrelled gun, a sabre, and a few cartridges, and accompanied by a single seaman.

After an hour's walking, I saw a few of the natives, armed as before with assagays and clubs, who were descending a high down with incredible swiftness, and coming toward me with loud shouts. I put a good face on the matter, and firmly awaited their arrival. One of them, no doubt the orator of the band, for he spoke to me a long time as if I could understand him, came forward alone; and, after a vehement harangue, pointed to the ship and the two boats, concluding each period of his speech with the word *ayerkadé*, and a threatening gesture.

Fearing they might avail themselves of the advantage their numbers gave them, and wishing to get rid of them without doing them any harm, I apprised the sailor of the little stratagem to which I meant to have recourse; and called to him in a loud voice to go away, employing the term of the savages. At the word *ayerkadé*,

I saw them look at each other with astonishment, repeat it in a low voice, and deliberate on what they should do. However, I still proceeded toward the boats, and my companion followed me at a little distance. But as the natives appeared to me disposed to attempt a sudden attack, I saw it was necessary to frighten them, by letting them know the terrible power of our weapons. Accordingly I assumed a threatening air, turning toward the sailor, and calling to him again *ayerkadé;* and, as according to our agreement he was to disobey me, I pointed my gun toward him, and fired over his head. Instantly he fell: and the savages, terrified at the noise and the fall of my comrade, took to their heels; while the sailor, who had seconded my design, rose and doubled a little advanced point, which prevented his being observed. I followed him, and we joined our commander, to whom I imparted what I thought of the character and manners of these poor wretches, who appeared to be more alarmed than pleased at our arrival. Messrs. Bérard and Requin joined me in requesting permission to ascend the down on which they were posted; and there we made our exchanges, or rather offered them presents. M. Requin even undressed himself, to remove from them every fear; but this mark of courage and confidence led to no result. They sent us with wonderful address, and turning round, a club badly made; a very dirty fan; some cassowary's feathers; two bladders painted red, filled with very fine down, with which, I suppose, they paint their bodies; and an assagay of hard wood, six feet long, and not over sharp. After our barter, we pretended to follow them, in order to try their courage; when they disappeared with astonishing swiftness.

But from the height which we had ascended we discovered an immense tract of level ground, sandy and barren, resembling a smooth and misty sea at a distance. This tract was only broken by a lake two short leagues off, stretching in the direction

of the coast of the peninsula, where was our first camp, and on its border we distinguished a great deal of smoke. Immediately our plan was fixed; and, accompanied by a servant armed like ourselves, we proceeded toward the spot, where we supposed the savages had fixed their habitation. The heat was suffocating, and we were without water: but we reckoned upon returning soon, or finding some in the interior; for how could we suppose that the savages had settled in a place wholly destitute of it? Alas! our expectations were balked: every where prevailed the same frightful sterility. It appeared, that these poor creatures saw us at a distance, for we sought their huts in vain; and merely observed here and there some marks of fires recently extinguished, without finding a single tree, a single shrub, a single streamlet of water, where the wretched inhabitant could quench his thirst, or the traveller shelter himself from the scorching sun.

Of five lakes we passed, three were dried up. The ground is every where sandy, red in some places, covered with little shells, and encumbered with parasite brambles, the bark of which appeared to have been destroyed by the heat and age. We noticed some footsteps of animals unknown to us; and in the space of six leagues saw only a single kangaroo. At length we returned by the Bay of Seals, where we saw a prodigious number of those animals, which contended, no doubt, with clouds of pelicans assembled at the south point of the cove, for the sovereignty of the place, which I yield to them with all my heart.

LETTER LVI.

Peninsula of Péron, (New Holland), September 17th, 1818.

THIS is the anniversary of our departure from France. I have returned on board, for I wish to devote the day to the recollection of the beloved objects I left in my own country, and avoid every thing that distracts my attention on shore ..... I am already rewarded for my sacrifice. We perceive in the offing the boat that was dispatched on the 13th, respecting which we had been so uneasy, and with it the launch that was sent in quest of it. Our friends have not been without their sufferings; but they have happily accomplished their purposes. In long voyages a moment of pleasure obliterates the remembrance of the greatest hardships; accordingly the most lively joy now reigns on board*.

Do you remember, my friend, those delightful but short evenings, that we spent together? those sweet effusions of the most confiding friendship? those pleasurable moments, when, seated round a few burning billets, we cast an eye of tenderness on our unhappy country? Those fraternal conversations, those interesting walks, those half confidences of the secrets of the heart, those pure pleasures, those pleasing pains, have all disappeared: all are annihilated for me! While surrounded by friends, and indulging in pleasing illusions, you lead a happy life

* M. Fabré had been directed to go in search of a plate of lead, left on this land by its first discoverer. In fact, the plate has been carried away ..... I abstain from all reflections on the circumstance.

in the midst of agreeable society, your friend exists only in his remembrances, under a tent, that affords him little shelter. We are told that the length of life is to be estimated, not by the number of years, but by its pleasures alone. Were it so, you ought to find me such as you once knew me: but, alas! the mind, I believe, as well as the body, grows old by vexations; and years of unhappiness must be reckoned as double in our existence! Not but that I contrive to scatter a few flowers over the path I have to travel; or that I am inclined to change into a sad and gloomy desert an abode, which reason should inhabit and gaiety embellish. You know how little my turn of mind leads me to create phantoms: but how can I avoid regretting a country, a mother, friends, and lastly, a family, to which I owe so much that my heart is burning to discharge its obligations? . . . . . What can I place against such powerful interests, such soothing sentiments? The gratification of a vain curiosity? A futile self-love producing nothing? In truth, these are purchased too dear by such melancholy and painful privations. What does this world I am rambling over present me? Vices and absurdities! But to see vices and absurdities I had no occasion to quit my own country.

LETTER LVII.

Peninsula of Péron, (New Holland).

ON the 18th I remained on board, and the savages did not make their appearance, either terrified at the sight of us, or setting little value on the presents we made them. Several of our people attempted different excursions on the peninsula,

without seeing any, and without finding a single rivulet of fresh water. It is to be presumed, therefore, that these poor people drink only salt water, and live wholly on fish, shell fish, and a kind of pulse resembling our French beans, that is met with here and there in the interior of the country.

The obstinacy of these savages in not showing themselves has led us to persist in the pursuit of them. In an expedition like ours the advantages of all should be equal; and those among us, who have been deprived of the pleasure of seeing the natives, go in quest of them with an imprudent but excusable obstinacy. Two of our young people, eager to discover them, penetrated into the interior of the peninsula, and lost themselves. We knew that they took no provisions with them; and were more apprehensive of their suffering from hunger and thirst, than from meeting with savages whom there was little reason to dread. If the imprudent boldness of one of them increased our apprehensions, the prudence of his companion tended to diminish them: but when they failed to appear at the camp on the 29th, our commander, justly alarmed, ordered a party to go in quest of them, of which I made one, though I had not been appointed to it.

Early in the morning we proceeded toward the lake, along which we marched for two hours, and on the bank of which we made a tolerable breakfast: and presuming, that in any case our friends would take this part of the peninsula for a rallying point, we placed in a bottle, which one of us hung upon a low tree, a paper with our names, the road we should pursue, and that they should take to find the ship. Without waiting till the heat of the day increased, we proceeded directly toward some moderately high downs, which we perceived about two leagues from us, and which we found it difficult to reach, on account of the numberless sinuosities of the lake in all directions. As soon as we had ascended the highest, we discharged our pieces, and

were answered by a prodigious number of birds, in plumage resembling our ducks, and in voice our ravens. The place, however, appearing convenient for fixing our camp, we determined to halt there; and while one of the party went to shoot some birds, with which we hoped to increase our stock of provision, M. Ferrand and I walked towards a branch of the lake, the whitish colour of which seemed to promise us an easy passage on our return.

We chose the sandy tracts, in hopes of finding there the footsteps of our friends. In fact we traced them a long while, and lost sight of them at once near a tolerably bushy tree, where we supposed they had rested themselves. But what was our grief and astonishment, on seeing, half buried, a pair of trowsers, that we knew belonged to M. Gaimard! However, on reflecting, that, if they had been murdered by the savages, these would have carried off their clothes, we more reasonably concluded that the trowsers had been left because they encumbered the wearer. Half alarmed we rejoined our companions, and imparted to them our fears respecting the fate of our friends.

During this little excursion, too, we saw one of those holes, mentioned by Péron in his Voyage to the Austral Countries, in which he supposes the savages dwell. For my part, I do not think so. The opening is round; it is about four or five feet in diameter; the depth is seven or eight feet, and perpendicular. At the bottom is a circular bench, on which there were still some dry leaves; it was two feet high, and I remarked near it a little earth, which appeared to have recently fallen there. I suppose the savages, to ascend, place their feet at the extremities of the diameters of the pit, in the same way as our little chimney-sweepers. Supposing M. Péron to be right in his conjecture, I should like to know how the savages protect themselves against the rain, in a hole with so large an aperture, as I do not perceive

any means they would have for closing it, unless we ascribe to these poor creatures a degree of industry, of which they appear totally destitute, looking merely at their weapons and wretched huts.—This pit, covered with a little earth and a few branches, was probably dug to catch some wild beast; this opinion at least appears to me the most plausible; it is difficult to admit any other, and in this I had the satisfaction of finding my companion coincide.

We encamped at the foot of the highest hill, after having kindled a large fire, which we kept burning the whole night. The next day, early in the morning, we resumed our march; and after having crossed the lake, at a place rather broad than deep, we directed our steps toward our camp, which we reached at noon, worn out with fatigue and thirst, but well pleased to learn, that our friends had crawled thither the night preceding, though in a truly deplorable state. This day, the 21st, they are scarcely recovered from their sufferings, which must have been terrible. The savages probably took another course, for, after all our searches, we could only find ten or a dozen miserable ruined huts, which too perhaps they had left with much regret.

These huts are formed of a few branches, crossing each other, covered with brushwood and clay, six feet in depth, four or five in breadth, and three and a half above the ground. The entrance is almost always on the side facing the wind that most commonly blows. The natives make their fires in the centre, and sometimes around them. The best are very rudely constructed, and insufficient to shelter them from the heat of the sun or violence of the wind. On some high points they erect also a kind of observatory, formed of a few trunks of trees, on which they post themselves to observe the distant country. It is built as rudely as their huts, and cannot be of more use to them.

On quitting this death-like abode we left at least a proof, that

we had not been drawn to it by any culpable views: we deposited on the shore a pretty ample store of French beans, two or three looking-glasses, some scissors, two iron hoops, and a few knives, which we had passed into oysters half-open, to show them their use. When I consider the resources of these unfortunate beings, their mode of existence appears to me quite a problem.

They are of a middling stature; their skin is as black as ebony; their eyes are small and lively; they have a broad forehead, flat nose, large mouth, thick lips, and white teeth; their breast is tolerably broad, and covered, as well as the belly, with little incisions; their extremities are slender; their motions quick and numerous; their gestures rapid; their weapons not very dangerous; their agility is surprising; their language noisy. Some of them are tatooed with red. The woman we saw had her forehead tatooed. A shell hanging from the girdle appeared to me to distinguish the chief of the troop, supposing it to pay obedience to any other chief than nature.

LETTER LVIII.

Coupang, (Island of Timor).

I HAVE seen white, black, red, and copper-coloured men; I now see men completely yellow; they differ in general only as more or less addicted to falsehood, knavery, and wickedness. The Malays, as travellers report, surpass all others in cruelty: I shall soon know what to think of them; and I shall rather credit recent and unquestionable facts than narratives often dictated by the desire of interesting the reader, and the necessity of creating the marvellous.

On quitting the Bay of Seals we struck on a sand-bank, to

which we gave the name of our vessel. Every man did his duty, and thought not of the magnitude of the danger, till zeal, activity, and courage had removed it. From that time till we reached Coupang our voyage was extremely fortunate; it occupied but a fortnight.

On the 7th of October we made Rottie island, renowned here for the beauty of its women: but as every thing is relative, a Helen of this country would be a monster of ugliness with us; for how could a woman with a yellow skin, teeth as black as a coal, and gums filthy with blood, ever please a European?

Before we arrived in the bay of Coupang, we had coasted along the island of Simao, richly clothed with verdure, while the hills are crowned with trees of prodigious height. What a contrast to the appearance of a country we had just quitted! A thousand seducing ideas presented themselves to my enraptured imagination; already was I reposing in idea under a bushy tamarind tree, and quenching my thirst with the refreshing milk of the cocoa-nut. I enjoyed every thing, even the change; for change, whatever it was, proved agreeable to me; and the landscape I beheld, if less beautiful than its predecessor, was still enchanting in my eyes. What an extravagant being is man! To-day I admire what to-morrow, perhaps, I shall be impatient to quit.

The bay of Coupang is large, secure, and beautiful; the waves there seldom run very high. The most constant winds are the westerly, which commence in May and finish in October: during the rest of the year they are almost always easterly. The roadstead is shut in by the island of Simao and that of Kera, which is flat, covered with trees, and a place of rendezvous for the rich inhabitants of Coupang. The high mountains of the island shelter it from the winds of the south, but at the same

time pour out on it the storms and tempests which they collect around them. Some of these mountains are visible thirty leagues off, whence their height may be presumed to be sixteen or eighteen hundred toises. They are covered with trees of surprising height; the most common are the tamarind, the cocoa, the pandanus, the banyan tree, of itself forming a forest; the flexible bamboo, the stalk of which, agitated by the wind, sometimes emits a mournful and plaintive sound; and the elegant palm, that embellishes and towers over the places it inhabits. Only a single timber tree is found, which is very hard and very heavy. The English call it red wood, the Malays *kaillou-méra.*

Whales seldom visit the road, which, however, is infested by a considerable number of crocodiles, the presence of which every where spreads terror and desolation. Within a few years five persons have had the misfortune to be devoured by these amphibious monsters, at a great distance from the river and the coast.

It is remarkable, that in all savage nations the first altars have been erected to the genius of evil; and that the most formidable animals have been those to which the first victims were sacrificed. In Mexico, in Peru, throughout India, the images of the sun, the moon, the sea, and the Sovereign of all, were not adored, till long after the lion, the tiger, and the serpent had been glutted with human victims. Fear is the mother of all religions: love alone can maintain them. Formerly crocodiles were worshipped in a portion of the Molucca islands; and if some of the inhabitants still hold them in veneration, it is because idolatry is the most common religion in this great archipelago: the Dutch and English, who possess part of them, are too despotic to introduce their own manners and customs among the people; and the Portuguese, who govern the other part, are

too ignorant and fanatic to employ the most proper means for establishing their religion in it*.

The trade of Timor consists in sandal wood and bees-wax. Two vessels, of three hundred tons, are sufficient for the exportation of these two commodities; and it is said that the ship-owners have preferred, for some time, going to the Sandwich islands, where the wood is superior in quality, and can be procured cheaper.

The wild animals of this island are stags, buffaloes, boars, and apes: the tame are horses, goats, dogs, swine, and more particularly fowls. You may purchase a fine fowl for a few pins; a buffalo costs four piastres; and a small pig may be obtained for a paltry knife. In general, it is seldom the exchange is refused when you offer any object of curiosity. Throughout the country you may procure cocoa-nuts, mangoes, shaddocks, and an infinite number of other fruits, if you offer a few small nails, some buttons, or a needle. These trifles are the money of travellers.

LETTER LIX.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

THE Dutch took Coupang from the Portuguese, who settled there in 1688; it was surrendered to the English by capitulation in 1797. The *rajahs* † formed a new league, compelled them to retire, and devoured those who had not time to embark. In 1810 the English, with one frigate, seized it anew; but the

* This reproach is not applicable to the present governor of Diely.

† The kings of the country are called *rajahs*.

natives, emboldened by the remembrance of their former success, obliged them again to retire, after having placed at their head the governor of Coupang, who at that time had the title of resident. After the taking of Java, in 1811, the English made themselves masters of this town for the third time; and in 1816 restored it to the Dutch, conformably to the general peace of 1814.

The island is very mountainous. The only plains to be found in it are on the side of Babao, eight leagues from Coupang, and these are merely stinking marshes. The rivers are very numerous; but that of Coupang, which rolls its waters over a soil abounding with madrepores, is the most considerable, and in heavy rains becomes a destructive torrent. It takes its rise five miles from its mouth, on a little mountain called Bacanassi, in the territory of the emperor Peter, and bears the name of Nissoo. Its waters, sometimes muddy, oblige the inhabitants of Coupang to drink well water, which, perhaps, is less wholesome, though, notwithstanding, they prefer it.

There are no navigable rivers in Timor. That of Coupang has two bridges at its mouth; one of these is a draw-bridge, near which ships may be repaired, taking advantage of the tide to get up to it. The enormous rocks that intersect its bed do not reach so low as to cause any apprehension of damage to the vessels laid aground. The tide rises eight or ten feet, and when it is out, the ships rest on a bed of mud, which is a security against all danger. It seems to me, that a pretty little harbour might be made, at the very mouth of the river, at a small expense, which would be very convenient for landing goods; but the Dutch government, probably, never thinks of this colony, except when it has a governor to appoint, which must occupy attention but a few moments.

The town has two quarters. The first is the Chinese quarter. This is the richest; yet one of our shops, of the second rank, con-

tains twenty times as much wealth. The second is the Malay quarter, and consists of hovels.

It is protected by a fort called Concordia, studded with cannon, nailed up, and defended by ten men, a couple of muskets, and some rocks. No doubt it is long since these formidable guards were acquainted with the smell of gunpowder. At our arrival, the governor's secretary, M. Thilmann, requested us not to salute the fort, as he should have to regret being unable to return our civility, the keys of the powder magazine not having been entrusted to him. At present a single brig would make itself master of the town.

The inhabitants of the whole island are reckoned at fifty thousand. There are fifteen hundred at Coupang, of whom about a thousand are slaves.

There are no physicians in Timor; notwithstanding which the inhabitants never reach a great age. The patriarch of the colony is the emperor Peter, who is only sixty-three.

Their food consists of rice, salt fish, buffalos, and a few fruits.

The betel and tobacco, which they are constantly chewing, and on which they throw a few pinches of quick-lime, burn their teeth and gums; and I have observed, that the few persons who do not use them had very white teeth, and tolerably good mouths. The women, too, have the detestable practice of chewing; and the fashionable ladies most followed are those whose upper lip is raised highest by an enormous quid of tobacco seasoned with lime.

The women are said to be very prolific; but I know not how to conceive it in a country where libertinism is, perhaps, less a vice than a virtue. Though polygamy is permitted among the inhabitants of Timor, the common people in general have but one wife, who takes particular charge of the household affairs.

The husbands sometimes attend to the cultivation of the ground; but as that kind of work can be continued only a few hours, the rest of the day is spent in tedious, but at least excusable idleness, for the sun seems to reserve his most scorching fires for this island.

The Chinese settled at Coupang are the only persons who follow any business. They are the Jews of Timor, who resemble the Jews of Gibraltar, those of France, those all over the globe. They have retained their dress and their customs in this country. They live on tea, rice, pulse, and knavery. Little sticks serve them as a spoon and a fork. They handle them with wonderful address, and take up with them the smallest articles of food. Their trade, their barter, too, are all sleight of hand. There are three hundred Chinese at Timor, and among them is one honest man. They have a temple and idols: but I believe they put on the appearance of religion only as a mask to their roguery. The son of the chief of the Chinese gave us the history of the divinity they adore, and whose figure they have placed on the principal altar. Here it is.

'There was once an aged father of a family who had two sons and a daughter; to procure them food, he often went a hunting and fishing. One day, as he was returning with his two sons in a slight boat laden with a large quantity of fish, a terrible storm assailed them, and the boat was sunk. All three perished on the occasion; and the young girl who was preparing dinner, in the absence of her mother, hearing the fatal news, fainted away, fell on the floor, and did not come to herself, till the mother had soundly beaten her, 'What do you mean by sleeping here?' said the enraged parent. 'Why don't you attend to your business?'—'I was not asleep;' cried the daughter: and

immediately she rose up, holding her two brothers in her arms, and her father between her teeth.' This miracle, well attested, procured her altars: and the Chinese, who related this interesting and instructive tale, assured us of his respect for the little miracle-working girl.

He is the only Chinese at Coupang who understands English: all the rest speak only their own language, and a little Malay.

There are no people the cast of whose countenance is more uniformly the same. Nothing is more like a Chinese of Canton than a Chinese of Coupang; nothing is more like a Chinese of Coupang than the Chinese on an Indian screen. They have a wild look; little eyes, raised at the outer corner; a round face; a short and somewhat flattened nose; large lips; a small, well-formed mouth; and a yellow complexion. Their manners are engaging, their words persuasive, their politeness minute. They will laugh, to oblige you; caress, to seduce you; fall on their knees, to persuade you. If they offer you a trifle, they mean you to accept it, but still more to give you an example of generosity: they will present you with any thing they possess, except their wives; but only when they are assured, that you will be more liberal than they. No one can be more humble, more submissive, more forward to oblige, than a Chinese. . . . . And after this, will you trust to appearances?

They eat two meals a day, but never with their wives.

The Malays eat when they are hungry: their wives eat with them, yet are considered by their husbands nearly as slaves.

The houses of Coupang are covered with leaves of the fan palm, and the walls made with the membranes of the leaf. The fan palm and cocoa tree are sufficient to furnish the Malays with food, clothes, and habitation.

They are half covered with a bag, tolerably well made, which they fasten to their girdle; and which they call *kaen-slimout.*

Both sexes go barefoot. The women fasten, at the height of the bosom, a sort of little bag, which they call *kaybaya;* and under this, which reaches only to the knees, they wear another, called *kaen-sahory*, that comes as low as the middle of the leg. When they are cold, they turn up the former, so as to cover the head and shoulders. Almost all the cloth of these is manufactured at Savu: but some is brought from the interior of the island, of which little is yet known. It is inhabited by a cruel race, who live amid thick forests, and on the steepest heights of the mountains.

A whimsical practice of the women is, they tie the *kabaya* neither above nor below the bosom, but just in the middle, so as to divide each breast into two.

These savages are accustomed to cover the teeth with a thin leaf of gold, with which they are supplied from the rivers in the interior; and which they rivet within the mouth, after having bored two little holes in the tooth, through which they pass the wires that fasten it.

They frequently use a coloured handkerchief for their head-dress, which they arrange with wonderful skill. Sometimes too they fasten their hair with rings of gold or silver, or a bent wooden comb, of a singular and elegant form.

In general both men and women let their hair flow loose down their shoulders, washing it constantly with a lixivium of wood ashes, and giving it a fine lustre with cocoa-nut oil. All their coquetry consists in the arrangement of their head-dress.



A young girl of Timor carrying Water.

LETTER LX.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

THE natives of Timor are of middling stature and athletic make: yet it does not appear from dynanometrical trials, that their strength is in proportion to the idea that might be formed of it.

The women are tall and well made; the men, still better.

I have seen hovels, where they slept in the same room with the women; but the two sexes are generally separate.

The Malay women deprive themselves in their youth of an ornament, on which our courtesans set a high value. In the house their bosoms are almost always bare, which tends not a little to cool the ardour of desire; though in general their breasts are firm, separate, and well formed. Our presence at first drove them away; but by degrees they grew accustomed to it, and their parents sometimes encouraged them not to shun us.

I have found, that these girls, frequently introduced to strangers by their fathers, were as much swayed by interest in their connexions with Europeans as our vilest courtesans; and yielded only when the generosity of their inamorato had satisfied their cupidity. I expected to find different manners among savages; conceiving that nature dictated other laws, and that such favours were sold only among us.

To give light in their houses they employ the fruit of a tree called *amar;* the oil of which, being imbibed by a little cotton

wrapped round a slip of bamboo, burns like our torches, and with a smell not less offensive.

The disorders most common are the itch, the leprosy, and, in general, all diseases of the skin. The small-pox depopulated the colony about five-and-twenty years ago; and vaccination is not yet in use at Coupang.

Europeans, unaccustomed to the heat of the tropics, often fall victims in this country to a dysentery, which occasionally degenerates into a contagious affection. There are few instances of the Malays being attacked by this cruel disease. It is said at Coupang, that the shell of the pomegranate is an efficacious remedy against this terrible scourge.

The venereal disease is pretty common at Timor; and they who are seriously attacked by it are never cured. I have not heard, however, that it makes any great ravages there.

In 1793 a terrible earthquake overturned the highest houses in Coupang; among which were the governor's house and the protestant church. Such catastrophes are pretty frequent in this island; but they seldom occasion such considerable damage.

Next to the crocodile, the most dangerous reptile is a brown serpent, which the Malays call *kissao*. It is about three feet long, and an inch in diameter; its bite, which, however, it not mortal, produces very violent inflammation, and occasions intolerable pain. The Malays dread it much, yet make no attempts to destroy it.

LETTER LXI.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

THE Dutch have made laws at Coupang, and the Malays frequently contrive to evade them. No public execution has ever taken place: the criminals are almost always sent to Java, where they are employed for the most part on the public works.

The rape of a Dutch woman is punished with death. This law has been promulgated by the Dutch. The rape of a slave is punished with whipping. Fifty stripes are sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of the offended parties. When the culprit is rich, they choose rather to make him pay a handsome fine than to administer a caning; particularly as the person most concerned often intercedes for him, and almost always obtains his pardon.

The Chinese settled at Coupang have also the address to emancipate themselves from the laws and customs of the Malays. In bringing thither a little industry, they are desirous at least of remunerating themselves for the sacrifice they have made of their country. They have presented a code of laws, which has been accepted, and to which they have submitted themselves, after having appointed a chief to see it carried into execution. You may well suppose, my friend, that a few articles favourable to themselves may be found in it. For instance, they have declared themselves neuter in all wars that the colony may undertake. The Chinese are fond of peace.—They have reserved to themselves the exclusive right of manufacturing a spirituous liquor, which they call *anis*, and which they sell dear enough to the

inhabitants. The Chinese are strangers to all interested views: the public good is their guide.

They have built a temple, near which they have established a school, where, for a trifling compensation, they teach the Chinese language, and the degree of respect due to their little idol. The Chinese believe in their religion.

The duties they pay for the exportation of certain commodities are less than those paid by the English and Portuguese. The Chinese love equality.

None of the inhabitants enjoy any advantage, which the Chinese do not share with them; while they alone have prerogatives, of which the other inhabitants are deprived.

The governor, or resident, is a person of the name of Hazaart, formerly a lieutenant in the Dutch navy. He takes a pleasure in obliging the Chinese, who repay his kindness ..... by many profound genuflexions.

When a master punishes a slave unjustly, the resident is entitled to take possession of the slave on account of the government. What a fine perquisite for the governor!

A free Malay who behaves ill becomes the slave of his rajah, who sells him to whom he pleases; and, as the rajahs are tributaries of the government and the resident, they are bound to pay the latter a part of the sum.

Idolatry is the religion of the Malays: but they have a respect for their rajahs, that rises to adoration; and some even consider them as children of the gods.

LETTER LXII.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

THE kings of this country often have the air of slaves; but you have no idea of their despotism. Sometimes, from mere caprice, they order the head of one of their subjects to be cut off; and sometimes they even cut it off themselves.

It is to be observed, however, that you may meet with acts of generosity and disinterestedness among these princes, which you would seek in vain among the sovereigns of Europe.

For instance, Bao, king of the island of Rottie, being of a violent and cruel disposition in his youth, abdicated the government in favour of his brother, lest such a temper should lead him to be guilty of injustice.

Do you know many kings among us capable of such a sacrifice?

Unhappily the brother of Bao did not prove himself worthy of the rank he was called to sustain. His vexations, his tyranny, alienated from him the hearts of all; and the Dutch government, wearied with the continual complaints of his subjects, after having dethroned him, replaced the sceptre in the hands of Bao; who from that day never had to reproach himself for any act of injustice or tyranny.

Being sent for to Coupang, to furnish his contingent of soldiers for the war the Dutch are carrying on, the flattering commendations bestowed on him induced our commander to pay him a visit. Some officers of the staff accompanied him, and I made one of the party; on which occasion I obtained

some curious information respecting their politics, customs, and wars. M. Thilmann was our interpreter.

The king of Dao was with the king of Rottie.

The latter used a gold-headed cane for a sceptre. He was fifty years old, well made, and appeared to enjoy vigorous health. His countenance spoke goodness of heart, his eye was mild, his mouth small and laughing. He was dressed in a sort of cloak, like our chintz curtains, with large coloured flowers; had a *kaen-slimut* round his waist, exactly the same as those of his subjects; and his feet and legs were bare.

The king of Dao, named Evalé-Tetti, was about sixty years of age. He was escorted by some warriors and one of his great officers, who, we are told, was his prime minister. They looked like two apes, and were dressed like two beggars.

It was from the two kings we obtained the information I am about to give you. As no great attention was paid to order in our questions, you will not find much in my notes; but this is of little consequence, if I omit nothing of importance.

The priests of the Malays are prophets or augurs. At Rottie and Timor there are four in each town, the eldest of whom is the chief. These priests read futurity in the entrails of victims; and chickens are the animals to which they have most commonly recourse. Besides being less expensive than pigs, buffaloes, or ducks, which also are used occasionally, the priests have more experience in reading their vocabularies, and appear more certain of what they announce.

The augurs are consulted on all important affairs: for example, on declaring war, on fixing the day of battle, and on the issue of it. They not unfrequently declare the number of enemies that will be killed, and of prisoners that will be taken; and, like the augurs of the Greeks and Trojans, they always convey their predictions in equivocal terms.

The priests may marry, and their functions are hereditary; at the birth of one of their children we may therefore boldly predict that he will hereafter turn out a knave.

When the high priest rides out, the use of saddles is forbidden to all who accompany him. Except on this occasion, saddles are not prohibited, whatever certain travellers may say; and their religion gives no directions in regard to them: but they are seldom used by the Malays, who ride bare-backed and without stirrups, guiding the horses by their voices or a slight rein.

In every town there is a sacred house called *rouma-pamali*. It is both the residence of the augur and the place where the royal treasure is kept. No person is allowed to enter it except the rajah. To it are brought the heads of the prisoners taken in war, after the brains have been extracted. They are afterwards hung upon trees, chiefly near the tombs of victorious rajahs; a trophy worthy of these barbarous people. The heads of enemies that have fallen in the field of battle are exposed for nine days in the *rouma-pamali;* and during this time alone the people have the right of admission to that dwelling, where so many sacrileges are committed.

When the rajah dies, he is carried to the *rouma-pamali*, where the corpse is exposed for some days to the veneration of the people.

It appears that marriages are unaccompanied by any religious ceremony. The suitor makes presents to his father-in-law proportionate to his fortune, and to the value he sets on the wife he demands. Infants are carried at their birth to the *rouma-pamali*, where they seldom receive the name of their parents.

At the death of a Malay, the assembled relations sing, while the corpse is exposed to view on mats, and a slave, with a fan of cock's feathers, keeps off all insects from the face.

The corpse, carried by the friends, is thrown into a pit, in which some of the moveables most prized by the deceased are also deposited. Every thing disappears with him . . . . even his remembrance. I was present at one of these funeral ceremonies, where five or six persons uttered doleful cries. The next day I found them as tranquil as if they had nothing to regret.

I do not like a people among whom grief is so transient.

LETTER LXIII.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

THE sceptre of the rajahs is hereditary; and the eldest brother succeeds to the government.

When all the brothers are dead, or there are none, the eldest son of the first rajah, or the eldest of his brothers, is heir to the crown. Females have no claim to the succession; but I am surprised that they have permitted this law in a country where they appear to reign over the sovereigns *.

The rajahs have under them officers called *toumoukouns;* the only dignitaries that separate the sovereign from his people. The number of these officers is proportionate to the power of the rajah: the king of the island of Dao has seven; Bao, king of Rottie, had eighteen.

When a Malay is guilty of assassination, he is bound to pay a sum greater or less, assessed by the sovereign: and if he be unable to pay it, he becomes a slave.

I have already told you that the women of Rottie are the

* The *rajahs* pay great regard to their favourite wives, while the lower class of people pretty generally despise theirs.

most celebrated for beauty: I had forgotten to add, that they are the most debauched, and that this island alone formerly peopled Timor.

They are very fruitful; and the number of children in a family is commonly four or five.

The age of puberty in girls is from twelve to fourteen; in boys, from sixteen to eighteen.

Yesterday, a boy of fourteen or fifteen ran away from his master: a slave, endeavouring to stop him, was stabbed by him in the throat with a knife. The latter having pulled out the knife, and struck the fugitive with it, he dropped down dead. Is this carrying the desire of revenge far? The assassin was taken to the governor's secretary, who told us that he should send him to Java, where the slave would be hung.

The countenance of this child was gentle; and, though he had received a pretty large wound in the nape of his neck, there was a repulsive intrepidity in his look.

Among the people called to the defence of the Dutch, in the wars they had to maintain, we remarked the warriors of Savu and Solor, almost all of whom served as volunteers.

Those of Solor, in particular, furnish examples of extreme cruelty in battle. It is said, when they have brought an enemy to the ground, they throw themselves on him, and dispatch him with their teeth.

In general their battles are very bloody; one is quite sufficient to decide the issue of a war.



LETTER LXIV.

Coupang (Island of Timor).

WE arrived at Coupang at a time ill adapted to judge of the state of the colony. The governor, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, is set off to oppose the audacious enterprises of a king called Lous, who, they say, has set up the standard of revolt.

A king revolted against a governor!

Louis, the seventh king of Coupang, is a Christian, the son of Tobany, king of Amanoébang, situate five days journey* east of Coupang, and in the midst of the Dutch possessions. He was educated at Coupang, in the religion of his father, whom he succeeded. About ten years ago, weary of a life of unproductive repose, and thirsting after glory, he declared war on the kings his neighbours, to subject them to his sway; but these solicited the aid of the Dutch, who did not refuse it them, and from that period Louis and the Dutch have been almost constantly at war.

At the head of a handful of soldiers, devoted to his interests, Louis of Amanoébang appears not to fear the efforts of so many enemies combined. Already he has compelled them once to offer him a glorious peace, during which his protection and encouragement have called into his states a great number of distinguished persons and able workmen, who, with a taste for the arts, have given birth to trade and industry. Already his victorious arms have brought him to the gates of Coupang, where,

* Distances here are measured only by the days or hours required for travelling them. Leagues and miles are unknown.

seven years ago, he spread terror, after burning several buildings, among which was the house of the resident. At present, in consequence of an attempt to impose on him a disgraceful yoke, he has again declared himself independent; and having at his command an army of six thousand men, two-thirds of whom are armed with muskets and mounted on horseback, he has some reason to anticipate a victory, which will free the colony from a despotic power, and dethrone its fourteen sovereigns.

The weapons of his soldiers are muskets, clubs, sabres, assagayes, kreeses: their astonishing boldness, and the genius of their leader, render them formidable.

Louis is adroit: he has already been very successful in sowing dissension in his enemies' armies. He is free from prejudices; *he would fight in the shade, if the arrows of his enemies darkened the sun.* He is encouraged by his first successes: already he has obliged the Dutch to build a fort at *Babao*, a place he formerly sacked. He is prudent: in his dominions he has erected fortifications that will equally astonish the Dutch and their allies. In a word, he fights for independence: the fourteen Rajahs for slavery. The soldiers of Louis will die round their leader: it is to be feared, that the islanders assembled under the European flag will desert it before they will fight, or abandon it after the first check. The warriors of Louis are attached to him by gratitude: fear alone has rallied the other islanders under the sway of the Dutch. How many reasons have we here for supposing that this intrepid chief will come off conqueror in a contest offered by offended pride, and accepted by patriotism, and the consciousness of a just cause!

All the kings, who have been called on by the Dutch to support them in this war, are bound to put themselves at the head of their soldiers, or at least to follow the army to head-quarters. The king of *Denka* brought a thousand men; but sickness pre-

venting him from leading them to battle, he could not obtain permission to return to Coupang, till he had sworn, that his subjects should be faithful to the cause they had embraced. As the Malays, however, believe, conformably to an ancient superstition, that diseases never occur except by command of the gods, they conceive it to be their duty, when their chief is detained by such a cause, to abstain from fighting: and this prejudice, so advantageous to the cause of Louis, has already effected a great desertion among the soldiers from Denka. Should two more such events take place, Louis would have only to regret the loss of an opportunity of acquiring glory.

The English undertook two expeditions against king Louis; the first in 1815, the second in 1816, without being able to subjugate him. He is tall, quick, and impetuous: his courage is strong, but cool: his plans are bold, but not impracticable: he rewards merit, and punishes disobedience. Nothing, perhaps, is wanting to the glory of this extraordinary man but an historian to record his exploits. It is difficult to conceive how so much confidence, and so many signal advantages, could have been obtained with such limited resources.

LETTER LXV.

Coupang, (Island of Timor.)

AS an opportunity of seeing a rajah in full dress was again offered me to-day, I was unwilling to lose it; and, with my musket on my shoulder, accompanied by Messrs. Gaimard, Bérard, Duperrey, and Taunay, I proceeded towards the habitation of the

emperor Peter, the most considerable of the sovereigns of Timor, two short leagues from Coupang.

The road leading to it is extremely pleasant. It first proceeds along the side of the river, which is shaded by a superb vegetation; by degrees it ascends, and we climb a little hill, on the top of which is the tomb of Taybeno, late rajah of this part of the island, near which are the sculls of two Malays suspended from two boughs of a tree. The persons to whom we addressed ourselves for information on the subject told us, that these two heads, still covered with tolerably fine hair, were those of two very cruel Malays, who had revolted against their chief, and committed atrocious crimes. We desired to take them from the tree: but with a look of alarm, they answered "*pamali*," "it is sacred."

After walking an hour, we crossed the river, in a delightful valley, where we sat down to take a repast; while some Malays who had followed us, and who showed great civility in pointing out to us birds of which we were in pursuit, peaceably stood by. We presented them with a few morsels of bread, which they thought delicious, and a score of pins, on which they set no great value.

After an hour's rest, we resumed our journey, and soon arrived in the territory of the emperor. Herds of buffaloes, a vigorous and well-managed vegetation, and some ploughed lands, gave us at first view an advantageous opinion of the sovereign; and this was increased when we approached his dwelling. Every thing displayed order, and a free state of dependence. Some were repairing canals; others extracting from the fan palm a liquor, which the Malays call *bacanassi*, and which they suspend from the tree for a few days in baskets made of the leaves of the pandanus; some were pulling up weeds; others widening the

roads. The men were armed: some had muskets, all had kreeses*, or sabres. Their looks were martial, their step haughty. I drew some of them, who were real *athletæ*.

Having asked to be presented to their king, we were immediately conducted to his presence.

Peter was seated on a sofa, with his grandson by his side.—A cap of white cotton striped with blue, and a *kaen-slimut*, composed the whole of his dress. He is frightfully lean; his eyes are large; his mouth enormously wide; his two or three teeth very black; he has the appearance of a beggar, but is surrounded by respect, and his warriors would not suffer the least insult to their sovereign.

Peter was ill: we found him in a complete undress. He rose as soon as we entered, came and took us by the hand, and accepted some trifles, in exchange for some cocoa-nuts, which his subjects had brought us. He even permitted me to take a likeness of himself and of his grandson, who has a very interesting countenance, and was completely naked.

We were introduced into his own apartment, which was very dirty and very dark; but at the farther end of which were a cabinet and a little trunk very richly gilt, but in the Chinese taste.

Peter is respected at Timor, on account of his personal qualities, and the order and police which he maintains among his subjects.

The rajahs, in full-dress, carry a gold-headed cane, the distinguishing mark of authority given them by the Dutch East-India Company. They have a white cotton waistcoat; a long under-waistcoat of large figured pattern, not unlike the morning gowns of our grandfathers; a sash of blue cotton, with a fringe

* The krees is a poniard. The Malays poison its blade.



a Timorien.



of various colours; a large, black, curved comb, to keep up their hair; a red handkerchief, fastened on the left side of the head, and arranged with care; the legs and feet bare. Every one of them has under his orders eighteen *toumoukouns*, to command the troops; but in general they head their armies themselves.

The interior of the island is almost unknown. There are gold mines in it, of which some of the rivers bring down grains; and between Fialaring Koussy and Batouguédé is a very abundant mine of copper, which the present governor is beginning to work.

The savages who separate the Dutch possessions from the Portuguese are said to be very cruel, and to drink the blood of their vanquished enemies out of their skulls.

LETTER LXVI.

At sea, (Straits of Ombay,) 1818.

WE left Timor on the 23d of October, with the hope of soon losing sight of the island; but our expectations were disappointed. To-day, the 1st of November, we are but two leagues from it, and know not when we shall get away.

The coasts along which we have sailed are rich with verdure: but from space to space there are masses of lava, vomited forth by ancient volcanoes, which reach down to the shore, and exhibit a wonderful contrast to the immense forests, that cover and enrich the soil. In the distance we can distinguish pointed summits, the highest of which must be more than 1600 toises.

Lifao, Koussy, Goula-Batoo, have disappeared; and we are now plying to windward before Batooguédé. Dense clouds, impelled by opposing winds, accumulate, and are broken amid volcanic peaks, against the feet of which the waves beat with a mournful sound.

On the 2d, at eleven in the morning, our commander sent his boat ashore, at the island of Ombay, more than a league and a half distant from the ship. Messrs. Bérard, Gaudichaud, Gaimard, and myself, were of the party. Before we reached the land, we passed through shoals of porpoises, which made truly comical leaps out of the water into the air. At length we came to a grapnel: and one of the natives, of a ferocious aspect, offered himself to protect our landing, while two others followed him close, and came slowly towards us.

We landed, armed with muskets, sabres, and pistols; and every thing, from the first moment, warned us to use extreme prudence and circumspection. The islanders were divided into several bands; and repeated whistles informed us that they were interrogating and consulting with each other. We felt ourselves by no means secure; and while we communicated our apprehensions, we still agreed that we must not give up our enterprise, though we ran the risk of falling victims to our perseverance. We proceeded, therefore, toward an enormous banyan tree, at the foot of which a considerable number of the savages were peaceably lying; on the way I played some tunes on my flute, as children sing when they are afraid: but I was far from flattered at finding that the three islanders accompanying us appeared not to take the least notice of it. Rather piqued at their indifference I took out my castanets; and the noise of these, being agreeable to their ears, procured me a little more respect. They came up to me, examined the instrument, and



Volcanic mountains of Batouguede.



expressed by signs a desire to have it. I was stiff in my turn, and refused it with some haughtiness, pretending to attach a very high price to it.

We had now, however, reached the principal group. All the savages, who had hitherto preserved the greatest stillness, seemed to handle their arrows, amuse themselves with their kreeses, and employ themselves in bending their bows.

We asked to speak to the rajah; and five or six sonorous voices answered almost at once, *pamali* (sacred). At length we took out of our pockets and little baskets some strings of glass beads, looking-glasses, and rings; at which an old man, with a truly hideous countenance, rose up, and told us, that he was the *rajah*. Berard put about his neck a fine necklace, and made him a present of two ear-rings, while my other friends showed themselves equally generous to some savages eager in their demands. But as whistles were still heard at intervals, we took pains to show them our muskets, to ascertain whether they were acquainted with their terrible effects. They looked at them disdainfully, again handled their weapons, and whistled as they turned round, as if to insult us.

I had some cups and balls, little balls of string, handkerchiefs, and cards. I attempted to show them some sleight of hand tricks; they then began to approach me, smile, surround me, and press me to continue my performances. Rejoiced at this discovery, I did my best to excite their astonishment, persuaded that they would soon forget their ferocity. In fact, after a quarter of an hour's amusement, we bent our course toward their village, and most of them followed us with tolerable gaiety. Before we ascended the hill, on which it is situated, we stopped under a large tree, to view some magnificent arms suspended from it, and some earthen vessels of a singular shape, in which they prepare their food, and make salt by boiling. I made drawings of the

arms; and an Ombayan, more complaisant than I could have supposed, put them on, assumed a warlike attitude, and invited me to avail myself of his civility; while another also put on a cuirass, and acted a combat before us. His bow is in motion, the arrows start from his girdle, his steps are cautious, his looks threatening ..... At length he grows warm. With the activity of a leopard he leaps over hedges and bushes, hides himself behind a tree, more frequently awaits his enemy firmly; stoops adroitly, and is again boldly erect. Under the cover of a buffalo's hide, he seems to despise the darts and the rage of his adversary; and defends himself from them with agility. But his bow is become useless to him: he arms himself with his krees; rushes on his enemy; follows him closely, pushes him, strikes him; his eyes flash fire; his nostrils are enlarged; his muscles swell; he parries still, but we see he is already conqueror; in fine he makes a last effort, and his enemy falls at his feet.

We were stupefied.

Never did I see any thing more active, any thing that approached in rapidity the motions of this savage. After enjoying our surprise, he came to us, took hold of one of our muskets with an insolent air, and gave us to understand, in a manner far from equivocal, that while we were loading it, he could let fly a score of arrows. And to show us how certain he was of hitting his object, and the strength of his arm, he launches one of his darts with an expert hand, scarcely taking aim, at a little tree he pointed out about fifty paces distant; and our united efforts could not pull it out without leaving behind the jagged bone with which it was pointed.

Desirous of effacing the strong impression they had made on us, I again repeated a few sleight of hand tricks, while inquiring the way to their habitations. They pointed out to us a path which



Combat of two Cannibals of Ombay







A View in Otaheite



A Canibal of Ombay going to Battle.

would take us thither: but we discovered too late that they showed us this only to get to it before us, as on arriving, we found them already assembled before a large house, and there our barter took place. They were too powerful to deceive us: our trading was frank on both sides. They gave us a great number of bows and arrows, and received from us a few handkerchiefs, small knives, necklaces, rings, and two or three hatchets. I offered my castanets for one of their cuirasses; but was answered, *pamali.*

The houses of this village, called Bitoka, are built on piles two or three feet high. Their moveables, their kitchen, and every thing, stand on piles: and under the principal timber-work of the building is a floor formed of small beams and large mats, in which the women conceal themselves, and which appeared to me to be the apartment of the chiefs of the house. In the second house, as we entered, we saw a score of human jaw-bones, which we wished to purchase; but all our offers were answered by the word *pamali:* and when we asked to see some of the women, their only answer still was *pamali.*

The cuirass worn by the Ombayan, of whom I made a drawing, is called *banoo* in that country. It is of buffalo's hide, adorned with shells arranged in pleasing figures, and has a hole for the head to pass through. I know nothing to which I can compare it better than the cope of our priests. Dry, jagged leaves, and little bells fastened to them, produce a sort of loud whistling, calculated, perhaps, to animate them in battle. Their bucklers resemble, in almost every respect, the forepart of their cuirasses: and in that I drew I remarked a number of holes and notches; whence I inferred, that it had already often saved the warrior to whom it belonged.

The arrows of the natives are reeds, furnished with a jagged

point of wood, bone, or iron. Their bows are made of bamboo, and the string of the gut of some animal.

Now that we are returned from this dangerous excursion, we may congratulate ourselves on the calm that detained us so long near this island, and laugh at the danger we ran. The accounts given us by the captain and mate of a whaler are truly alarming. They affirm, that all the natives of Ombay are cannibals; and that, if we had landed only a quarter of a league north of Bitoka, we should certainly have been massacred. The boat of a ship of their country, that landed there lately, was hauled ashore, and all the crew devoured. They acknowledge no chief, make war one village upon another, dip their weapons in poison kept in the hollow of a bamboo, and suspend from their dwellings the jaws of their vanquished enemies.

Their dress is nearly the same as that of the inhabitants of Timor, but less negligent. They are very fond of bracelets, with which they cover their arms and legs. Some of them are of gold: but most of them are of the leaves of the pandanus, cut with great skill. Sometimes their hair is left to flow loose over their shoulders: sometimes it is frizzled, and does not appear natural, on account of the prodigious quantity. But almost all the natives tie it with strips of various stuffs, and raise it upon the head in the form of a plume. Their sabres and kreeses resemble those of Timor.

Their skin is the colour of *terra di Sienna.* Their eyes are generally sunk in the head, and bright*; their forehead low, their lips thick, their mouth large. Some, however, have an aquiline nose. All have very strong legs and arms, a broad chest, a warlike savage air, bluntness of manner, and great

* They would be called in the present day *cadaverous and satanic.*



A Cannibal of Ombay.

quickness in their movements. All, even the children, carry a bow in their hands, and a score of arrows at their girdle, disposed in the shape of a fan before their breast, with the points upwards. I observed fewer scars and eruptions on their skin than on that of the inhabitants of Coupang.

We are delighted at having seen them; but also congratulate ourselves heartily at having escaped from them.

There were nearly forty houses at Bitoka: the natives we saw were about threescore.

LETTER LXVII.

At sea.

TWENTY-FOUR days have elapsed since we left Coupang for Waigooe. This is the longest period we allotted to this short passage, yet we are still in the straits of Ombay; at one time struggling with adverse winds, another swearing at the calms; advancing at intervals, losing ground almost always; finding ourselves in the morning just where we were at night, continually in view of the same objects, and having nothing to amuse us but the sound of thunder, and the rapid flashes of lightning, that deaden the fires kindled on the slopes of the mountains.

How monotonous is such a life! How tiresome the view of these heaps of lava! The most active seamen are disheartened; a scorching sun exhausts the strength of the most intrepid; serious diseases prevail on board; the dysentery exercises its ravages among us; and if the wind, which is coming on with some violence while I am now writing, do not carry us to Diely, where

we have to take in provision and water, it is to be feared death will find fresh victims among us.

Diely.

Congratulate us, my friend! here we are, anchored at Diely; but many of our sailors are already on the sick list. The barge has just been ashore to treat with the head of the settlement about saluting. M. Duperry, who commanded it, was received in the most friendly manner: our salute will be returned; the governor has powder, and we shall soon find that he is not sparing of it.

'The usual effect of colonies,' says Montesquieu, 'is to weaken the country from which they are drawn, without peopling that to which they are sent.' The truth of this maxim is striking to those who have dwelt for any time in the countries between the tropics. The colonist himself, though habituated to high temperatures, seldom reaches an advanced age; and the European, who goes to settle there, soon perceives the germs of that vigour extinguishing in him, which in his own country gave him promise of an old age exempt from infirmities.

There are some Europeans at Diely too, who are sinking daily under the attacks of the most cruel diseases. The governor alone, and one of his officers, have contrived to prevent their fatal effects. Even the Chinese, whom the government of Macao has sent hither, or who have emigrated from Canton and some other frontier towns of their empire, almost all exhibit on their lifeless countenances certain signs of the ill health they feel. I proceed to the manner in which we have been treated here.

To the most frank protestations of friendship, polite and engaging manners (a politeness perhaps rather too ceremonious), it would be difficult to add more eagerness, more attention to be

agreeable to us. Ever since our arrival the most delicate dishes are served up to our tables in profusion, and for these we are indebted to the generosity of the governor. He is desirous, he says, of testifying the pleasure he feels in welcoming allies, Frenchmen, *savans!* . . . . . He is desirous, that we should prolong our stay: he testifies this by the almost continual discharge of his cannon: the kings of the interior arrive in crowds at his little court; his officers throng around him; all execute with eagerness the orders of their chief, who seems to be so only from the respect paid him: all court us; all make us welcome. Sumptuous dinners, at which the *yellow* beauties of the country preside, covered with jewels; charming festivities, at which the most frank and animated gaiety prevails—make our hours disappear too quickly, flying on the wings of pleasure. The governor finds means of adding to these marks of his regard, by making all of us little presents, on which he seems to set no value, no doubt to obviate our scruples.

He is called Joseph Pinto Alcoforado de Azvedo e Souza. He is young, amiable, jovial, and appears to be well-informed. The motive of his sort of exile at Timor arose, as he gave us to understand, from political causes; but, since he has accepted this government, he assured us he had seldom turned an eye of regret towards his native land.

He is attentive to the country entrusted to him, and his administration is mild. The rajahs, his tributaries, are not degraded by a despotic yoke like those at Coupang. On the contrary, they are treated with particular distinction, admitted at all hours to the governor's apartments, and frequently received at his table. In one of our excursions, however, we found one in chains in a guard-house, under the charge of some Timorians. When Signor Pinto learned that we had witnessed this circumstance, he

appeared to be greatly affected at it, but merely said, *that man is a great culprit.*

Here, for the first time, we saw the bows of the inhabitants of Timor. We were even ignorant that they were much used in this island, and were astonished that they had not adopted them from the greater part of their neighbours. Those that the governor of Diely showed us were nearly the same as those of Ombay, but not so well made; and it is easy to see that, in their hands, it is not the weapon most to be dreaded. However, among the exercises that Signor Pinto caused to be performed before us, one of his subjects took a bow, and, aiming at an orange, which he pointed out to us at a pretty considerable distance, he hit it at the second shot. Two other warriors, one of whom, according to the Portuguese officers, had frequently distinguished himself in several bloody battles against the natives of the interior, acted before us an engagement with the assagay. He who had been spoken of so highly came off conqueror; and I observed, with astonishment, that he often stopped his adversary's weapon with wonderful dexterity, the moment it was on the point of striking his breast.

It is always by dancing and making ridiculous grimaces, that these poor creatures brave danger and death in combats.

Matters of the most trifling importance are almost always the motives of these wars between the rajahs; and rivers of blood often flow, to revenge the stealing of a buffalo or a horse.

As soon as the governor is informed of a war between the rajahs, he sends one of his officers to the chiefs of the parties, and immediately hostilities cease. Deputies are sent from the two armies; the arguments are weighed in a just balance; and the aggressor is condemned, without appeal, in a greater or less fine, consisting of cattle or slaves, a tenth part of which belongs

to the governor. If the rajah who is condemned refuses to submit to the decree pronounced against him, force is employed; and, at the first summons from Signor Pinto, all the other chiefs of the interior take up arms, and march against the rebel.

LETTER LXVIII.

Diely.

THE town of Diely stands on a small, pleasant plain, at the foot of some high, woody mountains, the abode of continual storms. Its road is neither so fine nor so safe as that of Coupang; but the Island of Cambi on one side, and Cape . . . . . on the other, protect it tolerably well against the most usual winds. A natural jetty, nearly level with the water, runs out into the sea more than a quarter of a league; and it seems to me, that a pier might be constructed there at little expense, to which ships might be moored. However, the sea never runs very high, the bottom is good, and the anchorage is, upon the whole, safe and agreeable.

Except *the palace* of the governor, and a church dedicated to St. Antony, you would look in vain for a building at Diely. All the houses, which are low, and constructed of the ribs of palm leaves, on account of the frequent earthquakes are surrounded by enclosures; so that you can see nothing of them, unless when opposite the entrance. In this respect, too, Diely is inferior to Coupang, where, at least, the Chinese quarter exhibits some appearance of a half-civilized country.

There are different paths, almost as soon as you get out of the town, that you cannot enter without the hazard of being

massacred by the natives: yet there is nothing to show, that these paths are *pamali* (sacred.) Having set out to make a little excursion into the country yesterday, I was about to trespass on one of these roads, when the Timorian, who acted as my guide, took me by the collar, and gave me to understand that I ran the risk of losing my life. At first I laughed at his fears, and was advancing to pursue my former intention; but he held me so fast by my clothes, and appeared so alarmed at my resolution, that I gave up my design, which rendered him very joyful the remainder of the day, and more eager to render himself agreeable to me.

On my return to the town, the governor assured me, that he himself respected the different paths consecrated by tradition; and that, if I had proceeded through the path I mentioned to him, the native who served me as a guide would have been murdered without pity. However, according to him, I was in no danger myself, and the Timorian endeavoured to alarm me, only to save his own life. This motive, I think, was quite sufficient; and I was very glad that I had yielded to his urgent remonstrances.

A vast and gloomy forest borders on the town, and appears to be the resort of the most dangerous reptiles. The *boa*, the most monstrous of serpents, makes it his residence; and the governor, as well as several of his officers, asserted that they had several times witnessed frightful scenes. Buffaloes, and even horses, are often attacked by this tremendous animal: and neither the swiftness of their course, nor the strength bestowed on them by nature, can protect them from the deadly tooth of their enemy. Perhaps by repeated cuttings, and destroying the baleful wood, this dangerous neighbour might be expelled: but the time and trouble such a work would require, and, still more,

the apathy of the governors, have prevented their attending to it. Signor Pinto however told us, that he meant soon to carry this important work into execution.

At a little distance from Diely are several burning volcanoes; the great and truly alarming eruptions of which occasion frequent earthquakes. Near these different craters are found mineral waters, *the efficacy of which is indisputable.* To the inhabitants they are a universal remedy; they use them in gout, dysentery, diseases of the skin, sleeplessness, and in short every disease, by which they are assailed. Poor creatures! subject to all the infirmities of human nature, they perish in the flower of their age, and have known nothing of life, but the sufferings that poison its course.

Diely is protected by two small forts, tolerably regular, and a stoccado of the height of a man, with guard-houses from space to space, adjoining which are neat chapels, prettily ornamented. But the greatest strength of the settlement consists in the affection of the inhabitants for their governor.

Adieu, my friend: to-morrow we depart; and I quit this country without regret—for I do not love to see so much gaiety amid so much wretchedness.

LETTER LXIX.

Under sail.

MY fears were but too well-founded, my dear Batlle. Death is making his ravages among us. Imprudence may have destroyed some of our sailors; but diseases, which inevitably arise from fatigues, privations, and a long continuance in such a

sultry climate, could not fail to produce fatal effects. The care, skill and attention of our surgeons have been wholly ineffectual in putting a stop to the contagion. The dysentery has attacked our crew: we have seen some of our bravest seamen buried in the waves; and it is to be feared, that the mortality will be still greater.

Custom, they say, familiarises us with every thing: we are grown familiar even with the melancholy scenes that pursue us. When a man dies, we frequently know nothing of it, till he has been already swallowed by the waves. Poor men! you quit a world through which you have had a painful journey; of what benefit to you would have been a few hours more? and who would not wish to prolong his sleep to eternity, if he knew he must awake to pain?

Every thing concurs to render our situation insupportable; the winds refuse us their breath, the sun darts upon our heads his most piercing rays; the currents are adverse, and we are still beating about off Amboyna, when, according to every reasonable probability, we ought long ago to have been at Waigiou.

Let me say a few words on the Molucca islands in general, and on Amboyna in particular.

We had left the peninsula of Péron when we arrived at Timor; and we could not fail to think every thing delightful, when we had just quitted the most savage country on the globe. For three months our eyes had scarcely seen a patch of verdure; and Simao, Kéra, and Coupang, seemed to us the abode of happiness and plenty. We were never weary of admiring the rich gifts, of which nature had been so profuse to them. Every thing was beautiful; every thing inflamed our imaginations, excited our desires, and promised us oblivion of past fatigues, and the certainty of future pleasures. The illusion was soon dissipated:

we soon saw Timor in its true colors; and beneath the magnificent tufts of tamarind and cocoa-trees we found but a feeble shelter from the scorching heat.

Comparing this settlement with Endracht's Land, it appeared to us a perfect Eden. Comparing it, as to fertility, with our richest provinces, I still gave it the preference; and found nothing but Brasil to be put in competition with it. But now that we have seen a considerable part of the Molucca islands, Timor is far from occupying the same rank in my imagination. Here every thing is verdure; the hills are covered with superb forests, the valleys are loaded with trees of prodigious height. The most skilful painter could not depict their varied hues. No where is a beaten path to be seen: rarely does a rock show its bare head amid the vegetation that surrounds, presses upon, and covers it: the sea-shore is straitened by the immense quantity of trunks of trees, which the lightning has uprooted, and have been hurried down by torrents from the summits of the mountains: the waves and currents carry them out to sea, and these scattered fragments exhibit to the mariner an image of the catastrophes that overturn nations, and change the order of nature. These vast, eternal forests; these desert islands, that so well remind us of the infancy of the world; these thick brambles, beneath which crawl frightful reptiles; these smiling plains, where savage nations live only to tear each other to pieces, and carry on continual and murderous wars; the appearance of these poor creatures, destitute of resources, and abandoned to themselves; all exalt the mind of the curious European, and excite in it sentiments of gratitude, which it would be vain for him to guard against.

'The more I see of foreign lands,
'The more I love my own.'

LETTER LXX.

At sea, 1818.

AFTER the discovery of a part of the Molucca islands, the Dutch, calculating the advantages they might derive from them, easily made themselves masters of the forts, which the Malays had built: but as their situation became more dangerous, when their dominions were extended, they found themselves obliged to erect others; and the first acts of their power afforded motives of hatred and rebellion to the people whom they sought to subject. It was by the sword that the Dutch and Portuguese acquired their power, and the wealth of these countries. Their trade at first was a mere tissue of perfidy and bad faith; gradually they disdained to submit even to that sort of commerce, and massacred without pity the savages, who, indignant at their fetters, attempted to offer resistance to their oppression. The consequence has been, that these two rival nations seek in vain, even now, for friends in this rich archipelago; their ships, if detained by calms, or hurried away by currents, are those which the Malays attack with most fury: and every year dreadful accounts of massacres arrive in Europe, and proclaim to its nations, that persecution and bloodshed have never produced any thing but slaves impatient to break their chains, and to make their conquerors feel the hatred they bear them.

Meantime the great number of men carried off by disease in the first settlements of the Europeans in the Molucca islands compelled the Dutch East India Company to concentrate all its trade in a single point. Then rose Amboyna: to whose spacious and secure road repaired the ships laden with the merchandise of

Europe, to exchange them for the spices that the country furnished in abundance. But in the sequel, the government being desirous of monopolizing the advantages of a trade that proved so lucrative, commissioners were sent to different parts to ravage the country, and destroy the trees, the fertility of which might be injurious to the monopoly of the Dutch, and oblige them to lower the price of their commodities, by setting up a beneficial competition. Whole forests were rooted up, ancient possessions destroyed, and nature, too generous in these fine countries, obliged them to multiply their incursions. Even now, these despoilers go from Amboyna every year to execute this odious commission; and congratulate themselves, on their return, when they perceive the earth to have lost its vigour, and the trees their fertility.

The monsoons do not allow ships to touch at Amboyna in all seasons; and the earthquakes, so frequent in these climates, render the navigation of this archipelago very dangerous. The direction of the sand banks being often changed by these great phenomena, speculators are obliged to keep out of it at least six months in the year.

After having passed Amboyna, we found ourselves in a strait formed by a cluster of small islands, all very fertile, on which we perceived some settlements. The inhabitants of a great part of this archipelago live wholly on fishing and piracy. Of this we were not ignorant, and took proper precautions to repel force by force.

The ....., at sunrise we perceived about thirty canoes two leagues off, apparently intending to come up to us, while the want of wind obliged us to wait for them. A squall, however, coming from the horizon, obliged them to make off; and as we could not resist the force of the currents that opposed our course, we found ourselves at night nearly in the same

station. The sky was clear, the breeze light, and we were about to go to rest, when the watch descried a canoe. Presently another was perceived, and in a few moments notice was given, that several were surrounding the ship.

Immediately orders were given with calmness and precision. The captain stationed each at his post, watched the motions of the enemy as much as the darkness of the night allowed, and waited the event with coolness. Our arms were ready, guns loaded and run out, matches lighted. We were tired of waiting idly; burned to come to action with these enemies of all nations; and, though we had every thing to dread from their cruelty if we were overrun, the presence of danger gave rise to a sentiment of pleasure in our hearts, which was depicted on every countenance. It was not that we wanted blood: not one of us, certainly, desired to shed any; but it seemed unlikely that we should sail round the world without some event of the kind; and, as it now presented itself, we met it cheerfully. Probably, however, our preparations for defence, and the size of our ship inspired the pirates with fear, and they made off with as much caution as they used in approaching us. Thus we were left at leisure to avail ourselves of a breeze that sprung up a few instants after, to get out of a strait in which we saw our resources and our constancy likely to fail us.

One idea, however, occurred to me amid the bustle the Malays excited on board us. I remembered, with a slight sentiment of uneasiness, that Antony had lost a battle, because he would not lose a mistress. . . . . .





The Corvette Heroine.

LETTER LXXI.

Under sail.

I SHALL not attempt, my friend, to describe to you the prospect we enjoyed to-day: the drawing that will meet your eye, faithful as it is, can give you but a faint idea of it. When I shall have told you, that the night of the.... surprised us in the midst of more than fifty pointed rocks resembling so many steeples; when I shall have added, that the sun, striking on them in the morning with its rising rays, gave to each a different tint, according to its nakedness, its distance, or its verdant appearance; when, anchored as by enchantment amid so many shoals, I shall have informed you that we thought we had passed them, when the currents drove us into the middle of them, and the squalls, that rose with rapidity in the horizon, did not cease to conceal them from our sight, till it was no longer possible to avoid them; when my pen shall have attempted to communicate to you the different emotions we experienced, on seeing our keel so near these dangerous reefs, for we were anchored only in three fathoms and half of water, you will have but a very imperfect idea of our situation, and of the joy felt by all our crew, at the sight of perils so certain and already escaped*. It is not in the midst of a vast ocean, and buffeted by waves in constant agitation, that the mariner finds most dangers to surmount: a good ship braves their fury; but it is amid an archipelago little known that the seaman must have recourse to prudence, and display all

* I call this bay the *Bay of Steeples*. I believe it is known by the name of *Boula-Boula*.

the resources of his art. A single false manœuvre may be his ruin, and a thousand skilful evolutions cannot always secure him.

Honored be the zealous and intrepid mariners, who have exposed themselves to perils innumerable in extending the boundaries of our knowledge, and have so often braved death for the benefit of mankind.

Here M. Freycinet manœuvred his ship with prudence and precision, and availed himself of the time we were at anchor to send out a boat, to take soundings around the rocks that environed us, while the waves broke sullenly at their feet. M. Ferrand was despatched on this duty, and acquitted himself with the zeal and courage that he displayed in every business entrusted to him.

Squalls of rain, and a pretty strong breeze, soon carried us off this dangerous coast; and nothing interesting occurred, till we made Pisang, a very lofty peak, covered with verdure, uninhabited, and still a part of the archipelago of the Moluccas. Our commander, presuming some discoveries in natural history might be made there, sent off a boat with Messrs. Quoy and Gaudichaud, and gave M. Bérard and myself leave to accompany them. The ship was two leagues off, and we were more than three hours in reaching the shore, in consequence of the calm, and the currents that retarded our progress.

The vegetation on this mountain is so vigorous, that it extends even down into the sea, and the beach, at the widest, is not above five or six paces. A few scattered rocks, washed by the waves, which never run high at this part of the island, are the only spots where it is not difficult to land. The ascent of the peak was so steep, that we could not climb it; and we soon perceived that our researches must be very limited. However, to make the most of our situation, we took different directions, without apprehending any attack; and persuaded that the shells and

marks of fires we saw on the beach, were the results of a visit from the *caracores* of Guébé, which we met the evening before, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The bed of a torrent, which falls from the top of the mountain in the rainy season, would, perhaps, have conducted us to the highest point of the island; but the time that remained for us to reach the ship before night was too short for farther researches, and we returned to the boat. Messrs. Quoy and Gaudichaud found a few plants, and a new shell, of which I made drawings on the spot. We returned on board, dissatisfied with our excursion, and convinced that the island of Pisang is destitute of resources, and conceals no object of curiosity.

LETTER LXXII.

Rawack.

WHO is the wealthy man, that has never experienced trouble? Who is so wretched, as never to have felt pleasure? Life is a river, the banks of which present occasionally fertile plains and smiling hills, at other times dismal and savage rocks. Happy is he who can at will make an abode of delight his home, and pass rapidly through those desolate places, the remembrance of which gives him a double relish for the charms of existence! As to us, my friend, the sad sport of winds and waves, we dare no longer pour out to Heaven our useless sighs; unexpected obstacles seem to oppose our course; accumulated misfortunes overpower us. After more than two months of a tiresome and monotonous navigation, we arrived at an uninhabited island, in the neighbourhood of a half savage people, whom our presence seems to

terrify, but who, no doubt, will soon be at ease respecting our intentions.

What a noble study are the arts, for those who cultivate them successfully! What a fine thing the sciences, for those who know nothing of them! From how many troubles are the latter freed! From what toilsome labours are they exempt! They go not, like madmen, trusting to the stars and winds, to brave alternate frosts and storms. In their peaceful habitations, surrounded by ancient friends, their lives flow smoothly on; and at the end of their career, when they fall asleep for ever, their last thoughts are still clothed in smiles, their last recollection is an image of happiness!

The name of science is here unknown; and men are even unacquainted with the arts. Necessity makes them erect a hut; and experience teaches them how to guard it against the attacks of the elements; necessity drives them to the sea in quest of food; experience teaches them not to lose sight of the shore; necessity impels them to join their fellow men; experience teaches them to mistrust them.

The natives of Rawack, Waigooe, and New Guinea, whom we have daily before our eyes, are little, squat, large headed, woolly haired, nearly black, big bodied, spindle shanked, with long and broad feet. Their countenance is inexpressive, their manners unengaging, their air stupid. Some of them have so much hair on their head, that you would take it for a pile of wigs. Almost all are covered with leprosy, or have been affected by it. They have big bellies and prominent hips; their gait is awkward, though they are tolerably active. Their language is noisy, and inharmonious; their smile, almost laughable. They climb trees with surprising facility, and are very skilful fishers; standing on the bow of a canoe, rudely enough fashioned, and sometimes furnished with a sail of cocoa leaves, a man sees a

fish at a distance, directs his *proa** toward it, and, though more than twenty paces distant, almost always strikes it with a long bamboo, headed with a double-pointed iron.

To live, fish, and propagate their species, are their sole occupations. If their fishing be successful, they make a good meal. The table is placed, and the cloth soon laid. Placing the fish on branches of green wood raised two or three feet above the ground, they kindle underneath it a large fire, round which they assemble. Their appetite serves them for sauce, their fingers for forks, the palm of the hand, or a large leaf, for a plate. The intestines of the largest fish, far from being rejected by them, appeared to me to be most agreeable to their palates, which are not over nice. I know many Parisian ladies, who would scream loudly at being set down to such an unceremonious meal, where a piece of fish strewed with earth is devoured with a degree of pleasure, which our best seasoned dishes do not always afford.

Do not think, however, my dear Batlle, that these men, near as they approach the state of nature, are absolute strangers to every species of nicety. They have also a to-morrow: and the approach of bad weather, or some public rejoicing, obliges them to exert themselves more, and double their labour the day before. They then throw the surplus of their provision into a large bamboo, fresh cut, the knots of which they perforate, and which they half fill with boiling water, in which it is cooked, and remains hot for a long time. I have tasted fish thus prepared, and I can assure you, that I found it excellent. I must add, however, (for I would not flatter), that an involuntary abstinence of more than two months, and the attraction of novelty, contributed not a little to dispel the insipid and smoky taste, which my generous messmates appeared not to perceive.

* The name often given to their boats.

But there is a remarkable singularity, the accuracy of which I believe no voyager will deny, that in all the archipelagoes of the South Sea, and even in the islands nearest the European settlements, there is not to be found a single race that season their food with any kind of sauce. With them, every thing is dressed on live coals, in burning ovens, or on rods exposed to the fire, or rather to a scorching smoke. Behold these islanders, happy and contented, seated in a circle round a heap of fish thrown promiscuously on a few leaves of the bread-fruit, or of the cocoa-tree, devouring with astonishing voracity the meal, which their dexterity has just procured them.

At Rawack we enjoyed this truly curious spectacle daily; and I cannot express to you how much delight I took in joining these droll assemblies, where I collected interesting notes without being troublesome; and where I may say, without vanity, I almost always received marks of friendship and confidence. In general, I am convinced, that gaiety and sincerity are the best weapons to use with savages; and that, if it be sometimes imprudent to trust yourself with them without means of defence, it is often extremely prudent to make some concessions to men, with whom a triumph is quickly followed by atrocious vengeance.

In spite of all my endeavours, I could not procure the least information respecting their religion. In their houses, however, and near their tombs, we found some of their idols, which are regularly but unskilfully carved. A head extremely small, surmounted by a pointed cowl longer than the rest of the body; a mouth reaching from ear to ear, which have rings of bone and wood suspended from them; small round eyes; a very peaked chin; scarcely any body; slender and fluted legs; such is a description of one I possess, and which I should not have accepted, but that the sailor who gave it me declared, that he

found it on the beach. The ashes of the dead ought to be held sacred; and I do not approve the indifference of those men, who, from a motive of empty curiosity, pay no respect to the most holy things.

At the foot of the tomb most remarkable for its size and form were five dead men's heads, and two fine shells. Within it were seen several little flags of various colours, a China plate, and several arrows. The building was covered by an inverted *proa*; an image perhaps of the life of the man deceased. Other tombs, smaller, and constructed with less care, were scattered about this small island; and in almost all were offerings still fresh, and some broken weapons.

I did not observe that the savages who visited us had the least veneration for these idols; and I showed mine to a native of Waigooe, who did not appear sorry to see it in my hands.

The three houses at the bottom of the harbour, as well as all those of Boni and Waigooe, are built on piles: and on the other side of Rawack, and even here, we saw several that were not. These houses are rudely constructed, though with much more art than those of Diely, Coupang, or even Ombay. In general they have but one room. The roof is of timber-work, and covered with palm leaves; the timbers being bound together with the fibres of the cocoa, and most commonly pinned with much patience and dexterity. We found in them several moveables and utensils, too rudely made to have cost much trouble in fabricating, and the use of which must be very transient. On the right of these three houses, at two or three hundred paces distance, and a little way into the wood, is a pool of fresh water, of great advantage to ships that have not time to proceed to Waigooe. It is not bad; and at first we drank no other.

The anchoring place is small, but good holding ground. The side toward Boni is full of dangerous reefs: and though the

passage between Rawack and Waigooe is practicable for ships of all sizes, I think it very dangerous, as the coast is equally strewed with rocks level with the water, and not easily seen, particularly in high tides. In the middle of the road is a rock, at no great depth, that might be fatal to a large ship, but on which a frigate would not strike.

M. Guerin was employed to explore this anchoring place; we were convinced beforehand of the zeal he would employ in finding it; and no person on board was more capable of executing such a commission successfully.

On coming in, the prospect is magnificent. The road is a regular circus. Superb cocoa trees skirt the shore where the houses are situate: the high and woody mountains of Waigooe exhibit in front their varied tints; while nearer at hand very extensive breakers cover the landscape with a humid atmosphere. The scene is well worthy of the pencil of an able painter.

We had scarcely arrived when we began to barter with the savages. Some of the inhabitants of Waigooe came to offer us fish, enormous lizards, some poultry, and birds of paradise stuffed with wonderful skill. We gave them handkerchiefs, knives, mirrors, glass beads, and a few hatchets, of which they were very desirous.

Adieu, my friend; we shall quit this country without regret, as the dysentery still prevails on board, and we have great need of a point of rendezvous, where our exhausted seamen may recruit their strength, and recover the health of which they have been deprived by fatigue and meagre diet.

LETTER LXXIII.

Rawack.

THIS is the proper time for giving you an account of an extraordinary man we met with off Pisang. We found him again here; or rather he came hither to join us: and it was a misfortune to us, for from the day of his arrival terror prevailed among the islanders of Rawack and Waigooe, and they ceased all trading with our ship. He entirely monopolized it: and even in this country, more than a hundred miles distant from his own, he appeared with three frail barks to have the command over the people he visited.

This chief, or one of the chiefs of the island of Guébé, for he assumes the title of Captain Guébé, appears to be about forty years old. He wears a turban, that covers his bald head down to the eyebrows. His eyes are bright and expressive; his nose is tolerably large and flat; his mouth very wide, his chin dimpled, and shaded by a few long, straggling, unequal hairs. His stature is about five feet eight inches, his complexion yellow; his teeth very black. He wears a tunic in the Persian fashion, beneath which he has trowsers fastened round his waist with a red sash. His feet are broad; his hands very small and well shaped. His demeanour is bold; his step firm; his gestures quick and expressive; his movements hasty; he smiles, but his smile does not appear sincere: he endeavours to persuade, but inspires only fear: he promises much, but he asks more. His sudden appearance in this archipelago of the Moluccas; his three or four vessels, dispersed at five leagues from each other;

the agility of the crews that man them; their air of independence, or rather superiority; and their equipage; every thing seemed to announce to us at first view one of those daring pirates, who have no country but the places where they find themselves at their ease; no friends but the persons they are afraid of; no victims but those they can make without endangering their authority.

Two of his officers came on board before him. How humble did they appear in his presence! One of our dogs, guided, perhaps, by instinct, began barking at them, and frightened them so, that they were on the point of leaping into the sea. As soon as the *caracore**, or boat, of the chief came near us, we distinguished the chief by the authority he assumed, and his air of assurance: he did not ask for leave to come on board, but ordered his people not to follow him.

Stepping on deck he asks for the captain; he embraces him; salutes us with an air of condescension; speaks Malay; hastily asks questions; appears surprised at nothing; wants to know whence we came, and whither we are bound; invites us to anchor at his island; there we shall want for nothing, and he will be our pilot. In a few moments you would fancy he was the commander of the ship; he examines the ropes, the rigging; he finds them to his satisfaction, (he is a savage, observe), though he cannot have seen many ships of such dimensions; in fine, he asks to go into the captain's cabin; his officers follow him, and there he makes a parade of his knowledge, proposes to M. Freycinet a conversation in Arabic; asks for a pen; lets him see, that he can write, and inscribes on the paper a compliment to him and his lady.

Meantime his boats had made fast to the ship, and we had begun our trading. The *Guébéans* had turtle's eggs, small pearls, several shells, elegant bucklers of a peculiar form, and hats of divers

* A vessel so named, with two outriggers.

colours very prettily wrought, which they gave us for looking-glasses, glass beads, and particularly handkerchiefs. The exchanges were mutually advantageous: they wanted useful things, we sought curiosities: but there was this difference, we considered ourselves obliging them, and they congratulated themselves on making dupes of us, as they showed by their sarcastic laugh at every bargain.

At first we did not perceive any weapons among them, and their *caracores* appeared stored only with provision: but as soon as we requested to see their means of attack and defence, hundreds of bows and arrows, and assagays headed with bone and iron, were produced from every corner of their boats; but what most surprised us was, we found no difficulty in getting them from them. For a handkerchief they would give us a bundle of darts, and in a few minutes the greater part of the weapons they had on board were ours.

The imperious chief of these extraordinary men gave us here the spectacle of a repast, at which there was at least a certain degree of etiquette. He had with him two of his ministers, and these were equivalent to many others, as they were chosen from among his most courageous and faithful subjects. They only, and another chief, ate with him: and I observed, but in this party alone, that, before they began, and after they finished their meal, they made a sort of libation, in honour, no doubt, of some deity; while the circles of the second and third rank appeared to dispense with this ceremony. Is it that there is no God in their country except for the great? Have the many been prohibited from doing homage to a beneficent deity? How curious would be the history of the world, if we knew all its secrets!

P. S. I forgot to tell you that the natives of Rawack and Waigooe have likewise bread made of sago, and baked in moulds of clay divided into two or three compartments. I cannot com-

pare these little utensils to any thing better than the earthen chafing dishes used by our peasants. Their only beverage is water, or more frequently the milk of the cocoa-nut; and their table is the place where they happen to be. For the rest, I have not observed that they were very fond of our wine or spirituous liquors; as, when we offered them any, they never took more than a few drops, which they seemed to drink with a sort of repugnance. As to their mode of kindling a fire, it is similar to that of almost all the savages we have seen, and that of all the islanders of the South Sea. I will give you a drawing of it.

LETTER LXXIV.

Rawack, 1819.

I HAVE made you acquainted with the chief of Guébé, and I have described him to you as he appeared to us, proud, bold, behaving with some degree of dignity, and more consequential in his manner than the sovereigns of Timor, Rottie, or Denka. You shall now see him mean, beggarly, and in every respect similar to those gluttonous beings of Diely and Coupang, from whom we never heard more than two words: *give*, as they held out their hands; *take*, as they offered us their daughters.

Yesterday I slept on shore, and had scarcely landed before captain Guébé came to offer me a young girl, whom we had seen in his *caracore*. Her features were tolerably regular, but sufferings had faded them: and the piece of stuff that scarcely covered her announced the extremity of wretchedness. I asked the pirate to whom she belonged; and he gave me to understand that she was the wife of one of his officers (in which he lied);



The manner of making fire of the natives Rawack and of Waccion.



but as he only asked in exchange an article of no value, I struck a bargain with him, giving him two brass waistcoat buttons and a small handkerchief to boot; for I wished to have a nearer view of this poor creature to take her portrait, which in fact I did. Our agreement made, I led her into one of our tents, and had no small difficulty to set her at ease with respect to my intentions. There I made her a present of another handkerchief, and endeavoured to learn from her by what means she fell into the hands of these sea rovers. I suppose she did not understand me: but she approached me softly, and made me clearly comprehend that she was continually beaten, and would think herself happy to be taken on board our vessel. On finishing her narrative, which I understood from her gestures, the poor creature began to weep. The tears of a woman have always made a strong impression upon me; I was moved; I took the hands of the slave, and pressed them between mine; . . . . . and I know not what might have taken place had not the wind, that blew violently, brought down the tent over our heads. This reminded me, laughably enough, of the fable of Mars and Venus caught in Vulcan's net. I am pretty sure that my companion did not make the same comparison.

After we had extricated ourselves from the canvas, I restored the young girl to the chief, who offered her to other persons on board without success; and, during the night, he beat her so dreadfully, that, if I had not taken her out of his hands, he would certainly have killed her.

Adieu, my friend; we shall depart in a few hours, and with no small pleasure.

LETTER LXXV.

Under sail.

THIS letter, my friend, will be short. We should be brief when we have nothing but vexations to relate; and, let men say what they will, sorrow is not garrulous.

We have lost a distinguished officer, esteemed by his superiors and beloved by all who knew him. The dysentery has just robbed us of M. Labiche, our second lieutenant.

In quitting a life, which he had passed with some credit, and honoured by his virtues, he appeared to feel no other regret than that of parting with dear friends, and of being unable to bid adieu to a beloved mother.

How painful it is to lose, almost at every step as it were, a companion, who has long shared our toils, and should, on a future day, have participated in our rewards! . . . . . .

Every thing saddens our hearts, every thing withers our imagination. Death finds victims; and as yet we can see no end to our long-continued troubles. The ship is motionless: we alone advance and disappear. . . . . .

LETTER LXXVI.

At sea.

THE wind has begun to blow, and the man at the mast-head has given notice of land. It is the Anchorites islands, all surrounded

by reefs. A little while after we thought we saw the Thousand Islands discovered by Bougainville. . . . . Here we are in the midst of the Caroline islands, an archipelago little visited, yet well deserving to be so. All the islands we distinguish are low, small, and well-wooded. The natives, who surround us, appear to be gentle and familiar, with a shade of distrust. Several of them have come on board. You would say they were in the midst of their families. They do every thing we wish. They dance when we desire them; caress us; and accept our trifles with the most lively gratitude. They place the knives, fish-hooks, and bits of iron, which we give them, in their ears; fastening them with the cartilage, which reaches down almost to the shoulder. How gentle, how infantine they are! with what regret they see us going away! . . . . . A squall appears in the horizon: we place our tents to catch the water, of which we begin to be in want. We draw some balls out of our guns, and throw them upon the canvas to stretch it to a point. At the sight of the balls the Carolinians leap into the sea. There they appear still more at home than with us. What strength! what address! they gain their boats by swimming with astonishing rapidity: they are upset: they right them with wonderful promptness . . . . . For the first time, my friend, we complained of our progress, and prayed for a calm. Man is never satisfied.

I shall not at present impart to you the reflections, to which these interesting people have given rise. I shall soon know more of them; and I promise you to neglect no means of becoming acquainted with their manners and customs. Either I am much deceived, or I shall have nothing but what is pleasing to inform you.

Guam.

At length here we are at the Marianne islands. Many of our seamen have perished in this long passage: but those who are still on the sick list flatter themselves with the expectation of recovering their strength on shore, and detaining the life that is ready to escape from them. Is not hope a certain harbinger of health?

The longer a passage has been, the more pleasure we feel at reaching a new harbour: but it is when we have a glimpse of but a short interval between past and future toils, our minds, greedy of pleasure, are desirous of finding no objects, but such as it can repose on in tranquillity.

Here the recent remembrance of the rich countries we had just quitted was an additional stimulus to make us eager for our speedy arrival at the Mariannes. The imagination, spoilt, as it were, by the picture of the splendid fields of the Molucca islands, could not conceive a sky less pure, a vegetation less luxuriant, in a climate almost the same. A higher degree of civilization in this archipelago promised us more lively enjoyments; and the original habits, and confiding timidity of the greater part of the inhabitants of the Pacific ocean, would here mingle with the austere and superstitious manners of the Spaniards.

Our first view of Guam however did not answer the idea we had formed of it from the exaggerated accounts of some enthusiastic mariners. Trees are rare on the mountains. Vast masses of bare rock form a painful contrast to patches of a yellowish green; from the midst of which, however, rise at intervals slender trees, crowned with a few pale leaves. The skirts of the shore alone exhibit rich clumps of smiling verdure: and our eyes, already saddened, turn with regret toward the remote grounds of a landscape, that reminds us but faintly of the delightful spots from which we have just fled.

After sailing along the coast for half a day, we doubled the isle of Cocoas, that shuts in on one side the road of Humata, where we did not come to anchor till six o'clock, about two cable's length from a Spaniard, that arrived from Manilla the day before, and a short league from the land. The bottom is good, and the anchorage, I believe, pretty safe. It is defended by three forts, called The Sorrowful Virgin, The Holy Angel, and St. Vincent.

The arrival of the Spanish ship *La Paz* had brought the governor to Humata; and the next day he came on board us, to pay his compliments to our captain, and offer him his services. The ceremony of saluting occasioned a very serious accident to two soldiers of the garrison, who, little accustomed, no doubt, to the management of cannon, were burnt in such a way, as to excite apprehensions for their lives: but their good constitutions, and the care of our surgeons, preserved them from what was considered almost the certainty of death.

Our visit to the head of the settlement was paid without form, and received with cordiality.

An airy and sufficiently commodious place is now ready to receive our sick, the number of whom is pretty large. The *intendant* of the settlement is appointed to furnish them with provisions; superior orders are given to supply us amply with all the necessary succours; and at least a pleasing benevolence already obviates the wants that threatened us.

The village of Humata consists of about thirty hovels, built on piles, and constructed of the ribs of palm leaves, which are pretty strong, and well bound together. The people by whom they are inhabited and filled exhibit, outwardly, the frightful appearance of the most disgusting wretchedness. A piece of dirty, stinking cloth covers the women from the loins to the knees. The men are dressed in a sort of wide trowsers, that reach only to the middle of the thigh. Both (and this is nearly general) are covered

with a disgusting and active leprosy, that leaves on the body black .and livid marks even when it disappears, and is a continual subject of dread to the Europeans who have to deal with them.

Hitherto I am speaking only of the people of Humata; and when we arrive at Agagna, the residence of the governor, I shall note the difference that must necessarily exist between the inhabitants of a village and those of a capital. Here every thing is hideous; both the houses, and the spectres that inhabit them.

When we traverse the country, the mind revolts with indignation at the aspect ofa soil so fertile from which nothing is obtained. Hills shadowed by vigorous and useless trees surround smiling vales, where weeds grow by thousands among a few blades of rice and Indian corn, attesting equally the goodness of the soil, the idleness of the inhabitants, and the inattention of the governors. How then do these robust and almost savage men employ themselves? They live—they die.....with a few grains of Indian corn, a couple of breadfruits, half a score of segars, and a cake of the pith of the *tacca pinnatifida* or of the sago tree, they pass the day; and I do not think they can imagine any thing better in their situation, if to these productions, which the earth furnishes in abundance, they be enabled to add a bit of dried fish, or a shred of half putrid venison.

The appearance of so much wretchedness, no doubt the result of the degradation into which the inhabitants of this useless archipelago have been plunged by fanatic conquerors, rends my heart, and rouses my indignation against those vain and guilty men, who fancied that the introduction of Christianity exempted them from conferring any new benefits. Conquests effected by the sword are durable only when the vanquished are induced to pardon the blood that has been shed by the remembrance of benefits bestowed.

Here there are no taxes, or contributions; only some transient

impositions by the governor at the arrival of a ship: yet the people would perish from want, if the earth did not spontaneously furnish the idle inhabitants with the slight means of subsistence they require.

In certain small towns, however, there are customs still respected which afford proofs that the natives of these islands have formerly experienced periods of famine, as they indicate on their part a degree of foresight, from which they are freed at present by the nature of their country.

In the history of the world wisdom and folly are almost always companions.

We are setting off to-day to get nearer the capital. I am not sorry to quit Humata.

LETTER LXXVII.

Guam.

VERY long reefs shut in the road of St. Louis, which is also protected from the northern winds by Goat Island. The bluff of Orota, on which a fort of little use has been erected, shelters it from the west-south-west winds likewise; but on the side of Guam tolerably high mountains do not prevent ships from running some danger, on account of innumerable shoals, which are for the most part dry at low water. On one of these shoals, formed of madrepores, the Spaniards, *always industrious*, have constructed a new fort, called St. Louis; no doubt at great expense, but of as little use as that on the hill. It was not without

infinite difficulty that we reached the anchorage, which we shall not quit for some time.

A few days after our arrival at Guam, the governor spoke to us so warmly of Tinian, and the little known remains of ancient monuments to be found there, that M. Freycinet requested to be furnished with the means of visiting that island. Don Josef Medinilla readily complied, and offered any of us a passage in the proas of the Caroline islands, that make annual voyages to Rota, Tinian, and Seypan. Messrs. Gaudichaud, Bérard, and myself, were appointed to make this excursion; and the second day of our stay at the anchorage of St. Louis we embarked for the town whence we were to take our departure.

The channel between Goat Island and the coast of Guam is not more than six miles across in its greatest breadth, or less than three in its smallest. The island is covered with trees and shrubs, for the most part useless, among which, however, is found the sago tree, called in the country *federico*, that furnishes the inhabitants of this archipelago with the chief article of their food. There is no water on Goat Island, except what is sometimes found in a large reservoir four or five hundred feet in diameter, supplied only by the rains; but on the other hand the coast of Guam exhibits in all parts charming prospects, and spots of rich verdure, on which the eye rests with delight.

The reefs of which I have spoken extend from the middle of the road of St. Louis to Agagna, leaving but three narrow passages for boats. The first is opposite Toupoungan, a village of about fifteen houses; in which at least as much wretchedness appears as at Humata, and the leprosy is not less frequent. The second leads to Anigua, a place as wretched as Toupoungan; where we quitted our boat, to proceed by land to Agagna, nearly six miles distant. How fruitful is the soil on all this part of the island! How culpable are the people to neglect it! Spacious

fields deserted attest the apathy of the wretched inhabitants, and lead us to regret that the Spaniards do not relinquish the possession of this rich archipelago to some other power *.

A few hundred yards from Anigua are several solitary houses, in which are kept lepers of both sexes, whose disease is so virulent that it commonly deprives them of the tongue or some of their limbs, and is said to become a contagious distemper. I have delineated two of these unfortunate creatures, exhibiting to the eye the most hideous aspect of human misery. One shudders with horror on approaching these houses of desolation and despair. I am persuaded, that by enlarging these paltry buildings, collecting in them all the persons in the island severely attacked by the leprosy, and prohibiting all communication with them from without, they might expel from the country this frightful disease; which, if it do not quickly cause the death of the patient, at least shortens his days, and perhaps leads him to curse them †. What a scene, to behold an infant, a few days old, calmly reposing in the arms of a woman devoured by the leprosy, who imprudently lavishes on it her caresses! Yet this occurs in almost every house; government opposes no obstacle to it; and the infant, while sucking its mother's milk, inhales with it disease and death.

Before we arrived at the village of Assan, which is only a quarter of a league from the town, we passed through a narrow mountainous path, bordered by elegant, odoriferous trees. The roads are in a manner inclosed by alleys of cocoa-trees, the long and regular fronds of which form a pleasing contrast with the broad and indented foliage of the breadfruit-tree. The cocoa-tree is not so tall here as at Rawack and Ombay, but it

* The third passage is opposite Agagna itself.

† It is called here *the disease of St. Lazarus.*

appeared to me more vigorous. Its stem, almost always perpendicular, occasionally stretches out horizontally, forms an elbow at a certain height, rises thence majestically, and seems to tower into the air as its proper domain. Here we were particularly enabled to appreciate the advantages of this valuable tree, with many of the properties of which we were previously only partially acquainted.

The village of Assan is larger than the other two, but it exhibits the same wretchedness, and the same scenes of desolation. I never saw so many cocoa-trees as in the road that leads from this village to the town; never, perhaps, had I a more agreeable walk, and never did I find a more delightful landscape; the most skilful painter could delineate its beauties but faintly.

Several torrents that descend from the mountains, and precipitate themselves into the sea, are crossed by bridges tolerably well built, the work no doubt of the conquerors of this archipelago. Among the new structures there is nothing to be compared with them.

LETTER LXXVIII.

Agagna (Island of Guam).

THIS capital has a tolerable resemblance to a city; not, as we were told, to an European city, but to a city in which nine-tenths of the houses are built with the mid-ribs of the cocoa-tree, and covered with leaves of trees. It was so long since we had seen such a number collected together, that our first view of Agagna prejudiced us in its favour. It has streets, real houses, a church of rather handsome appearance, and a palace somewhat de-

serving the name. I am becoming reconciled to the country; but I have not yet decided where my feeble admiration ought to stop.

The governor received us in his *palace*, which is built of stone and wood. It is newly whitewashed, and cleaned in such a manner as to lead us to suspect that these embellishments have been executed solely on our account. Eight pieces of artillery defend the gate. At its side is a very neat and spacious guard-house; but what spoiled its appearance was that of the soldiers whom I recollected to have left at Humata, armed with spits and brooms. I never saw a more laughable caricature than the officers of the garrison in full dress. Nothing can be more whimsical than their accoutrements; nothing more ridiculous than the importance they attach to a phantom of an epaulette dangling down the back of the shoulder. A sword of the days of Charlemagne, as long and as flat *as the harangues of most of our orators;* spatterdashes in which legs accustomed to greater liberty wallow at ease; peaked shoes; coats, the flaps of which trail on the ground; a few long hairs, white or plastered, carelessly tied with a strip of leather, or a blue or yellow ribbon; *opera* hats, the two corners of which rest on the shoulders, and are occasionally grazed by the point of the rapier; the lofty air they wish to assume; the manner of giving the word of command, which reminded us so well of their servile habits; the unsteady and consequential step; every thing in these individuals, disguised as soldiers, brings to my mind those scenes of gay intoxication, with which Vernet enriches the shop windows of Martinet, and the stalls of the Boulevards. Would I had his talents!

The house of the governor is sufficiently large and airy; but you must not look for ornaments in it. The only one to be found is a portrait of the king of Spain, which does little credit to the artist at Manilla, by whom it was painted. There were also in the same saloon eight or ten engravings, representing the

entrance of the French into Madrid: but they were removed this morning; and it was easy to perceive, by the scenes of disorder and pillage there exhibited, that the painter was a Spaniard, loved his country, and hated ours.

In the bedchamber of the petty prince is still to be seen a *Mater Dolorosa*, who appears to grieve only at the manner in which the painter has disfigured her.

At the back of the palace is a pretty large piece of ground, which is called the *garden*, but in which probably nothing was ever sown. How then can the inhabitants be expected to cultivate their possessions, while their chiefs set the example of neglect? The square in front of this edifice is the only one in the city: it is tolerably large, but irregular.

They reckon five hundred and seventy houses in Agagna, only fifty of which are built of stone. The rest, properly speaking, are miserable huts, standing in a little enclosure of two or three hundred tobacco plants; bordered by a wall of sago trees, from which the inhabitants make cakes, indifferent enough, and biscuits somewhat better, but very doughy. These houses have seldom more than two rooms, separated by a partition of deals of bamboo or cocoa-tree. In one the cooking and household work is performed; and here the brothers, sisters, cousins, pigs, and friends of the family, sleep pell-mell. In the other the master of the house sleeps alone: and in this commonly are stuck up the smoky figures of some saints, before which the family assemble and recite their prayers almost every hour of the day. These scenes of devotion are affecting; and would be still more so, if we did not know how easily these senseless people forget their religious duties, as soon as the moments of prayer are at an end.

The houses are regularly placed, and form streets tolerably wide, but not paved. Except those of stone, all are built on piles four feet high. This custom, which is almost general throughout

the South Sea islands, could have been adopted only to guard the people against those diseases which the rainy season would not fail to produce.

The country round the town is not more cultivated than that at a distance from it. You may see, indeed, humble huts, round which a few yards of rice, Indian corn, and tobacco, are cultivated: but how much ground is lost! what culpable indolence prevails! . . . . . I should have guessed, that the country belonged to the Spaniards, from the sacrilegious state of neglect in which it is left. I observed every hour in the day the conduct of some of the inhabitants, and those not the most idle: time must seem to them very long, and life very short. They sleep two-thirds of the day; and when they employ the other in labour it is scarcely ever without being obliged to do so by necessity or the governor. They smoke and chew the whole day; and seem to live only on tobacco and areca nut mixed with lime; they add, indeed, a few leaves of betel, but this seasoning requires a little care and trouble; and what person here will take either to live?

The arrival of a ship at the settlement is a remarkable event. As soon as one is descried, the people quit their *ranchos**, and proceed toward the capital. The most active prepare the articles they have to barter; and interest, for once at least, rouses them from their apathy. The streets are peopled, and we perceive a little motion in a country that might have been taken the day before for the realm of sleep.

The governor, in paying his compliments, observed, that he considered this as a happy year. Two Russian frigates, the Kamtschatka and the Kutusow, anchored here; the former on the 7th December, 1818; the latter, on the 14th of January, 1819. They were engaged separately on voyages of discovery, undertaken by order of their government. The brig Rurik, which we

* Country houses.

met with at the Cape of Good Hope, had also staid a week here. We could get no information respecting the object of the voyages of the two first vessels; but that of captain Kotzebue's did as much honour to the Russian minister, who directed it, as the result will to the learned commander, whom he selected to carry it into effect.

LETTER LXXIX.

Guam (Marian Islands.)

NOWHERE, perhaps, is there so much and so little religion as at Guam. The women bestow their favours for a rosary. The men do not blush to offer you a sister, or some other of their relations, and will immediately after prostrate themselves at the foot of the altar. In the churches the two sexes are separate; and if you see few girls without a veil, you also see few men gaze at them. In church the people behave like Christians; in the city, and in the country, like savages.

Here, as in Spain, the husbands are very jealous of their wives; lovers, of their mistresses: but, these excepted, you may pay your court, if you please, to their sisters and friends; what is it to them? What is not appropriated to themselves is no concern of theirs: and you will find men shameless enough to offer you, as soon as you enter their houses, one of their relations, for fear you should cast an eye on their wives. At the same time, you may be assured, that if you please the wife you will not long sigh in vain.

We should be astonished at the prodigious number of processions and religious ceremonies, with which the people are

amused at Guam, if we were not aware, that the zeal of devotees, and even the carelessness of the indifferent, are beneficial to the church, and particularly to the priest, who takes advantage of every thing. Collections are made at the houses; requisitions are ordered; and there are few of the inhabitants who can escape that sort of tax. Such as have no money, of which there is very little in the settlement, provide fruit, vegetables, and meat, to fill the stores of the priest, who probably distributes a considerable portion among the poor* ..... But I saw no poor at Guam!

I imagined the processions would cease when Lent was over, and that the people would have a few days respite. By no means: they went on more sedulously than ever: and, all things considered, these poor people, to whom the church prescribes rest or prohibits labour half the week, are not so much to blame for devoting three-fourths of their lives to idleness. Is it not even from excess of zeal that the land is so neglected? .... I cannot tell, but I fear I was too severe in my first conjectures. Let me be more circumspect in future.

The wind is still contrary, and I am rejoiced at it, as several *flying proas* of the Caroline islands are just announced by the look-out at Humata, which gives us hopes of making our short trip with excellent pilots, and in boats better managed than those intended for us. I have also seen the ceremonies of the Passion-week, and have now an idea of the splendour with which our religious mysteries are celebrated here. With superior pomp and greater impositions on the people, they are celebrated here as they are at Manilla, and at Manilla as they are in Spain. It was to our captain that the priest of Agagna delivered the keys

* These practices do not exist at the Philippine islands, where the ministers of our holy religion set the people entrusted to their care an example of every virtue.

of the Holy Sepulchre. He kept them two days hung round his neck, and returned them on Easter eve, with exemplary devotion.

It is truly painful to see a people, who might so easily be guided aright, given up to the darkness in which they are enveloped, and even in the present day adopting, with blind confidence, the absurd narratives of pretended daily miracles with which they are amused every hour of the day. Our learned Abbé de Quélen, whose paternal cares are not confined to the instruction of the crew, with whom he has made so long a voyage, has had many conversations with the priest of Agagna; and he is convinced that the poor man can scarcely instruct his flock in the simplest lessons of the catechism, as he is himself ignorant of the fundamental principles of our religion. As to Latin, which he told us he had studied from his earliest infancy, under the ablest professors at Manilla, our chaplain, who speaks it with the greatest fluency, could scarcely make him understand a few words by turning and varying his phrases: and for my own part, I am convinced, that as long as such pastors as friar Ciriaco are sent to the Marianne islands, religion will be little honoured there, and the morals of the people will not be in the slightest degree improved.

I have told you that Passion-week is a season revered by the inhabitants of Guam. There is no exaggeration, I assure you, in terming the festival of Easter the day of scandal.

P. S. To-day we have experienced two slight shocks of an earthquake.

LETTER LXXX.

Agagna (Island of Guam).

THE governor of Diely, zealous for the welfare of the country entrusted to him, as soon as he arrived at Timor, established a little council, in which he conferred places on those of his officers whom he judged most capable of filling them: and, persuaded that to make all the branches of administration go on well, all the labours and offices must not rest on his shoulders alone, he wisely appointed judges, officers of police, and generals in the army, whose titles were confined to the settlement. The functions being thus distributed, business goes on much better: one affair is not thwarted by another; ten may be concluded at one time, and the people are satisfied. Here signor Medinilla is commander in chief, judge, counsellor, and often prosecutor. To whom can any appeal be made against his decrees? . . . . . Who will listen to a poor fellow that is proscribed? . . . . . At Diely the governor has an account of all affairs laid before him: he is the council of revision: and with men who take such wise precautions to prevent disorders, it is seldom that abuses can be repeated, or that the injustice of a powerful oppressor can exempt him from being disgraced by the sovereign.

At Guam, who would dare to prefer a complaint against the confidential domestic of the governor? Yet who better deserves the vengeance of the law? Under the cloak of the chief he has made himself the little tyrant of the colony: and, if he have hitherto escaped the public animosity, he is indebted for it to the base protection granted him. Does not he make himself the participator in a crime who refuses to punish its perpetrators?

One of the chiefs of the colony (and not one of the least) said to me one day: 'It is not long since I saved the life of a man, whom you will see, no doubt, at Rota, in the trip you are going to make; and he has not proved very grateful for it. Hear me: I had a mistress'—'I know it.'—'She adored me.'—'I do not doubt it.'—'And, between ourselves, her fidelity was incorruptible. You are sensible that, in a country like this, we must seek amusement if we would not die of pure ennui. This young lady was in the habit every evening of coming to my palace; and, in spite of spies and of the bad consequences that might ensue from such nocturnal meetings . . . . .'—'I understand you.'—'My friendship for this lovely unfortunate was drawn still closer by an event that I had not foreseen: but, in short, *it was not my fault*. Mademoiselle R. . . . . was brought to bed; and the charming infant, with which she presented me, imposed on me fresh obligations. I summoned to my house the first workmen in Guam: I ordered them to quit their wives, their children, their domestic affairs, and devote themselves entirely to the work I meditated. In a country destitute of resources, like this, it requires some time to build a house of any respectability; but, after eighteen months of constant assiduity, I saw with pleasure the progress made. It is true, a few families had to suffer by the absence of their heads, whom I kept with me: but my child was every thing to me; and the idea of providing him with an abode worthy of himself and of his mother delighted me.

'So far every thing went on well. The people were not ignorant that I had a mistress; but my example could scarcely have any effect on the vulgar, and no one here had any right to act as I did. One night, while she, for whom my heart was impatient, was proceeding slowly, and alone, toward my palace, the captain, of whom I just spoke to you, saw her, ran to her,

and, in order to seduce her, made her proposals, at which a person so virtuous naturally revolted. Had it not been for a spy I set to watch that night, I should perhaps have heard nothing of this scandalous discourse, my mistress was so reserved, and so apprehensive of losing my favour; but being closely pressed, she blushing informed me of the solicitations of my rival. I was enraged, and, resolved on vengeance, deferred it only till the next day. In the evening, the captain, returning from his country house, was assaulted by a dozen domestics, against whom he at first defended himself courageously; but, overpowered by numbers, he fell, and the fellows were about to dispatch him, when I came forward, and said: 'Let him alone, he is dead.'— I caused him to be carried home carefully, and delivered to his wife and children.'

Some person coming in at this moment interrupted our discourse; and, surprised at his generosity, I mechanically thought of the Spanish monk, who lay in wait for passengers at the corner of a street in Barcelona, stabbed them with his stiletto, pretended to run up at the alarm, and was lavish of his interested assistance to the person he had just assassinated; which procured him first an immense fortune, and lastly the gallows.

'I should have been satisfied with my vengeance,' said my narrator to me on his return, 'if I had not learned from the public, which is not always the organ of truth, that my enemy had scarcely recovered from his wounds before he boasted he would rob me of my mistress, and make himself a party in the island.

'In consideration for the important rank he had always held in the colony, I had suffered a bad business to die away, a theft of gunpowder, in which he was suspected of being concerned; but his pursuit of my mistress rendered him more

guilty in my eyes. I sent my guards to his house; he was arrested; I tried him; and, after having made him languish five months in prison, I sent him, in very bad weather, to grow old, and perhaps die, at Rota. However, as I am answerable for my conduct to the governor-general of the Philippine islands, I have myself drawn up the *proces-verbal* of the charge against him, in which it was unnecessary to say any thing of my mistress, who is the god-daughter of my prisoner; and I wait for the orders of my superior on the subject.'

This anecdote astonished me. I give it as I heard it, and leave it to your reflections.

In the villages punishments are ordered by the alcaldes, and executed by the *gobernadorzillos* (little governors). There is no appeal from their sentences; and he who should complain of having received five-and-twenty blows with a cane to-day, would receive fifty to-morrow for having dared to utter a complaint. . . . .

A brother has a sister insulted by a neighbour; a son hears his mother calumniated: the best step they can take is to revenge it themselves; there are no laws here against calumniators.

Obscure and acknowledged assassins are committed to prison, and put in irons as a preliminary step. While they are in custody, the affair is examined very slightly, the culprits are employed, and the first opportunity they are sent to Manilla, where the mode of proceeding of the chiefs of Guam must excite no little astonishment.

A rich person here is always sure to take vengeance of an affront. He pays four or five known malefactors, and the insult is soon wiped out. The favourite domestic of the governor Medinilla is considered in the settlement as the leader of this association. There is only one thing to be feared, when he is

charged with such an honourable commission, that he will carry his vengeance too far. And such monsters have protectors! I was almost going to say friends.

As to that police, which with us requires adroit knaves, who insinuate themselves into company, penetrate into all secrets, and whose sole trade, in a word, is to ruin families, while thinking they render themselves necessary to a government that despises while it pays them, there is no such thing here; and it would be useless, for the people know not what a conspiracy is. The state, the monarchy, the king, are words without meaning to the greater part of the inhabitants of the Marianne islands. They see nothing superior to the governor; and the love of these good people for their chiefs would rise to adoration, if they received from them benefits alone, and if none but the wicked had any thing to fear under their paternal administration.

Major Don Luis de Torres, the only native with whom you can venture to have a little conversation, has told me more than once, that a woman was the only cause of the disorders that for some time had afflicted the colony; and that but for her the governor would have been known here only as a benefactor.

What woman is there in Guam, whose qualities can justify so much weakness?

LETTER LXXXI.

Agagna (island of Guam).

AT Agagna there are a royal college and several secondary schools. In the former, the scholars learn to read and sing: in the others, they are attempted to be taught to sing and read. Thus

the music master is both first and second tutor. He is the principal of the college; for I do not consider as principal one Captain Augustus, who can scarcely read, and cannot sing. You would suppose, perhaps, that the Lulli of the settlement possesses some talents for music; but you would be mistaken. He has never made a noise, but in church; and except two or three patriotic songs, and four or five country ballads, his pupils know nothing beyond high mass, vespers, and a few hymns. Would you know in what the forty pupils of the college are employed? In amusing the governor, and the captains of ships that wander thus far.

As they do not wish to make them men of science or learning, which would be nearly useless, why do they not make mechanics of them? They employ them in amusing strangers, and would blush to teach them a trade! They are intended to become, hereafter, persons of consequence in the settlement: there is no knowing how high they may be advanced; but this we may venture to affirm, they will always be useless beings.

The principal of the college (for let me observe again there is but one) has six dollars a month, or a shirt, and his allowance of provisions. The master of a secondary school, who implicitly follows the precepts of his superior, has only two dollars. Even this is paying dearly for a useless being.

It is more than six years since the present governor arrived; and he is ignorant to this moment of the system of education followed here. He has resolved to leave his successor a method of instruction, that must be very useful to the settlement, and which will show, a few score years hence, the folly of thus neglecting a people who are governed at so little expense. Long live philanthropy!

The ploughs and carts at Guam remind us of the infancy of agriculture and the arts.

There are also two or three manufactories of silk-yarn. The machinery is French. There is one Chinese, more simple, and more useful than ours; consequently it has little employment.

As to architecture, it would answer no purpose here: and, without purchasing, at great expense, the whimsical pleasure of a magnificent residence, if the people would be contented with durable and commodious habitations, they have only to build after the models, perhaps rather too massive, left them by the first inhabitants, which neither time nor greedy conquerors have been able to destroy.

The common people are very superstitious at Agagna, and yet more so in the country; for superstition is the daughter of ignorance. Since our arrival, we have had four shocks of an earthquake, which have been attributed to the dissolute morals of the settlement. If we were to believe the inhabitants, God pays no attention to any country but theirs. No effect takes place, however trifling, in which they do not discern a great cause.

This superstition, which does not fail sometimes to have very fatal effects, is one of the immediate results of the ascendancy which the first conquerors of the archipelago acquired here. You will perceive hereafter, that it would be very astonishing if the people had emancipated themselves from them.

There is no country in the world where sons pay more respect to their fathers. Age does not free them from obedience; and I have seen men of forty tremble at a mere reprimand from their father. They never mention their name without the prefix of señor, and a slight inclination of the head.

It is very seldom that a mother does not suckle her own child; a serious illness alone could induce her to renounce the duties of maternity. The winds of Europe have not blown so far as these climates.

It would be necessary, however, in almost all the South-Sea islands included between the tropics, to prohibit to many mothers the pleasing duty, of which our females deprive themselves; and I do not even know but that it would be desirable to prohibit marriage to persons of either sex, afflicted with certain diseases, which there is danger of their transmitting to their children. There are remedies in nature that are very violent, but the happy results of which have been demonstrated by experience.

Males here may marry at fourteen, and females at twelve; but such precocious matches are very rare.

The number of children in a family is commonly from three to five. I have seen an old man, who had twenty-seven, all living, and all consoling him in his infirmities. Greuse would have found in them a fine subject for a picture.

There is a woman in the settlement, the number of whose progeny amounts to a hundred and thirty-seven. To mention such instances is to prove their rarity.

LETTER LXXXII.

Agagna (Island of Guam).

THE primitive language of the inhabitants of the Marianne islands is monotonous, and extremely difficult. There are syllables, to the pronunciation of which our letters can only approximate; and I am now no longer astonished at the great differences I have observed in a number of savage words given by the early navigators.

The style is the man, says Buffon: and if we apply here the



A young girl of Guham going to mass.

Taken when at the mariances Islands.

same remark to the language (as the art of writing was long unknown here), we must allow some genius to the people who have certainly been debased by massacres and persecutions. They have adopted the language of their masters with their vices: but, though still retaining something of remote times, they have often shown that they would more easily have assumed their virtues.

Every thing leads me to believe, that this country, so long unknown, was already considerably civilized, when it was discovered by chance, and subdued by force of arms. The ancient monuments still to be seen would be an evident proof of it; if the language which is purified only by liberty, and the detestation of slavery, did not concur in supporting my assertion. It is as rich in figurative expressions, as varied in its construction. Translate one of their speeches word for word, and you will be astonished at its elegance and precision. 'The aspect of Tinian,' said a native to me yesterday, 'has I know not what of majestic, that enlarges the mind, and purifies the thoughts.' And, speaking of the lightness of the *proas* of the Carolines, he said: 'like the birds of the ocean they cut the waves, and display the wind: they are the wind itself.' I am quite certain that he who translated this phrase into Spanish did not embellish it; and could not have found, in the sort of education he received, the expressive terms of the Chamorrian language.

The dress of both men and women is like that of the common people in some provinces of Spain, with a few modifications. Instead of the cumbrous *mantilla*, that infolds the Spanish women with so much elegance, a handkerchief here covers the forehead, and floats loose over the shoulders. The hair is tied very low behind; and this fashion, which seems to lengthen the shape of the head, and displeases at first, becomes very pleasing when you are accustomed to it. The *corset* which

slightly conceals the bosom, and seldom covers the loins, is attractive both from what it allows to be seen, and what it leaves to conjecture. The men almost always wear a shirt over the trowsers, which are very short, seldom reaching below the knee.

The complexion of both sexes is a dark yellow. Their teeth are in general spoiled by the use of betel, and the lime with which they season it. Every body smokes; and in almost every house you may see children four or five years old with a segar in their mouths. The segars used by the women are of a monstrous size; and there is a sort of coquetry displayed in having them six inches long and eight or nine lines in diameter.

The petticoats are generally very long, to the regret of travellers: for the women have very well shaped legs, as well as the men, which, though small, might serve as models for our best statuaries. Their shape is superior to any thing we have hitherto observed.

The women sometimes wear men's hats: and this graceful dress, their truly fascinating walk, their almost general desire of making themselves agreeable to strangers, every thing in short conspires to fire the imagination of those, whom a long voyage has kept at a distance from this dangerous sex, rendered still more so by long absence from them, and by the pleasing recollections they incessantly bring to mind.

Though the period of our stay, as appointed by M. Freycinet, has long elapsed, I look forward with regret to the moment of departure; for the ladies of Agagna, now less coy, begin to make us the confidants of their little vexations, and to accept the consolations we are eager to offer.

Guam is decidedly more agreeable.

LETTER LXXXIII.

Agagna (Island of Guam).

I HAVE told you, my dear Batlle, they begin to be accustomed to our presence. The men no longer dread us so much, though we are become more formidable, from the confidence with which we have inspired their wives. It seems to me, that they are willing to make a necessity of what they cannot prevent; and, all things considered, I think they act wisely. They would be much more deceived, if they sought to be less so; and from the evil, which they seemed so much to dread, three good consequences arise: the liberty of the women, the emancipation of the men from a chimera, and our personal satisfaction, which ought certainly to be taken into the account.

Instead of shunning, the beauties of the country now seek us. They undertake to execute our commissions, of which they acquit themselves with zeal; come to our lodgings not unaccompanied; and at length visit us alone. We are no longer in their eyes formidable insurgents, thirsting after blood and plunder: we are become amiable and desired strangers; or, if some still retain doubts of our intentions, they choose rather to expose themselves to the danger by a confiding boldness, than to shun it by a timid prudence. We have rosaries, beads, handkerchiefs, articles much prized among them: and our dealings with them, while they give them a high idea of our generosity, at the same time convince us of the goodness of their hearts. Our first conversations were very obscure, as few of us understood Spanish, and they cannot speak a word of French: but they are in-

telligent, and when necessary, gestures, the universal language, smooth all difficulties, and serve us as an interpreter. In this view Europe appears to them the country of countries; and they ingenuously confess, that we know much more than their husbands. It is but fair to make the most of our advantages.

The town is bordered on the south by a pretty high mountain, lately abandoned from fear, and now frequented from security. On the north, fine clumps of cocoa trees form a majestic screen, that seems to oppose a barrier to the waves of the sea. Under these magnificent trees, intermingled with plantain and bread-fruit trees, flows a small shallow river, that takes its rise a league from the city, in a delightful but little cultivated valley. Thither the maidens and wives of Agagna repair to confide their charms to the indiscreet water, that conceals them but slightly. This river became our usual place of meeting: for in these burning climes we were recommended to bathe frequently: and if at first our visits banished a sex unaccustomed to our presence, we were shortly convinced, that modesty alarmed was rather the pretence than the cause of its desertion. We may habituate ourselves to every thing, even to danger; as experience has just told us. In the beginning, the hour of our arrival at the river was that of the departure of the women: by degrees they did not retire till a few minutes after; by and by they did not leave it till we did; and at last the place became an actual rendezvous. Here I was enabled to observe the beauty of shapes, that bandages and laces had not profaned; and I confess I could scarcely have suspected such graceful forms under coarse veils, and sometimes beneath wretched rags.

From this confidence, so flattering to us, arose another important advantage. Our conversations, being less watched, had more liberty; and *our remarks made an impression*, as Madame

Dacier, of Gothic memory, says. It is not by paying minute attention to the manners and customs of a country, that we can judge of them, and form just comparisons: reason takes flight at the aspect of a stern brow; and it is by chatting playfully with different persons, that we can best appreciate them. If a pedagogue interrogate a young girl, adieu to truth, adieu to frankness; for even innocence is bashful. A gay youngster will ask a hundred questions; and if he inspire confidence (and youngsters do so more frequently than is supposed), his mistress will not venture to deceive him; she will conceal nothing from him; and *will call a cat, a cat!* His gaiety will inspire hers: his indulgence will excite her confessions; they will laugh together, but this laugh will be on a subject connected with manners: and it is by playing, as it were, with customs and absurdities, that he will most readily acquire a knowledge of them.

Ignorance of the word *virtue* does not prevent its existing here: and it would be very unjust to judge lightly of the conduct of all the women. We find some who never violate their duties, among which they clearly comprehend fidelity to their husbands: but these instances are not very common; and the number of those who emancipate themselves from that law is infinitely greater than that of those who submit to it. We are four thousand leagues from Europe.

It is probable that, previous to the conquest of this archipelago, wives never took the names of their husbands; since even at present, notwithstanding the Spanish laws are in force in the Marianne islands, that practice obtains, although some centuries of slavery might have been expected to obliterate it.

I may venture to introduce here some curious observations on the mixture of Spanish manners with those of the Chamorres, the first inhabitants of these islands. Although the latter were compelled to submit to a foreign yoke, and abjure certain

ancient usages, they have nevertheless only adopted from their conquerors such as assimilate in some measure with their national character.

All their traditions are full of extraordinary phenomena, of which their country was the scene. Their tales are nothing but an absurd tissue of supernatural powers, who interfered in terrestrial affairs, and promised them rewards, or threatened them with cruel punishments. Accordingly no nation in the world has such faith in the miraculous stories, with which Spanish books are filled, as that by which the Marianne islands is now inhabited. Neither has any people ever had more of that childish superstition, which so strongly characterises the country people of the European peninsula. Here, if a man break his leg, it is immediately imputed to his having eaten a morsel of salt venison on a Friday. If a house be on fire, it is because the owner, being engaged in conversation, neglected to pull off his hat the moment he set his foot in the church. Do not attempt to extinguish the flames; both houses must be burned down: no human power can prevent it. This strange speech I heard the other day from the mouth of one of the principal persons in the colony, Captain Augustus; and it was acted upon by the crowd around him, which continued motionless at a fire, that might have proved fatal to a great part of the city. The zeal and activity of some of our sailors, however, gave the lie to the declaration of the imbecile captain, and one house only was destroyed. But what was his answer to this argument? He declared, that he saw the two courageous seamen, who were the foremost in subduing the fire, attending divine service that morning with exemplary devotion: unquestionably the house could have been saved only by them.

With this turn of mind, so advantageous to the ambitious projects of the Spaniards at the time of their first attempts on this

archipelago, and with which they must have been struck, it becomes matter of astonishment how so much blood should have been shed in every one of the islands; and by what strange concurrence of circumstances the feeble remnant of a numerous population contrived to escape their persecutions and massacres.

The history of the Spanish conquests is nothing but a long tissue of cruelties and horrors; yet what people upon earth have given more noble examples of greatness and magnanimity?

LETTER LXXXIV.

Agagna (Guam), April, 1819.

MESSRS. Gaudichard, Bérard, and I, are setting off for Rota and Tinian in the *flying proas* of the Caroline islands, that arrived a few days ago. The governor, always attentive to our accommodation, has persuaded us to embark with Carolinian pilots, as commanding stronger boats than any that have been for some years at the Marianne islands, and also as more skilful seamen. I must therefore suspend for some time my notes on Guam, as I am about to change the scene: and, at my return, I shall communicate to you such additional details as I procure.

From the advice hourly given us by signor Medinilla, and the sort of importance he appears to attach to this voyage, it might be supposed to be attended with danger. We regard it only as a party of pleasure.

It is ten o'clock: the men in office at Agagna, our captain, and a few of our companions, accompany us to the sea-side, and wish us a pleasant voyage.

The wind is brisk, and tolerably favourable: one of our conductors dives to the depth of eight or ten fathoms, to loosen from the rock the cord that holds fast our boat: the sail is hoisted; and, for the first time, I observe a gay departure.

Our little fleet consisted of eight proas. Gaudichaud was in the smallest: Bérard and I in the largest, commanded by the chief pilot. We were going at the rate of five or six knots an hour, as there was a pretty fresh easterly wind, and soon lost sight of the town, which from the offing makes no appearance, and frequently is not even perceived, being concealed by a superb screen of cocoa-trees. Three points, however, mark its locality to mariners. Fort St. Agatha, built on the mountain; the castle of St. Raphaël, which is on the east, and forms a white spot; and a pretty large shed, which is here called the *dockyard*, because boats are repaired there, and at present a brig is building.

The wind dying away, we anchored in the evening at Rotignan, a magnificent hill on the north of the island, rather more than three leagues from the city. Squalls came on rapidly; and one of them was so violent, that a proa, not having time to brail up the sail, was upset*..... A hint to those who bestow exaggerated commendations on the goodness of these boats. Luckily no one of our trio was on board it: and, notwithstanding the dexterity of those who manned it, it was two hours before it was righted.

We spoke of the accident with some anxiety to our pilots, who only laughed at it, and by their confidence removed our apprehensions, assuring us that we had no reason to be afraid.

Who could imagine that in such frail boats, sometimes only three or four feet wide, and forty feet long, the planks of which are joined and fastened with a little lime and a gum obtained from the breadfruit tree, these daring men, unassisted by the com-

* It was one of those manned by the inhabitants of the Marianne islands.

pass, and guided only by the stars and their own experience, would venture to undertake voyages of more than six hundred leagues, and rarely fall victims to their confidence? Can it be possible, that the man of nature, absolutely destitute of resources, is more industrious than the citizen of civilised countries? What do these men want, to execute things better? Tools; iron. They frequently invent, and their conceptions are those of genius: they imitate also, though rarely, and soon surpass their models. A few bits of iron attract the peaceful inhabitants of the Carolines to the Marianne islands: which of us would make the voyage in this manner to possess the whole of this rich archipelago?.... If our machines be more wonderful, how many steps must have been made to arrive at this perfection! One artist is preceded by another: one attempt follows an attempt less successful: a slight degree of success opens a new career; the mine is explored; and the man who first reaches the goal is indebted for it to a continued series of attempts, the authors of which remain almost always unknown, but possess not on this account the less merit. And, besides, consider that in Europe we are incessantly endeavouring to improve, and to arrive at perfection; here, as soon as they attain what is well, they seldom go any farther: and if the astonishing construction of their boats excited our admiration, it was already the same in the days of Anson, and had not varied perhaps for ages. Perfection, indeed, is a species of invention: but which has most merit,—he who finds a path traced out, and advances beyond it, or he who first discovers it, and puts us in the road?..... Since I have seen and known these men, whom in our foolish pride we do not blush to call savages, I no longer feel for them that pity which arises from contempt, but merely that which is inspired by a sense of the wants and evils of our neighbour. We shall see, hereafter, whether they would think themselves honoured by this more generous sentiment.

Being afraid to let slip the smallest peculiarity that could serve to characterise our cheerful pilots, you will find different traits of them scattered through my subsequent letters till our return to Guam. These people appear to me so good, they are so little known, that to omit the least observation would be an act of culpable negligence.

Besides, I dwell with so much pleasure on the particulars of their way of life: it is so uniform, so gentle! What people have ever deserved the attention and benefits of civilized countries more than these!

LETTER LXXXV.

Passage from Guam to Rota.

IF the first opinion with which the Carolinians inspire you be a favourable one, you will feel for them a degree of respect as you have opportunities of knowing them better. How is it they have been so fortunate as to escape the convulsions with which all this part of the globe has been torn for centuries? Nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the Marianne islands have been exterminated; and that religion, which ought to have established in them peace and happiness, has covered them with a funeral pall. *One spot of blood* has marked out Owhyhee to future nations: and the murder of Cook will ever be a terror to those voyagers who persuade themselves that these solitary nations are formed to cringe and obey, and are unworthy of the benefits of our civilization. New Guinea conceals cannibals in its bosom: New Holland, in several parts, is not perhaps less to be dreaded: human sacrifices were in use not long ago in the Society Islands,

and are still in the archipelago of the Friendly Islands: shocking stories are told of the ferocity of the inhabitants of New Zealand: and on the coast of Timor, the interior of which is half savage, there exists an island, that of Ombay, where the people drink blood out of the sculls of their vanquished enemies. The inhabitants of the Caroline Islands alone have been hitherto strangers to all these horrors. Christianity, however, has penetrated among them; but for want of judicious interpreters, it has made few proselytes: but the first missionaries sent thither, inspired with a more Christian zeal, did not transform into fields of carnage a country which they were not so fortunate as to enlighten.

The coast of Guam, along which we sailed the whole of the 22d, rises *en echelon* to the northernmost point, and is richly wooded in all parts. Breadfruit and cocoa-trees skirt the shore, which is varied by several capes, the most remarkable of which is that of the Two Lovers. As love forms a large part of the history of the human race, you can rarely traverse a country in which some one of these hacknied epithets does not exist, and is the subject of some ridiculous tale, adopted by idleness and the love of the marvellous, and consecrated by antiquity. That of Guam is too absurd; I will therefore spare you the narration.

During our passage, Bérard shot several boobies; and neither the presence of a shark, nor the roughness of the sea, prevented one of the Carolinians from jumping into the water to fetch them. These men swim so well, that they seem quite at home when diving, or contending with the waves.

When a squall appears in the horizon, they crouch on their heels, clap at intervals with one hand open on the other half closed, make signs to the cloud to keep off, and pronounce in a low voice, with much devotion, and great rapidity, certain words that recur periodically; which shows at least that they have an idea of a superior power, capable of listening to their prayers.

As we appeared to be struck with these gestures and rapid motions, they asked us whether we did not perform the same ceremonies in France in great dangers. We told them we did not; at which they appeared surprised and sorry. The following is one of their prayers, which I transcribed.

Léga chédégas, léga cheldiliga, chédégas léga chédégas, légas cheldi léga chédégas, léga chédégas mottou.

Oguéren quenni chéré péré peï, oguéren quenni chéré péré peï.

We requested an explanation of them in vain from the chief pilot, who, having been several times at the Marianne islands, understood a few words of Spanish. All we could learn was, that they told the clouds to go away; but we never saw any thing less obedient.

They have a more certain mode of avoiding the squalls that appear in the horizon, to which they had recourse several times while we were with them. As soon as they rise, and are driven toward them, they tack about, if it be necessary, and if they are not anxious to reach the end of their voyage.

To judge from the intelligence of their principals, we may presume that they entrust the command only to the most skilful: is it the same every where, my friend?

We spent the night of the 22d in a little hut, where the good man, his wife, and his daughter, were busy preparing their frugal supper. As soon as they had given us permission to remain, we availed ourselves of it to lie down, for we had been rudely tossed about in the proas, which, though lighter than our boats, and keeping the wind much better, are far more fatiguing. We were on the point of going to sleep, which we had farther encouraged by a tolerably good meal, when our Carolinians entered in a body; and, without asking permission, soon caused the remains of our poultry and fruit to disappear, made free with our mats, and desired us not to discompose ourselves. We laughed at

their familiarity, and their proximity did not prevent our enjoying a very sound sleep.

The next morning, after they had breakfasted on the birds which Bérard had killed, and dressed over the flames, they requested us to embark. Their stock of cocoa nuts was procured: but alas for the fields where these *gentlemen* are accustomed to halt! they know nothing of the right of property.

Among the birds shot was a raven, which they would not touch, giving us clearly to understand it was because it eats human flesh. This circumstance was another proof of the goodness of their dispositions.

We set sail the 23d, at seven o'clock in the morning. A north-east wind blew with some violence, and the five proas, partly manned by the people of Rota, refused to follow us. There was a strong current, which drifted us to the westward. The sea ran high, and I became dreadfully sea-sick. Never did I suffer so much; but the sight of Rota, which we made an hour after we sailed, revived me, and I contrived, though with difficulty, to make a few sketches. Some squalls passed over us, and, notwithstanding the prayers of our pilots, we escaped very few of them. At eight in the evening we were off the west point of Rota, but the wind having lulled, we did not reach the anchorage till eleven.

Fires were lighted along the coast, and we were convinced that we were expected. The bottom, in this road, is of coral and madrepores; and, as the breakers leave but a very narrow passage, our Carolinians refused to proceed through it by night, for fear of their boats being lost. I was in despair at this disappointment, which my companions, less fatigued, treated with indifference, when a canoe, twelve feet long, and a foot and half wide, came alongside of us, with a single man in it, attracted by the report of a musket we had just fired, and which, as you will

find presently, had spread alarm through the settlement. This Rotinian, raising his voice, asked us in Spanish whence we came, and what we wanted. I answered, that we came from Guam, had letters from the governor, and were Frenchmen. At the same time I requested him to take me ashore in his boat, and set off, in spite of the prudent remonstrances of Bérard.

It was midnight: my pilot rowed, and so often requested me not to stir, though I was sitting motionless, that I began to be uneasy. At length I asked him if we were in any danger, and he had scarcely answered *No*, before the canoe upset. I know very little of swimming; and the darkness of the night, an unknown person near me, the dull roar of the breakers, continued to a distance, and repeated by the mountain echoes, all combined, by no means improved my skill. However, I exerted myself, and contrived to lay hold of the upset canoe, which my odious guide was pushing out to sea. He spoke not a word, and I, resting feebly on this bit of wood, drank and shivered, endeavouring by my cries to rouse Bérard, whom in my fright I supposed asleep. How nauseous is the water of the South Sea! and how little was a situation like mine adapted to improve its flavour! I wished, I confess, that the current would drive us on rocks, as I was much less afraid of breaking my ribs than of swallowing the brine. Bérard at length heard me, and acquainted the Carolinians with my mishap. Immediately the chief *tamor* leaped into the waves, provided with a piece of an oar, and his rapid strokes soon brought him near me: I heard him coming, and my courage revived: he animated me by his voice; and at length I perceived him. With one hand he presented the piece of wood which he held; I seized hold of it, and doing my best to second him, we arrived on board; he pleased and laughing, I shivering, and still better pleased. As to my other pilot, he righted his boat, and went

to carry the news to the alcalde, who ordered a large fire to be still kept up on the shore.

Recovered from my fright and fatigue, I presented my generous deliverer with a handkerchief, a few fish-hooks, and a shirt; but as soon as he understood that it was by way of reward for the service he had rendered me, he refused my offer; though he accepted it afterward as a token of my regard. Do you know many Europeans, my friend, capable of acting so nobly?

LETTER LXXXVI.

Rota, June, 1819.

THE arrival of Frenchmen at Rota spread alarm through the settlement, as I have told you. The inhabitants retired to the neighbouring mountains, taking with them their wives and children. The alcalde, in his thatched palace, feeling himself not strong enough to oppose the landing of the insurgents, was desirous of capitulating at once: accordingly he despatched a proa, of larger dimensions than the former, and I had not finished shifting myself, when it came alongside of us. I received the envoy extraordinary, who offered me a passage, and accompanied him with Gaudichaud, whom we went to fetch. Bérard, being half asleep, refused to go with us.

In my eagerness to get ashore, I forgot our letters of recommendation, which could not be otherwise than well soaked, and arrived half naked at the alcalde's, who had just put on the only pair of white trowsers he possessed.

Figure to yourself, my friend, a poor draughtsman, benumbed with cold, without hat, without shoes, wrapped in a great coat

much the worse for wear, and a botanist, armed with a chess-board, a large band-box, and a tin-case, making their triumphant entry into a country that was ready to be surrendered to them. Although unacquainted with the motives of our visit, the alcalde gave us a very good reception: but as he had still some doubts respecting our designs, I requested him again to send his boat on board of us, and desired Bérard to come ashore, and to bring all my baggage with him. When he came, I showed the letters, which the alcalde could with difficulty read; and all suspicion was removed. By the side of the little prince was a person with an engaging and more dignified countenance than any we had noticed at Guam, who seemed to prompt the alcalde how he was to act. Supper was set before us at one o'clock in the morning: we fell to with a good appetite; and impatiently waited for day, to present ourselves in a more decent attire to our hosts and the persons in office.

The second person in the settlement, but who appeared here to act the principal part, was that captain Martinez, whom the governor of the Marianne islands had banished; and I soon discovered that he possessed greater information than all the officers in Guam put together, their chief included. I thought at first that he might have been sacrificed to wounded vanity; but I was afterwards convinced that, if signor Médinilla had punished too severely a fault so slight as that of which he was accused (for stealing the powder was a calumny), he had acted with prudence, in banishing from Guam a citizen, who availed himself of the advantages he had received from nature and education only to seduce young wives, and to sow enmity and dissension in families.

The hour of our rising was also that of our triumph. We had tolerably good clothes, and such a dress was scarcely known at Rota. Before breakfast the alcalde introduced us to his wife, who is very passable; and my two companions, being less fatigued

than I with our passage, took a walk together, while I made a drawing of the church, and sketched the portraits of two very charming little girls. My companions returned soon after: we were served with excellent fruit and a couple of fine fowls; and it must be confessed that our host, and more especially our pretty hostess, vied with each other, anticipating our slightest wishes. Every thing the island affords was offered us with eagerness; the remotest parts were laid under contribution; and even our Carolinian *gormandizers* had to commend the abundance that presented itself to their ravenous appetites.

Here we made some fresh remarks on our conductors. The gaiety, that had accompanied them ever since our departure, had not diminished: they danced and sung part of the day, and filled up the intervals with rest and sleep. In the evening they assembled in a circle on the seashore, and chanted their hymn to the Eternal. Their chant was slow, regularly timed, and harmonious: their gestures graceful, and not hurried. The chief almost always began the prayer, and the rest seemed to repeat the same words in chorus. A religious silence often prevailed for some minutes; and no noise around them seemed to disturb their devotion. When the ceremony was ended, they quietly retired: the ground served them for a bed, and a stone, or a cocoa nut, for a pillow.

We would willingly have left Rota the day after our arrival: but the repairs it was necessary to make in the sail of one of our proas detained us; and we availed ourselves of the time this delay gave us to traverse the country, and judge of the real state of this little colony with our own eyes.

It is difficult to find a place more fertile or more neglected. Guam itself is not to be compared with it. The trees are magnificent, the fruit and vegetables delicious. The country, rich in a varied vegetation, is over-run by thousands of rats, which are

yet unable to destroy its roots: you cannot proceed ten steps without meeting hundreds; and it is really distressing that the inhabitants do not endeavour to destroy this devouring animal, which in a few years may become a real plague. We find here also monstrous bats, similar to those of Guam, perhaps even larger. The Carolinians would not eat them, though the people at Agagna are very fond of them, and I myself found them tolerably good.

The hills and valleys are decked with cotton trees, the bright tufts of which form a pleasing sight amid the verdure that surrounds them. The breadfruit, the tacca, the water-melons, every thing is of a better quality here than at Guam; and I am surprised that greater attention is not paid to a country which might become the granary and general storehouse of the Marianne islands.

The centipede is the most dangerous animal in the settlement; it is found in infinite numbers in the caverns, of which the mountains are full: but it rarely comes out of them, and besides its bite occasions only a momentary and supportable pain. Another animal that should be carefully avoided is the wild hog, which rushes with impetuosity on the hunter, and sometimes obliges him to retreat.

They reckon nearly fourscore houses in the town, and four hundred persons in the whole island. There are five or six crucifixes in every street; and it is necessary that some outward signs should put them in mind of their religion, since there is no public worship. There has been no priest here for more than twenty years. People are born, live, die, and have no one to administer consolation. The houses are built on piles, as at Guam; but they are in a state infinitely more ruinous. The men may be said to go naked, for they wear no trowsers, except on Sundays. The women wear a handkerchief fastened by a

string round the waist, and turn it round, according as you happen to be before or behind them: the rest of the body is perfectly naked. Their shape is completely beautiful; their walk easy: their shoulders amorously rounded; their breasts firm, prominent, and perfectly separated; their feet small; their legs well turned; their hair is admirable, of a fine black, and flowing down their shoulders and loins; they avoided us with an annoying perseverance; and I apprehend their dread of us stood them in the stead of virtue. On the mountains we met with some of these young unfortunates bending under heavy loads, who, to avoid us, ran barefoot over the sharp flints, without appearing to feel the least pain.

As there are no priests at Rota, these young girls cannot be married: are they condemned therefore to perpetual virginity?

The inhabitants drink nothing but the water of a natural well, a dozen paces from the sea-shore on the north-east, and about a league and a half from the city. It is two feet and a half in diameter, and four feet and a half deep. I thought it a little brackish, though it was deemed good by my comrades.

The Rotinians adopt a very ingenious method of collecting rain water. They fix one of the leaves of the cocoa-tree to the summit of the trunk, so that the stoutest part of the spine is uppermost: another leaf is fastened to the first, a third to the second, and so on, to within a foot or two of the ground; all having their leaflets fixed to their stalks. The rain water runs along the leaves as in a channel, and is received into a jar, into which the last leaf enters. An apparatus of this kind is seen on almost every cocoa-tree.

On my return from the well, I went to sketch the ruins of some ancient monuments, the period of whose foundation there are no means of ascertaining. They are on the slope of a mountain. Fragments of pillars, three feet in diameter, are still lying upright

on the earth, which has been raised round them. They certainly formed only a single circular edifice, and more than eight hundred paces in circumference. I sought in vain for a single fragment of sculpture. The interior of the circus is now encumbered with weeds and pieces of rock. I asked captain Martinez his opinion of this curious building. He told me that he knew no more than the rest of the inhabitants, who called it the *House of the Ancients*. It was probably destroyed by one of the earthquakes which very frequently occur throughout this archipelago.

The 25th we made an excursion to a river, to which we were directed, more than two leagues from the city. The road is very difficult. We climbed several mountains, at least two hundred fathoms high, on the summit of which we found many madrepores and corals. The time when the sea covered these lofty rocks must have been very remote. The water of this torrent appeared to us delicious. It flows along a gully shaded on both sides by majestic trees, which, with the dark summits that rise above them, exhibit a magnificent landscape; and I made a drawing of it.

On our return we repaired to the church, where five tapers are constantly burning before an image of the Virgin. A woman is appointed to guard this sacred fire; and is punished, if she suffers it to go out. This pious custom has been established ever since a fearful earthquake, that overthrew all the houses, and respected only the church. The inhabitants, alarmed at the repeated shocks the earth underwent, would have retired to Guam; but a young girl, whose virtue shamed her companions, made them a bold and threatening harangue; set before them their vices; and with that ascendancy, which an irreproachable conduct gives, enjoined them to change their manners, that the wrath of Heaven might be appeased; and not to bring down upon the innocent inhabitants of Guam the chastisement which

they alone had deserved. They obeyed her: they lighted five tapers in the church, and made a vow to keep as many continually burning if the island were not swallowed up. . . . It was the wife of the alcalde who told me the story. . . . . I forgot the tale, while I was listening to it.

From the church, which is of the same kind as that at Humata, we were taken to the convent, peopled solely with rats; and where they showed us a violin, the remains of a harp and a guitar, which had belonged to the last priest of the settlement. You may judge of their antiquity.

LETTER LXXXVII.

Passage from Rota to Tinian, and abode in the latter island.

TO-DAY, Sunday, we set off at seven in the morning, with a wind not very favourable, and amply stored with provision. The alcalde and his wife, accompanied by their staff and captain Martinez, whose misfortunes I lament, while I blame his conduct, accompanied us to the seaside. We should have quitted them with regret, if we had not been to see them again soon.

The north-east wind blew pretty fresh, and as the currents still drifted us towards the west, we were obliged to ply to windward, and did not arrive here till the 27th, at nine o'clock in the evening, and under the discharge of Bérard's musketry. We were again taken for insurgents; and as they have fewer resources here than at Rota, the alarm was so much greater. A boat that rowed round our proas went to carry the settlement the news

of the arrival of some Frenchmen, but refused to take us on board..... At length we got ashore.

The alcalde received us in the best manner he could; that is to say, badly. We invited him to take some refreshment, which he accepted. He inquired after the purpose of our visit: the letter of the governor explained all. He removed the apprehensions of his wife and daughters; and we were not slow with our questions and answers.

His parlour held all the subjects of the island. There were fifteen of them, quite astonished at the arrival of strangers of such importance. However, as even great men are fatigued by long voyages, we begged them to retire, and carry their admiration elsewhere.

The next morning, after saluting Madame the alcalde's wife, who is not a Venus; her three daughters, who are not the three Graces; and their father, who was not an Apollo; we desired to see the town. We were shown the house in which we were, and four miserable sheds, under which the domestics, set as a guard over the wild hogs, slept. What a difference between Tinian and Rota!....

There is nothing prepossessing in the first aspect of the country, notwithstanding what I had been told at Agagna. In vain did I call to mind the narratives of some voyagers, and particularly the eloquent pages of Rousseau; I saw nothing but a wild and barren land, which Anson's residence has alone rendered famous: I found there only a few malefactors banished from Guam, only a real place of exile.—But when you penetrate amid the brambles, and find yourself in front of those colossal remains, called *Houses of the Ancients*, you ask involuntarily what is become of the people who raised these pillars, and of those who subverted them.

Their proximity; their form; their material; the stone being



Ruins found in the interior of Timian

composed of sand, consolidated by cement; that half-sphere, surmounting a baseless pillar, erected on the arena; their position, and the distance that separates these different masses, without any lighter fragments occurring between them; induce me to think differently of the object of the building from the present inhabitants, who regard it as a royal residence. The space between the pillars is scarcely greater than the ground they occupy. What purpose could those massive tops answer? . . . . . Who was the sovereign that inhabited that long colonnade, which certainly formed only a single edifice? . . . . . The more I perambulate these ruins, and compare them with the genius of the present race of islanders, the more I am convinced that they are the remains of some public temples dedicated to religion. Of the cause of their destruction we know nothing; for what credit can be given to a story like the following, that people are fond of relating?

'Toumoulou Taga was the principal chief of this island. He reigned peaceably, and no one thought of disputing his authority. On a sudden, one of his relations called Tjocnanaï raised the standard of revolt; and his first act of insubordination was to build a house similar to that of his chief. Two parties were formed: they fought; the house of the revolter was sacked; and from this quarrel, which became general, arose a war, that, while it depopulated the island, overturned its primitive buildings.'

While I was making drawings of every thing I found curious, with all the accuracy in my power, my companions were employed in various pursuits. Bérard determined the latitude of the island, and killed some new birds; and Gaudichaud enriched his herbarium.

We always met together at meals, at which the *ladies* were not present, though we had frequently requested it. In one of our gay moments we had complimented the alcalde on the

beauty of his daughters: he looked at them with an air of satisfaction, and answered with quite peculiar grace: 'Gentlemen, they are at your service.' ..... We were not tempted to avail ourselves of this generous permission.

The anchoring place is on the south. Two cables' lengths from the shore there is a little bar which is visible at low water. The bottom consists of corals and madrepores.

We went over the island ..... It must formerly have been the residence of a great people; extinguished no doubt by one of those catastrophes that annihilate empires and generations of men. You cannot proceed a league without finding some gigantic remains of old monuments among the brambles; and the whole island seems to be but one ruin. The trees are weak and scanty; but they have to make their way with difficulty through heaps of dry leaves, and decayed trunks of trees. Here and there we find old, bare, breadfruit trees, the tops of which, exhibiting a few grayish branches, indicate to the traveller the catastrophe of which they have been the victims, without denoting its epoch. Buffaloes and wild hogs can now with difficulty escape the arrow of the hunter: the eye at one glance takes in an ample space; and, if I may venture to say so, almost every part of Tinian recalled to my gloomy imagination the wild and arid soil of the peninsula of Péron.

A few low and feeble cocoa-trees still raise their withered heads; you would say they moaned the sadness of nature, and wished to die with her. Uniform plains of small elevation; a monotonous coast; a few reefs of rocks; trunks of trees parched by the sun; no road, no shelter; is not this the abode of melancholy?.... A scorching wind destroys vegetation, and deprives the ground of the power of reproduction. Every thing is in decay: vegetables grow with difficulty; the potatoes, yams, and watermelons, are all inferior to those of Rota; and I tremble while I think that Anson probably said no more than the truth, when he

painted this country as an Elysium, as an abode of enchantment..... Is there then no testimony remaining of this convulsion of nature which is yet so recent?

The ruins best preserved are those we see to the west of the anchorage. The building there was composed of twelve pillars, of which seven only remain standing, the others lie at their feet; and what appears singular is, that the half-sphere by which they are crowned has not been separated in their fall. Those found by the side of it (and the remains of which are more decayed, situate near a well, denominated the *well of the ancients*), formed an edifice more than four hundred paces in length. The roots that still bind these old fragments, and the shrubs that crown their summits, present an interesting view, to which I have endeavoured to do justice. In several parts of the island we visited we found others more or less considerable: and from these ancient ruins alone we may infer, that the present inhabitants of this archipelago have not inherited the genius of their ancestors.

On the hill that borders the east of the island is a forest, partly formed of young papaw trees, among which a great number of wild hogs wander, against which a cruel warfare is carried on. Two men, one of whom is armed with a large knife, the other with a pike, and followed by a score of dogs, pursue the animal, which at first defends itself boldly against the ravenous pack, but seldom escapes it. Pressed on all sides, he is struck by one of the two hunters: and if he be too lean, he becomes the prey of the dogs; if he be fat, he is dexterously castrated, and conveyed to the sheds that surround the *palace* of the alcalde; for this is here its proper name, and the proprietor would be piqued if it were called by any other*.

* He asked me if I thought the *house* of the king of Spain was as handsome as the *palace* of the governor of Guam; and if his soldiers have as fine uniforms as those here? Poor people!

They use fire-arms in hunting the buffalo; but as this animal is very wild, its chase becomes very costly, from the quantity of powder expended. We found also in the interior a few cocks and hens; but the inhabitants rarely kill them; and in this they are very prudent, as thus the number must soon become very considerable.

One thing that most struck me here, and reminded me of New Holland, is the prodigious quantity of flies and ants, that stick to the skin, and are eager in the pursuit of man. They are a real plague.

The birds are the same as at Guam, except a water-hen that has a red, bald neck, and is found only here. Anson says that he saw parrots: but I suspect he confounded them with king-fishers, the flight and colours of which are nearly the same. For our parts, we sought them in vain: and in our excursions we found much fewer bats than at Rota, which is not above half as large. Tinian is twelve leagues long from north-east to south-east.

On the shore are found some elliptical, coloured, white, compound, and natural stones, which also they call *stones of the ancients;* and which they say were used for their slings. With what nations then were these ancient inhabitants at war?

I met here with a *tamor* of the Caroline islands, who had been settled at Seypan two years. I made a drawing of him, and can give you but a very imperfect idea of the motley colours of his body in a letter: I never saw any thing prettier. His wife had just lain in. I covered the mat on which her child lay with two handkerchiefs; and the mother's countenance expressed the most lively gratitude. Her features were interesting; her complexion yellow; her teeth beautifully white. I regret to say, both husband and wife seemed to feel very little pleasure at meeting with their countrymen.

The alcalde of Tinian has twelve dollars a month. I would


Arago Sc.







not live six months on this land of exile for all the treasures of Potosi.

The only place adapted for supplying ships with water is the well, of which I have spoken above. Three steps lead down to it; its opening is ten or twelve feet: it is near the shore, and the water is tolerably good. As to the two lakes, the first of which is two leagues east of the anchorage, and the other four or five north-west, the water is a little brackish; and the cows, that frequent them daily, render it very muddy.

Some of the valleys are covered with the cotton plant, of which scarcely any use is made.

When our conductors returned from Seypan, we departed, and had the pleasure to see tears of regret drop from the eyes of the three young daughters of the alcalde. ..... We passed by Aguigan, a rock, clothed with verdure, on which several goats were left some years ago, which no doubt have all perished. The coast is a perpendicular cliff, and almost inaccessible.

We arrived at Rota on the 1st, at nine o'clock in the morning, where we were again most kindly received. We again set sail, and after twelve days' absence, anchored, on the 2d, at Agagna, at eight in the morning, well pleased with our voyage, but not at all desirous of undertaking another in the same vessels.



NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

PART II.

LETTER LXXXVIII. TO CLXIV.

NARRATIVE

OF A

VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

THE inhabitants of the Mariannes are quite ignorant of medicine; the two principal physicians of the colony are the Governor and the Priest; and both of them employ specifics, which are efficacious and universal. The plant termed *Acapulco herb*, which is a radical cure for the leprosy, is common here; and that may be the reason why so many people are found afflicted with this cruel disease. The remedy employed by the Governor is a decoction of *kankrelas*, which he gives to every patient, whether afflicted with pains in the back or breast, ulcers, fractures, &c. He tried hard to convince us of its efficacy, and carried his politeness so far, as even to wish us an attack of cold, the gout, or of any other disease, that he might have an opportunity of proving to us the virtues of his specific.

The remedy employed by the Priest is cream of tartar. If a person breaks his leg, brother *Cyriaco* is summoned; he carefully strews a few pinches of it over the fracture, and the sick man walks without pain. By the same means he restores sight to the blind: he fills a paper funnel with his medicine, lets a little of it fall through on the eye, and blows on it to spread it. At first the pain is very acute, but it diminishes on the second

application, and it rarely happens that the patient is not cured by the third. I have been, indeed, in some measure disposed, since my return, to sell this secret, at a dear rate, to astonished Europe; but I have a pleasure, by anticipation, in publishing it for the benefit of humanity. Let no incredulous person seek to undervalue the importance of the discovery made by the priest of Agagna. I have been assured *here*, that there are only four blind persons in the colony, who would not have been in that state, if they would have submitted to two more applications of this excellent remedy.

Medinilla, the Governor, levies one hundred and thirty piastres a month as his salary; and about twenty thousand a year for the expences of the colony. Although the latter sum goes chiefly into his pocket, for the colony costs almost nothing, he would have done better to travel in *barbarian* Europe, curing the lame and the blind; the riches of all countries, and the gratitude of ages, would have amply paid him for giving up the government of the Marianne islands. Incredulous beings that we were! we several times ventured to express doubts of the truth of his statements; and almost always, after a mature examination, we have been punished for our blindness and presumption.

For example, we are indebted to him for the explanation of a circumstance, the truth of which we could now attest on oath, and which we before regarded as very absurd.

At the time of the conquest of the island, a certain brother *Saint Victores*, (of whom I shall speak more at large in another letter,) in his endeavours to convert *Matapang*, one of the most formidable enemies of the Spaniards, was massacred by him, and his body thrown into the sea. The place where he disappeared is still red with the blood of the martyr; and the spot on which he first fell under the blows of the assassins, remains dry and barren. Although the Governor is short-sighted, he has

several times seen this double miracle; but as we, following the example of St. Thomas, desired also to *see* and *feel*, we set out for *Timboun*, distant more than two leagues from the town, almost certain that we were to be edified. As we were afraid, however, of the snares of our own prejudices, six of us went together, being persuaded that faith would enlighten some one among us, and that the others would have no vain pretexts to oppose to truth.

The road leading to *Timboun* is very agreeable, with a great number of large and healthy *Pandanuses* growing on the sides; at the Isle of France and at Bourbon this tree grows feebly on the sides of the hills, seems to live there with difficulty, and dies solitary and neglected. We hasten forward with impatience to the place pointed out; we arrive, and see clearly that the *water is red* in certain places, and the *soil dry and barren*. We stand still with astonishment, reproaching ourselves for our incredulity. In vain did the most unbelieving of our companions take up handfuls of the sand which coloured the surface of the water, and try to convince the rest, that the grass and earth of a spot marked by a crucifix had been pulled up; the miracle was not the less proved, and we all agreed that M. Medinilla, though short-sighted, might have seen the sea slightly tinged with blood, and the soil dry and barren.

The tide flows—the red disappears—the miracle ceases; but at certain hours of the day, the Governor's veracity will be always justified.*

* Among the wise counsels which M. de Quélen gave to brother Cyriaco, he particularly recommended to him, that instead of abusing the credulity of the inhabitants by the perpetual repetition of false miracles, he should be more careful to exhibit in his own person a model of the evangelical virtues, of which he said very little in his sermons. We are not certain if these hints were comprehended, for they were delivered in good Latin, with which the Curate of *Agagna* is not very familiar.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

To-DAY is the festival of the King of Spain; it is announced by the roar of cannon, the ringing of two bells, and the sound of the only clarionet and triangle of the capital. Four soldiers accompanied by a drummer are going through the streets, in order to have them cleaned. The balcony of the Governor is decorated with the *true* portrait of Ferdinand VII. to which all the inhabitants respectfully take off their hats. There are to be public dances in the evening; and besides those of the country, M. Medinilla is to have some natives of the Sandwich and Caroline islands at his house, to amuse us with the ceremonies in use among those people. We cannot feel sufficiently grateful for these attentions.

Raynal says, in his *Philosophical History*, that it was a general but erroneous belief, that the women in the Archipelago of the Mariannes possessed the power which in Europe and other parts of the world is assumed by the men, and which seems bestowed on them by nature. He combats this opinion with his seductive eloquence; but the philosophical principles on which he reasons, though true in nearly all nations, cannot be applied here; and this may perhaps be another of the many thousand mistakes of that author's historical romance, a work of deep research, in which, however, truth frequently suffers. Facts here attest the justice of the opposite opinion.

The first Spaniards who conquered this Archipelago neglected nothing, (as their persecutions have convinced succeeding nations) to establish their own manners and customs in their new possessions. Armed violence triumphed over timid weakness; the In-

dian, no doubt, champed the bit which kept him in subjection; but pain commanded him, and who can long resist its commands? His heart changed not; but new times and new masters introduced new principles; the previous institutions, particularly those which were opposed to the Spanish manners, were abolished. At first severity was inclined to spare nothing; gradually however it relaxed its pretensions, and only armed itself against such usages as were in too direct an opposition with those it wished to establish. A deference to certain prejudices might indeed induce a belief that the new laws were inefficient; but was not this condescension, perfidiously generous, regarded by the skilful policy which adopted it as a more infallible means of attaining its end?

Some trifling concessions were granted to soothe and complete the conquest of a people, already weakened by many massacres. Not only were some ancient customs permitted, but the invaders even pretended to adopt them. The superiority of the women had nothing in it terrifying to the Spaniards, who were fully able to set their minds free from that species of dependence; and the respect paid to this weak principle was probably the means of putting a stop to the further shedding of blood. Notwithstanding the chivalrous gallantry which so strongly characterizes the Spaniards, it is certain that among them the men have never been dependent on the women; whence I am convinced, that as this is still the case at the Mariannes, the women have at all times exercised the greatest influence there, and that the men were in a species of subjection to them. You will not, I dare say, be displeased if I give you some details on this point.

At present when a woman takes a husband whose fortune is less than her own, he performs the labours of the household, and takes on himself the most menial offices; if the dowry of the woman is not greater than the fortune of the man, or if it is less, the toils are equally divided.

If the brother or the father of a young woman preserves from imminent danger any individual whose fortune is considerable, he is bound by way of proving his gratitude, (if he is not disliked) to marry the sister or daughter of his benefactor, and has no right to exact a dowry from his future wife. When I say he must act in this manner to show his gratitude, I ought to add that the law can oblige him to do so. I know, however, that by the Spanish law persons may refuse to conform to this practice; but such is the general respect for their ancient institutions, that nobody has hitherto dared to infringe them; and I am acquainted with a number of families at Agagna, who regulate their conduct by such principles.

The relations and friends of a family meet at its residence when death calls away one of its members; and they seek to dissipate their sorrow for the loss by feasts and entertainments. A peculiar dress is adopted for outwardly marking their internal affliction. For a boy, they wear mourning for two months; for a girl, it is worn for six.

In domestic life, disputes between men are decided by the women; but disputes between the women are never decided by the men.

The scenes and dances of the country which we have seen represented to-day, are also proofs of the ascendency which the women here have always enjoyed over the men. The dances are called *the dances of the ancients.* Formed in a circle, the performers took hold of each other by the hand, and turned round, humming a monotonous tune; they made some ridiculous gestures, placed their hands above their heads, and, without executing a single graceful movement, they repeated unceasingly the same figure, and vainly fatigued themselves in endeavouring to amuse us. One incident, however, attracted our attention. A young knight, with a cocked straw hat, and

ornamented with tufts, presented himself in the arena, armed with a stick representing a lance, and in a pompous speech defied an adversary to the combat; the dances had ceased, and the heroines of the day surrounded the field of battle. Here the entertainment was suddenly cut short, no warrior dared to show himself, and .... *the festival finished for want of combatants.* We were enabled, however, to procure some details, which I shall now give you.

The person who first enters the arena, proposes an individual combat; the adversary who comes to dispute the victory with him, is not accepted if he is a relation of the challenger; if he is not, the contest begins. The conqueror is not crowned till he has beaten all who present themselves, and only receives the promised reward, (generally fruits or linen,) when the women have given their sanction. They alone have the power of separating the combatants; and they only crown the hero of the field.

Such practices may also, as well as the former instances I have quoted, be the effects of gallantry. But it seems to me that a country which is as yet but half civilized, and where such usages have existed from time immemorial, is exactly that where authority was likely to be in the hands of the women, and where the men had learned to obey. Though supported by so many proofs, to which it would be easy for me to add others, my opinion may not form an unexceptionable testimony; but, if I am wrong, I shall, without doubt, find some defenders in Europe; and how many of the fair sex are there who will avow with me, that the empire of reason and justice exists no where, but in the country where they command!*

* It has also been frequently asserted, that the inhabitants of the Mariannes were unacquainted with the use of fire, before the conquest of the Spaniards. This is one fable more to add to all those already published. In a country subject to such violent storms, and covered with so many volcanoes, this absurd opinion requires no refutation.

LETTER XC.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

TO the dances of the country succeeded those of the natives of the Caroline Islands.

The most lively gaiety animated the countenances of all the performers. Their amusement was not merely a sport; it was a festival. They did not laugh for laughing sake; they did not move about merely to fatigue themselves; bursts of laughter painted the state of their hearts, and these were happy. Formed at first into two columns, the dancers began a single-toned and very harmonious song, which they accompanied with most graceful gestures, and lascivious movements of the body. Their eyes expressed voluptuousness rather than pleasure, and seemed as if they expected their mistresses.

A more lively song succeeded to this amorous scene, for these people have learned to vary their amusements. They took each other by the hand, ran round in a circle, and made a great many ridiculous gambols; each placed his foot on the thigh of his neighbour, and all of them laughed at our surprise and pleasure. As soon as a dance was finished, one of the performers stepped out from the rest, to inquire of us if we were satisfied.

After these displays, which were both original and diverting, some dances succeeded, so curious, that the pencil only can convey an idea of them. In these the merit consisted in the difficulty. Armed with long sticks, held in both hands, the joyous Carolinians ranged themselves in two lines. At the commencement one person raising his voice to fix attention, marked the beginning of the dance; a general chorus replied to this appeal; the sticks were struck against one another with a musi-

cal cadence; blows were struck to the right and the left; but this was only the prelude to a more extraordinary display. The scene very soon became more animated; the dancers change their places, flee from and pursue one another, disperse and intermingle without even causing confusion; forming admirable figures and delightful subjects for a painter. Now in groupes of four against four, then eight against eight, they attack each other with rapidity; a blow threatens the loins, a weapon turns it off; a stick is on the point of striking a head, the stick of the next man is there, as if by enchantment, to stop it; soon the blows fall thicker; each one at the same moment strikes, wards, and returns a blow. What activity, what velocity, what address, are necessary to pass so frequently under the weapons of one another, without jostling or confusion, or ever being at a loss! The eye can hardly follow them; and the attention would be fatigued, if astonishment did not take its place. The figures are changed every instant; the dancers also change their adversaries, and the most perfect harmony constantly prevails in this national fête. Finally, three louder cries, three more rapid motions, three more decided blows, finish the picture. The dancers are certainly somewhat exhausted; but they seem to be fully rewarded by the pleasure and surprise of the spectators.

Happy people! may the day still be far off, when, attacked by ferocious enemies, you shall be obliged to exchange your feeble reeds for murderous weapons! May the voice of humanity penetrate to all nations, and arm them for your defence; for the enemy of your amusements and your happines, is also the enemy of the human race.

In speaking of this interesting people, it is difficult to exhaust the subject; I shall however beg, in the present letter, to give you all the details which we have obtained. Circumstances are favourable to us. An officer under the Governor has resided for

some time in their country, and speaks their language a little; and more than fifty individuals of the different islands of the Carolinian Archipelago are constantly under our eyes. The order in which my ideas may be expressed is of no consequence, provided my memory omits nothing.

The existing character of a people shows itself, as it were, in every remarkable event; and though it is not right always to judge of it only when under the influence of weighty circumstances, yet I think it cannot be denied, that when the mind is strongly affected by some new pleasure, or some unexpected calamity, individuals, and consequently nations, then particularly show themselves in their true colours.

The natives of the Carolines, hitherto strangers to all those trifling interests which disturb our enlightened Europe, are always the same. Such as you have found them the first day, you will find them ever after. The appearance of danger does not displace the smile which is constantly on their lips. They pray, but their countenance is always calm; it is the seat of innocence. As we were sailing through their Archipelago, the canoes of every island came out under all sail, and surrounded our ship; a single friendly gesture on our part was sufficient to inspire them with confidence. When an exchange was once agreed on, we never had to complain of their sincerity; and, indeed, they often sent us fish, cloth, or shells, before they had received the objects we destined for them. In a word, our presence amongst them was regarded as a day of jubilee. The opinion we then formed has not been falsified by the opportunity we have since had of knowing them better. What people is there who improve upon us on acquaintance?

Trade attracts the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands to the Mariannes: they bring shells, cloth, wooden vessels, and cordage made from the bark of the plantain and cocoa-nut trees; for

these articles they receive in exchange pieces of iron, copper, nails, and bad knives. It is not known who was the first Carolinian bold enough to venture this length, and yet the epoch of his voyage is not very remote. It is supposed that the winds having driven his vessel out of her course, blew him as far as the Mariannes; that by the aid of his experience the Carolinian pilot returned to his own country, and, like another Columbus, displayed to the eyes of his dazzled countrymen the wealth of the islands he had visited. The love of gain, strengthened by the love of the marvellous, smooths the difficulties of a long voyage. For these men danger is nothing, as soon as they dare to look on it. But in order not to lose the fruits of such glorious attempts, it was thought that mutual exchanges and reciprocal benefits would establish concord between two people situated at so short a distance, and yet so different from one another; each believed himself enriched by the productions of his neighbour, and one effort crowned with success led to other and fresh experiments. The iron, as supplied by the inhabitants of the Mariannes, was not adapted to the purposes of those of the Carolines. When the latter returned home, they rendered it suitable to their wants. Their rude instruments and imperfect machines were gradually improved; and this commerce, still in its infancy, is of infinite advantage to both people. The most civilized of the two had the glory of imparting benefits; the other, the uncommon merit of knowing how to appreciate them, and of feeling the necessity of exchanges so useful to the progress of arts and industry.

Every year the proas of the Carolinians made a voyage to the Mariannes, and every year the people learned something new: but, undoubtedly, it was not sufficient that a few courageous men should profit by so many advantages; means were to be found to render useful to all the discoveries made in these difficult

voyages. However intelligent were these modern Argonauts, their short stay at Guam, controlled by the winds and the seasons, only rewarded them imperfectly for their trouble. Their active imagination allowed them to do but little; and during an absence of ten months, numerous regrets would give birth to many imperfect recollections. In their future voyages they promised themselves to observe and to imitate every thing; but the multiplicity of objects which arrested their attention, overloaded their memories, and the chaos of ideas produced both weariness and discouragement.

The present Governor of the Mariannes has contributed to remove the obstacles which at first appeared insurmountable. A few years ago, he sent an intelligent blacksmith from this place for the purpose of teaching the inhabitants of the Caroline Islands the art of working in iron, and of making instruments; but by some incomprehensible negligence his ambassador went away without his tools. His voyage was not, however, quite useless. By his skill and knowledge, he in part compensated for his forgetfulness; and M. Medinilla, by this act of philanthropy, deserves the gratitude of his neighbours.

The Governor General of the Philippines, anxious to contribute all in his power to the welfare of a people who had been described to him in the most pleasing colours, obtained permission from his Sovereign to cede to those who would embrace Christianity, *Seypan*, one of the most fertile of the Marianne islands. As soon as the proposal was made, it was accepted with gratitude. One of their *Tamors*, who had come to Guam with his wife and son, would not even return to his former home; but departed after a few days for his adopted country. (He it was whose portrait I sketched at Tinian.) More secure means were required to transport so many persons, than the frail barks of the Carolinians; and a brig is every day expected from Manilla,

which is to go for them. The regulations to be established in the new colony, (the Chief of which is already appointed,) are preparing. He has taken possession of his dominions, and it seems not too much to assert that he will make his people happy.

I shall continue the subject in my following letters.

LETTER XCI.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

ONE of the most celebrated pilots of the Caroline Islands followed the example of the *Tamor*, who is already established at Seypan. He had been mentioned to us as a very intelligent man, and Captain Freycinet was desirous to see him. From residing a year at Guam, where he had been waiting the arrival of his wife, he had learned a few Spanish words; and we had also an interpreter, who spoke his language tolerably well. His features were full of expression; and Lavater would have described them as characteristic of genius. His forehead was broad and expanded; his eyes small and lively; his nose rather large; his mouth well formed; his teeth as white as snow; and his smile extremely agreeable. By means of grains of Indian corn, he contrived to represent all the islands of his Archipelago, and to mark their relative positions with wonderful ingenuity. He named every one of them; designated such as were easy of access, and those which were surrounded by reefs of rocks, and told us what were the productions of each; in short, he neglected nothing which could prove to us that he was acquainted with the geography of one part of the Pacific Ocean. He had learned, undoubtedly, in one of his voyages, that the natives of Yapa, an island situated near Manilla, are very ferocious; that they have muskets *(pac)*, powder, and carry on war against their neighbours.

He spoke of them with terror: but he was unable to inform us if they had already ventured as far as his own country.

It may be remarked, before proceeding further, (and it may be useful to navigators to know it), that the inhabitants of the Carolines make their Archipelago extend to the Philippines inclusively, and that the inhabitants of the Mariannes almost always call the Sandwich Islands the Northern Carolines.

When we enquired of our pilot by what means they guided their vessels during their long voyages, he cut some pieces of bamboo and made a compass with them, indicated the winds which blew most generally in his country, pointed out the places of the stars and constellations, and gave them names; adding, that when these guides failed them, they regulated themselves by the currents, the course of which was known to them by many years' experience. What imperfect guides!

Welewel is the name they give to the polar star; and according to them, the Great Bear has only five stars. By means of some grains of maize, he made us comprehend that they turned round an immoveable point.

He answered almost all our questions with sagacity, clearness, and precision. When he saw he had committed an error, he instantly rectified it; and very often had recourse to calculation when his memory failed him.

His wife, whom he has waited for a whole year, arrived by the last proa: when they met, they exhibited but feeble demonstrations of pleasure. She was fatigued, no doubt, by the disagreeable voyage. Her face was somewhat faded, but the expression of it was extremely mild: her eyes were languishing; her mouth small and amorous; her teeth very white; her bosom rather loose; her foot remarkably small; her complexion rather yellow; she is tattooed to the knees. The scene she gave rise to this morning is worth describing.

As she appeared delighted with a portrait of the King of Spain, which she saw at the end of the saloon, the Governor and I conducted her close to a picture of the Virgin which was in another apartment. At first she regarded it with great attention; then she enquired, who was that beautiful woman? We replied, that she was the mother of a good and just God, who reigned on high, and saw us. She begged permission to embrace her; as soon as it was granted, she got upon a chair, and was much surprised to find the figure insensible to her caresses. When she turned the frame and saw the canvass, her astonishment increased; such a phenomenon was beyond her conception. We explained the secret to her, and I was afraid her kindness towards me would encrease to adoration, when she learned that I could multiply such *women* at pleasure. I promised to give her some I had sketched; and she was so delighted that she overwhelmed me with caresses. This curious scene gave rise on my part to an indiscreet curiosity: I enquired if in her country they showed their love for anybody by outward and sensible signs? In order to reply by her deeds rather than her words, she threw her arms round my neck, turned me round and round, and did so much, that if I had not put a stop to her transports, the presence of the Governor and several other persons, who had followed us, would not have been any restraint on her demonstrations of tenderness.

When we returned to the saloon, her daughter enquired (seeing the portrait of the King in a frame) why they had cut off the head of such a handsome man, and put him in a box? A savage only could have made this mistake, and the painter would be very wrong were he therefore to congratulate himself.

The songs with which the Carolinians accompanied their dances were all in the same tone, and consisted only of two or three notes more or less articulated. I have not heard one for two

voices; and our concords do not appear harmonious to them. We enquired in vain the meaning of the words they sang: they were unable to inform us; but they said these songs had been transmitted to them by their ancestors, and that probably the language had changed. The Major of Agagna has however translated one, which he pretends is expressive of the sweet pleasures of maternity. I should not be surprised to learn hereafter that it was a war cry.

The religion of the Carolinians is confined to the recognition of a supernatural power, which may lend a favourable ear to their prayers. They burn their dead; and they believe that good men who have not beaten their wives, are carried above the clouds to be eternally happy; while those who have stolen iron, are changed into a dangerous fish, which they call *Tibourion*, and which is continually at war with other fishes. Among these people war is the punishment of the wicked.—What a lesson!

Don Luis de Torres, the Major of Agagna, has assured us that the natives of all the Carolinas believe in a deluge, and in one God in three persons—the father, the son, and the grandson. Don Luisi was brought up in the Spanish fashion, and attaches implicit belief to the pretended miracles of father Saint Victores. He informs us also, that in all the villages of this Archipelago there are schools of navigation, under the direction of the most skilful pilots; and that no Carolinian is allowed to marry until he has given proofs of his dexterity in steering a *proa*. For this examination a time is chosen when the sea is rather high, the candidate is placed at the sheet, (for the Carolinians steer their vessels entirely by the sails) and there, surrounded by reefs, and in the midst of foaming waves, he must make his proa sail a certain distance without allowing its balancer to touch the waves. I could not have believed that they possessed so much skill, if I had not sailed in their vessels.

LETTER XCII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

THE ship *Maria*, of *Boston*, Captain Samuel Williams, sailed from Manilla in 1812, by the orders of the Governor General, to make a survey of the Carolinas; and touching at Guam, there took on board several individuals, of whom Don Luis de Torres, the Major, was the most distinguished. They visited several islands, and were astonished at their meagre resources. At scarcely one did they find either goats, pigs, fowls, or oxen. The natives subsisted on the uncertain produce of their fishing, on cocoa-nuts, and on some roots in which there was little nourishment. Their activity, Don Luis told me, was astonishing: they rose at day-break, and the sea must have been very tempestuous to prevent them from going out in their proas. At other times they occupy themselves in domestic labours in their plantations, or in repairing or building their boats. The women are generally much better looking than those of the Mariannes: they never chew tobacco, and subsist on fish, cocoa-nuts, and bananas; from which however all these islanders abstain when they undertake a long voyage. They wear no other dress than a piece of cloth round their waist, which descends to the middle of their thigh; some of them even go entirely naked. The Major heard of no man having two wives, though the women appeared much more numerous than the men.

The houses are built on piles, are very low, and contain four or five spacious apartments. From the time the children are weaned, they never sleep in the same room with their father, and the girls are always kept separate from the boys. The Major understood that brothers and sisters may intermarry; and from

the replies which were made to his questions on this subject, was led to think that such marriages are preferred to others. He is, however, by no means certain that his representation is correct.

During his stay at the Carolines, Don Luis never witnessed an instance of fighting or quarrelling. Tears of love and regret were the only ones he ever saw shed; and people of such excellent dispositions must often shed them from such motives. One day having been informed, that the funeral of the eldest son of King *Melisso* was about to be celebrated, and that the ceremony would commence at sun-rise, he took the opportunity of attending it. The procession was composed of all the inhabitants of the island, who moved towards the sorrowful abode of their departed Chief in the most profound silence. Men and women were intermingled, but the members of a family were not separated. The Major was permitted to enter the apartment where the body was laid out, enveloped in mats fastened with cords, made from the cocoa-tree. Long locks of hair, the voluntary sacrifice of the relations and friends of the deceased, floated from each knot. The old King was seated on a stone, on which the head of his son was also laid. His eyes were red with weeping, and his body was covered with ashes. As soon as he saw a stranger, he rose, went to meet him, and said, with an accent of the deepest melancholy, Behold the son of Melisso! When the body was carried out of the apartment by six chiefs, the people uttered cries of despair, which ascended to heaven; some of them tore their hair, others violently beat their breasts, and all shed tears. The body was placed on a proa, and remained there the whole day. An old man came and offered the King an opened cocoa-nut, and the latter, in accepting it, *condemned himself to live* for the good of his subjects. After sun-set the body was burnt, the ashes put into the proa, and carried to the roof of the deceased's dwelling. On the following

day the people hardly appeared to recollect that such an event had taken place.*

At the death of the King, his power always passes into the hands of his son, if the oldest among the Chiefs, who never quits him, decides that he is worthy of the sovereignty. Neither the wife nor sister of the King has ever succeeded to the royal dignity.

Almost all the Carolinas are flat and sandy, but very fertile. It is evidently from some superstitious feeling, that the inhabitants, unfortunately for them, will rear neither pigs nor poultry. I remarked, however, in the voyage which I made with them, that they eat these animals with the greatest voracity; and perhaps the time is not distant, when they will feel all the inconveniences of a custom, which the poverty of their country should have made them reject, but to which probably they adhere from reverence to some solemn promise.

Experience, for all men a second nature, has taught them to mistrust the rash enterprises of some of their neighbours, general disturbers of the peace; but slings are as yet the only arms with which they have opposed them. The skill they evince in making these, proves that they have, unhappily, been occasionally constrained to make use of them; but their battles have never been very bloody, and only cost the vanquished a few contusions, or some tufts of hair.

The demonstrations of reverence which they show their Kings seem very great; for a *Tamor* of *Sathoual* came and rubbed his nose on my shoes as a mark of respect, and no doubt with the expectation of receiving a small present.

The dress of the Carolinians is almost nothing but a piece of cloth bound round their middle; the rest of the body they leave

* I am sorry to find the least resemblance between this people, and the inhabitants of Timor.

entirely naked. Some of them, as a precaution against cold, throw a pelisse made of the leaves of the cocoa-tree over their shoulders; and others (the Chiefs only have this right, I believe,) cover themselves with a cloak, fashioned like a priest's cope, which descends to their knees. Their hair is bound up with great taste, and brought very gracefully over their forehead; some of them wear it long, and floating over their shoulders, dressing it *à la Ninon;* and they seem to display a great deal of coquetry in playing with their locks, and in exposing them to the wind.

LETTER XCIII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

THE inhabitants of the Carolines have no characteristic physiognomy: each individual differs from all the rest; every thing varies in them, even the colour of their skin; generally, however, their features express goodness, and inspire you with confidence. They smile with such grace that they appear like great children, to whom every novelty is an amusement. They are supple and active, swim like fish, and keep their head almost always under water, which is much less fatiguing to them than it would be to us. The bodies of the chiefs are tattooed in a very elegant manner, but the operation must have caused them a great deal of suffering; the head, hands and feet, however, are exempted. It appeared to us that the Chiefs possessed a higher order of intelligence, and most probably they must have given many proofs of their superiority before they were permitted to command. Obedience in the one class here appears to be only the deference paid to superior merit; while in the orders of the Chiefs, they recognize merely the dictates of experienced wisdom.

In moments of difficulty and danger, one man directs the whole, and the others submit without appearing to be slaves. At feasts and merry-makings all classes mingle indiscriminately, and he is the Chief who is the gayest .... how many happy exertions are made to deprive him of his enviable place!

All the natives of the Carolines have their ears pierced, and they enlarge the hole with a fish-bone; but as, from their earliest infancy, they wear considerable weights suspended in them, the cartilage at times descends as low as the shoulder: Buffon supposes, that, wearing no clothes, they used this method to preserve their most valuable effects. It was necessary for me to see this before I was convinced of its truth. All the presents which we made the Carolinians, of nails, small knives, and fish-hooks, (and these objects possess great value in their estimation,) they put into the holes of their ears, tying them with a knot or two to keep them fast. But Buffon was misinformed when he says, in the same place, that the natives of the Mariannes blacken their teeth with a root, and whiten their hair with a liquid, both of which he neglects to name. If the inhabitants of this part of the world have in general black teeth, it arises from the use of betel, lime, and tobacco; it is not however with the intention of beautifying themselves that they employ these substances, but because the pleasure which they derive in chewing them is greater than their regret at lessening the beauty of their teeth. As to the liquid with which they are said to whiten their hair, I believe it has never been in use here. All the inhabitants have very black hair, which, being constantly rubbed with lemon-juice, acquires a lustre that our coquettes would no doubt appreciate very highly.

It would be easy for me to collect a great number of traits characteristic of the excellent disposition of the Carolinians; every day has brought under our notice some interesting anecdotes, but I shall only mention two.

When the canoe in which I happened to be, was upset at Rotta, Berard had no sooner announced the accident, than the Carolinians disputed with one another who should have the pleasure of rescuing me; and on our reaching their proas they did not even congratulate my deliverer, looking upon his conduct as a thing of course, and being unwilling to lavish their commendation on so simple a matter.

Our intrepid pilots asked us one day, during the voyage we made with them, for some details of the events which had happened to us since our departure. At first we told them a few laughable anecdotes, and then wishing to amuse ourselves, described a fictitious feast of cannibals, to whose ferocity we pretended some of our companions had fallen victims. We told them, that having landed on an unknown island, two of our sailors who had separated from their companions were seized by about a hundred of these Anthropophagi, armed with bows and clubs; that they were fastened to a great stake and roasted; and that we only arrived on the spot at the moment when one of them had been just devoured: that our first feeling was for revenge, and, unwilling to wait, we discharged all our muskets at the cannibals, killing six and wounding several more:—that the remainder, terrified at the strange noise, and the death of their comrades, immediately took to flight; but we having shown ourselves, and thus allowed them to observe our small number, they returned to attack us, uttering horrible yells. We stood firm, and, having had time to re-load our muskets, we did not fire until they came almost close to us. We added, that the great number killed caused so much terror, that the rest again retreated to deliberate what was proper to be done; and that perceiving the danger of engaging further in the affair, and profiting by their retreat, we re-embarked, and carried to the corvette the news of the tragical death of our comrades; that

then she approached the land, and soon destroyed all the houses of a village situated on the side of a hill.

During the recital of this fiction, you should have seen, my friend, the countenances of the Carolinians vary as they were animated, affected, or composed. A feeling of insurmountable horror was expressed in their features at the description of the cannibal feast; and they actually jumped with delight when we told them how we had avenged ourselves. They blamed us for not having entirely extirpated this villanous race; we were guilty in allowing a single one to escape. What pleasure will they experience, should they one day learn that this island has been swallowed up with all its inhabitants! When I added that I had only been delivered from their hands by the address of Berard, who from a distance had brought down a savage who was on the point of felling me to the earth, they threw their arms round the neck of my generous deliverer; and this spontaneous movement was less the effect of the pleasure caused by my deliverance, than of that which arose from the destruction of another enemy.

The idea of this horrible scene, which they took pleasure in recalling every hour of the day, produced so great an effect on their imagination, that some time after, the principal pilot came to the Governor's house to inquire of me in the name of his comrades, if the island of which we had told them was near the Carolines. I satisfied him perfectly on that head by informing him, that these ferocious people had no boats, and were quite ignorant of navigation. With this information he would, I am sure, convey, on his return, joy and tranquillity to the hearts of his alarmed countrymen.

They knew, however, that in other countries as well as in Ombay, (where we had placed the scene of our narrative,) there were cannibals. They pronounced on several occasions the

word *Papou*, and it is certain that there are men-eaters on some parts of the coast of New Guinea.

The two Carolinian women whom I have seen at the Marianes resemble one another so much, that they might easily be taken for sisters. Their features are regular; the nose however is rather flat, and the lips are somewhat too thick, though the mouth is small, and their smile is extremely graceful.

I have before told you of the intelligence of these people, so little removed from a state of nature. I shall now give you an example. It is a copy of one of their letters, written to M. Martinez, at Rotta, who had commissioned a *Tamor* of *Sathoual* to send him some shells, promising him in exchange a few pieces of iron. The Captain gave him the sheet of paper. Here is the letter; the original is in my possession, and is in red characters, of which the following is an accurate fac-simile. The

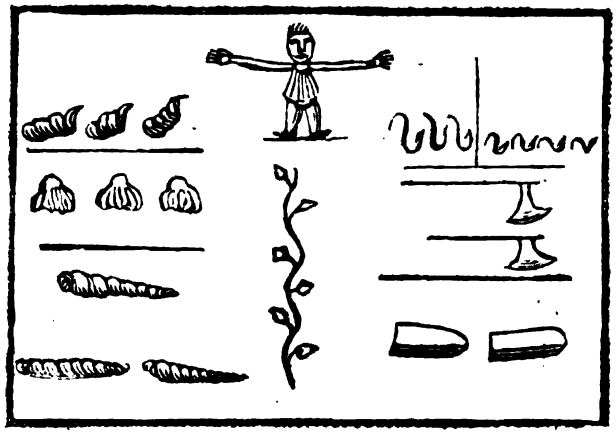


figure at the top of the letter was placed there as the bearer of compliments; the marks in the column on the left hand, indicate the sort of shells the Carolinian sent to M. Martinez. In the column on the right, are placed the objects which he desired in

exchange, viz. three large fishing-hooks, four small ones, two pieces of iron of the shape of axes, and two pieces a little longer. M. Martinez understood the letter, kept his word, and received that same year, as a token of satisfaction, a great number of handsome shells, of which he made me a present.

Adieu, my dear Batlle. After my campaign, I shall feel great regret, I assure you, at not having been able to remain for some time in the Archipelago of the Carolinas.

LETTER XCIV.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

SOME years ago, an American vessel coming from *Atooee*,* and bound to Guam, was lost on Agrigan, one of the Mariannes, a very fertile island, but continually agitated by earthquakes, caused probably by the numerous volcanoes it contains. The people on board saved themselves; and as in calamities of this kind, ranks are levelled, and authority frequently little respected, some venturous sailors, despising the orders of their Captain, repaired a boat which had been wrecked, and confiding only in their own audacity, abandoned themselves to the winds in search of another country. It would appear that their confidence had been misplaced, for hitherto nothing has been heard concerning them.

Those who remained, well satisfied to have escaped so imminent a danger, wisely occupied themselves in embellishing their new abode; they cultivated small spots of ground, sowing a few grains which had been saved from the wreck; and in a country

* One of the Sandwich Islands.

still unknown, they began to occupy themselves with plans of future happiness. There were twenty-two persons in all, of whom eight were females, natives of the Sandwich Islands; of these the most amiable or the most eager of the men soon made a conquest. The island was about to be peopled, and in a few years it would have been unknown who were the founders of the colony, had not a brig from Manilla accidentally touched at the island, and carried the intelligence to the Governor of the Mariannes, of these individuals residing in a country under his jurisdiction. M. Medinilla gave orders to the Captain of his vessel to go in search of the persons shipwrecked, and convey them to Guam. The natives of the Sandwich Islands were made slaves of, under the ridiculous pretext, that the crew of the vessel, on board of which they were, had mutinied. They were all appropriated by the Chiefs of the colony. M. Medinilla Joseph, or Joseph Medinilla, retained only nineteen for himself, and gave the other three to two of his officers, who would not affront him by refusing them.

All these unfortunate persons are now before us; they are going to perform some of the dances of their own country, and are waiting with the greatest impatience for the signal to begin.* The men are squatted on their heels; their breasts and arms are naked, and their waists covered with a large piece of cloth. The signal is given by a long and loud howl, which all of them utter in conjunction; their muscles are in motion, their eye-brows are contracted, their eye-balls roll furiously; from their mouth pours forth a barbarous song; they spring up, turn round, fall down, rise again, bend their heads, elevate them haughtily, then beat their breasts with their hands, until they are quite red: it seems as if they would destroy themselves. But what do I see? their eyes measure each other from head to foot; their

* They are for once permitted to remember their country.

gestures are threatening, their rage is at its height; I must stop. It is impossible to form an idea of their exclamations, their frantic movements; their maddening cries; their terrific convulsions, and their delirious gaiety. At the close of these terrible dances, the men appear like wretches capable of committing the most atrocious crimes.

With the same kind of convulsions, and greater indecency, there is as much disorder in the dances of the women. I could almost fancy myself present at the massacre of the husband of Eurydice, on the mountains of Thrace.

In men, thus made slaves contrary to the law of nations; in women obliged to submit to every order of their avaricious masters; in all these unfortunate victims of such revolting injustice, bending beneath the weight of chastisement; we are daily witnesses of the most striking proofs of goodness, mildness, and ready obedience. There is but one crime they can be reproached with, and that is thieving; and it must be admitted, that they appear incorrigible: neither menaces, blows, privations, nor imprisonments, nothing in short can cure them of this propensity; and at the very moment that a criminal is sentenced, you will see him, true to his instinct, meditating another theft, and exposing himself to a double punishment.

Every individual of the colony appears to arrogate to himself the same rights over them as a barbarian slave-master, and has no more scruple in beating a Sandwich islander, than a Turk has in empaling a Christian.

And what, madman, is their crime!* You command, they are obedient; their days are numbered by their toils, yours by enjoyments; they watch for you, and you seem to repose, only to increase their labour. Do you grudge them the little nourishment which sustains their toilsome life? They prepare your

* At present they only steal from strangers.

subsistence, and present it to you on their knees. Cannot the bloody traces of their lacerated bodies bridle your inhumanity? No, no; in cold blood you inflict your blows; you count their scars, and the number cannot satisfy your rage; you are the strongest, and your power has made you barbarians. Would you support, as they do, the heavy irons with which you overload them? Cruel men! let the aspect of so much misery wring the weapons from your hands, if it cannot soften your hearts. At least allow your interest to lessen your rage. When it has exhausted their strength, already nearly destroyed, who will then serve you with equa lzeal? who will listen to your commands with such ready obedience? who will support so many torments without murmuring, without conspiring perhaps against your lives? Will you choose your slaves among the poor, hideous, and weak wretches who multiply in the land which they ought to have torn from your grasp? Will you render the whole colony subservient to your ambition—to your caprice? Take care that the moment of despair does not become that of revolt. Outrages will then be repaid, and you will groan doubly from the weight of your sufferings, and from the hatred and contempt you will entertain for your oppressors.

The women are much less to be pitied than the men. At first their masters made them subservient to their pleasures; and the servants, who shared in this easy conquest, were afraid of committing themselves by impolitic cruelty. The toils to which they have since been subjected being less severe, their murmurs are more rare, or their activity less discouraged.

It will not be long before we discover the difference which exists between men debased, so to speak, by suffering, and the same individuals delivered from opprobrious chains and left to themselves, or rather to nature.

LETTER XCV.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

THE unfortunate natives of the Sandwich Islands, whom we have at present before us, are tall and well made; but have rather a repulsive physiognomy. Their eyes have an expression of cruelty, which forms a contrast with their mild and timid manners; and some of them want two of the incisors of the upper jaw, of which they have been foolishly deprived according to a custom of their country. All of them have large feet, and crooked legs; they walk awkwardly, but fear neither heat nor fatigue. I knew that one of these unfortunate men had stolen a handkerchief from me; I sent for him on pretence of rewarding him for a trifling service for which he had already been recompensed, and presented him with another. On the following day the stolen handkerchief was returned among some linen I had given him to wash, and in counting the pieces before me, he was awkward enough to make me remark that nothing was lost. Among the Spartans this unskilful thief would certainly have received a severe correction. For my part I was contented with making him believe that I valued the handkerchief highly, that he might not repent the sacrifice he had made.

The women are not so handsome as the men, and nearly as tall. At a short distance their sex can only be discovered by the prodigious size of their bosoms. They swim with extraordinary skill, and generally choose a time for this exercise, when the sea is very rough. Equally robust with the men, they are well adapted to the labours of the field, and even prefer to the tranquil cares of the house, the hardy occupations of the country;

where enjoying more liberty, they can more readily give themselves up to their inordinate taste for sensual indulgences. If you offer a present to a young female of the Sandwich Islands, you may be certain she will accept it; but also be convinced that she will not make you wait long for a testimony of her gratitude. Your present will lose much of its value in her eyes, if you disdain the proof of her affection. In general their figures are not graceful; but they have a very agreeable laugh, and brilliantly white teeth. At their arrival they wore their hair cut short, as we were informed by the Governor; at present some of them have beautiful black hair, of a surprising length. Two of them are handsomer than the handsomest females of the Mariannes; and a young girl is still much regretted here, who was very pretty, very unfortunate, and the victim of unexampled villany. The adventure is recent.

When the unfortunate people who were shipwrecked in the American vessel arrived at Agagna, one of the females was taken into the palace of M. Medinilla, but was soon afterwards sent away at the request of another mistress, whose rights were of an older date. A man named Eustache, who by his situation of domestic to the Governor, was the second person at Guam, chose this young and beautiful Sandwich Islander for his servant. In the first transports of his passion, he exempted her from the most laborious tasks; and being less cruelly treated than her companions, she was the means of diffusing hope and consolation among them. We sometimes see impudent valets bold enough to fix their eyes on the conquest of their masters, and share with them the favours sold from caprice or lewdness; but it is much more common, I believe, to find masters mean enough, and sufficiently the enemies of their own reputation, not to blush at coveting and seducing the wives or the mistresses of their valets. From the time of Almaviva of patient memory, (and Beau-

marchals has not drawn a fiction,) to our own time, what a number of youthful libertines have acted this shameful part! The permission given in the present case to a rogue of a lacquey to preserve the most beautiful slave for himself, indicated some concealed design on the part of the master, which warned the valet to be very circumspect and vigilant. All men are not Figaros, and, without being courier to an embassy, a man may frequently be obliged to be absent from his Susanne, and thereby expose himself to the danger of one day finding his brows adorned. In one of those moments so critical for a lover, so favourable to a seducer, the young woman received an order to attend the Governor, (and it was a second Basile who was entrusted with the office, to keep any intruder out of the way.) The light-footed Eustache arrived, however, precisely five minutes before his mistress left the apartment of her first master. What passed during the half hour that she remained there is indeed unknown; but jealousy, vigilant and observing, thought it saw clothes disordered, blushes suffusing the cheeks (rather difficult through a copper-coloured skin,) and indecision in answering; as if a sofa, the presence of a Governor, a Lieutenant of Infantry, and the fear of reproach could not produce these effects. Be that, however, as it may, the nominal lover saw in these trifling circumstances, proofs of the perfidy of his mistress. In Spain a young cavalier would have gaily poignarded the unworthy pair, who had betrayed him; but here that kind of vengeance would have been too noble, and besides it would have been rather difficult to immolate both victims at once. Some glasses of a liquor called here *touba*, of which she was extremely fond, were given her; the dose was so often repeated, that she soon lost her senses; and on the following morning, to the great astonishment of every body, she was found hanging to the cieling by a cord, with which the unhappy Eustache had been amusing

himself the whole day. It is said the assassin gloried in his crime; but I can hardly believe it; for whatever may be the faults with which the Governor is reproached, and however great his regard for his domestic, he would certainly have severely punished any man who had been guilty of so infamous a crime.

LETTER XCVI.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

DURING the night, the Governor caused some curious dances, which he called *dances of the ancients*, to be executed in the front of his palace. They were followed by some agreeable representations, and preceded by a comedy, in fifteen or sixteen acts; in which, two persons grotesquely dressed, and three little sucking pigs, appeared by turns on the scene, and excited roars of laughter from the pit and the galleries.

The amusements of the evening were concluded by an interesting ballet, which requires to be described more in detail. It is called the *dance of Montezuma;* and it is said that it was performed in the dominions of that Sovereign, upon occasion of some public festival, or religious ceremony.

The costumes have even been brought from America; they are magnificent, and their antiquity has not tarnished their lustre. The silk of which they are woven is extremely fine; the flowers, and the various colours with which they are covered, are well arranged, and the fringes round the borders still brilliant. Certainly nothing so handsome had before been seen at Guam; and these mantles, with the embroidery, would give every nation a high idea of the industry of the people who made them.

At first sixteen dancers presented themselves, forming two

parallel lines, distant some paces from each other, and carrying fans, made of the feathers of different birds, which they waved with considerable grace. They moved with the left hand a cocoa-nut filled with small grains, the noise of which resembled that made by our children's rattles. The orchestra was not brilliant; but the air which accompanied the dancing was harmonious, and might possibly be a national air. The performers advanced slowly, crossed one another, and sometimes formed graceful figures; while the person who represented the King, or the Chief of the fête, with two young pages walking at his sides, moving with short steps, opened the ranks with a gesture, and gravely retired, after waving his enormous fan and his sceptre over the heads of the dancers. It would be easy to find a meaning in each act of this little drama; but it is more prudent merely to suppose that it was only an insignificant amusement, in which pomp was substituted for interest, and where there was no other intention than that of pleasing by variety.

Some performers, provided with hoops, appeared in the second act, and formed some very fine groups, unknown to our theatres; while the King, who was peaceably seated on his throne, which was only an old and crazy arm-chair, appeared to enjoy the fête, and to be amused by the cries of two grotesque figures, covered with wretched rags and hideous masks, and armed with enormous clubs, with which they gave each other violent blows. Gayer movements and more animated airs succeeded; the dancers made some graceful steps to the music of castanets, and quitted for a moment their monotonous paces. The fourth and fifth acts were both novel and amusing; armed with light shields and sabres, called *macanas*, the dancers crossed over, sought out and attacked each other, aiming blows which were skilfully parried; in short, they represented combats of individuals and a general battle. They were separated by the presence of the King, who advanced in the

midst of them, and placed his sceptre between the combatants; perhaps he was giving a lesson of peace to his divided subjects. The dancers, forgetting their quarrels, and their motives for discord, threw away their arms, took each other gaily by the hand, and surrounded their generous Sovereign, as if to thank him for the concord which prevailed, and for the peace which he had procured them.

The amusements of the evening were closed by a national country dance, performed by men, and by children in female attire; they turned round a small pole, to the top of which ribbands of various colours were attached, in such a manner, that the males running round one way and the females the other, covered the pole entirely with the ribbands, which produced a charming effect. It is singular enough that this dance is also practised in some of the provinces of the south of France, and that people so widely separated should have adopted the same practices in their amusements. Here it is called *the dance of the clothed stick.*

The various scenes which the Governor caused to be exhibited to us, and the other curious fêtes, for which we were indebted to his politeness, have given him strong claims to our gratitude. The performers were most of them children at school, under the direction of their master; all of them acted their parts admirably, and displayed great intelligence. The epoch when the splendid costumes of which I have spoken were brought here, and how they came, are both equally unknown; and we shall not seek to ascertain either. One thing is certain, however, that if these fine silks are of ancient manufacture, (and the species of design makes it probable,) the people who wove and painted them had not many steps to make, before they attained that perfection which our best workmen have reached. I have sketched all the dances, and endeavoured to give an exact representation of them; but this can only be very imperfectly done with the pencil.

LETTER XCVII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

AS I have undertaken to give you a slight sketch of the manners of the people we might meet on our voyage, and of the progress made by the most civilized in throwing off the prejudices and barbarous customs, which are inherent, as it were, in those whom we call savages, I have drawn from the stores of my memory some account of the facts which have marked the different epochs of the nations of whom I am to speak. Perhaps some trifling errors as to date may slip into my recital; but you will certainly find none in the facts which I relate. Let us have no fictions in the history of the world. I prefer the most abstract truth, to the most brilliant and ingenious invention.

I believe Strabo was the first to remark, that we were indebted to Alexander for a knowledge of the East; to the arms of the Romans for our acquaintance with the West; and to the victories of Mithridates for information concerning the North. But their conquests, being confined to the land, and purchased with blood, were slowly carried forward; while a thirst for gold, the original source of commerce, opens a more expeditious and secure road.

It was only in the fifteenth century, that the taste for discoveries was excited by two feeble nations of the South: a single man effected this change. His ardent mind conceived a vast project; and it is doubtful which most merits the admiration of ages, the perseverance of his efforts to undertake it, or the boldness and genius which ensured its success.

Christopher Columbus, rising superior to the unfortunate circumstances of his youth, had retired to Portugal, after his native

country, Genoa, had rejected his proposals. John III. of Portugal did not even deign to notice them; and Isabella of Spain, entirely occupied with the great design she had planned of driving out the crowds of Moors with which it was infested, made all her prayers centre in the capture of Grenada; and saw in the projects of a great man, rather the crudé dreams of an adventurer, than the sublime conceptions of a rising genius. Grenada was taken; Columbus obtained the command of three small vessels; America was discovered, and Spain thenceforward regarded herself as the first nation of Europe.

Several bold and enterprising men, formed in the school of Columbus, happily achieved what was begun under such brilliant auspices. The new discovered world was purchased by torrents of blood; and with the riches thence acquired, Europe ceased for a time to be the theatre of memorable events. Every daring character then attempted a discovery; and the success of a single individual opened a vast field to those who, to courage, at that time the most common quality, added perseverance, which was only possessed by a few. The Cape of Good Hope had been doubled; and commerce invited the nations of Europe to the Moluccas and the coasts of Bengal, but the dangers of a long and difficult voyage restrained the avarice of merchants. Christopher Columbus and several companions of his first success, made fruitless attempts to discover a passage to the East Indies by the West. After innumerable trials, which drew some men now celebrated from oblivion, Magellan, a Portuguese, a man despised by his own Sovereign, and who had become a voluntary subject of the King of Spain, passed through the straights which now bear his name, traversed the vast Pacific Ocean, and stopped at the Philippines, where he became the victim of his own imprudent courage; and his vessel, under another commander, announced to astonished

Spain, that the great problem which had engaged the attention of so many illustrious philosophers, was at length resolved.

As it is not my intention to give you the history of those early adventurers, who have been such pure sources of glory and advantage to their country, I pass over a long period, and come at once to the conquest of the country which occupies our attention.

It may be remarked, that wherever the tribunal of the Inquisition is established, the spirit of discovery is stopped, as well as the progress of arts and sciences: wherever, also the Spaniards and Portuguese have extended their power, their persecutions have made slaves, and never acquired allies. Their first act being to change the religion of the conquered countries, the necessary result was, that men entirely unacquainted with the sublime truths of our faith, armed themselves for resistance, because there was not sufficient knowledge to enlighten them. Hence the weak became the victims of the strong, and hence arose persecutions and cruelties.

When the Carolines and the Mariannes were first discovered, these fertile islands were peopled by an industrious race, whose character appeared simple and credulous. Manilla was then growing into a flourishing colony; and from thence the first vessels sailed which were to achieve the conquest of this Archipelago. Joseph *Quiroga* was the first Spaniard who attempted to subjugate these islands. He was quick, hasty, and impetuous, unacquainted with those sentiments of generosity which are more effectual than arms, in gaining the mind and conquering the heart. Equally severe to himself as to his soldiers, he exposed himself to the same dangers, and submitted to the same privations. He visited timidity with disgrace, and repressed murmurs by cruel punishments. Several times he had to put down revolts; and on all occasions his presence of mind, and his impetuous courage

obtained him the most signal victories. The resistance of the natives was regarded as an outrage by his arrogant soul; the slaughter he made of them opened the country to him in all directions: unable to support the yoke he wished to impose on them, the natives retreated, beaten but not subdued, to a barren rock, (Aguigan,) where they hoped to find security from persecution and tyranny. They were soon however pursued to this last asylum; and those who escaped from slaughter were brought back to Guam, and treated as slaves.

In the midst of these scenes of ravage and barbarity, it is refreshing to have our attention arrested by any circumstance which diminishes their horror. Religion when armed with the sword, has made many proselytes; but when that influence has been once removed, the faith which was imposed by irritated violence, and adopted by defenceless weakness, is no longer adhered to. Mildness and persuasion alone effectually gain the heart; and the name of Father *Saint Victores* ought to be as dear to the inhabitants of this Archipelago, as that of Las Casas has been to the savage hordes of America. He alone dared to check the cruelties of Quiroga; and such was the disposition of the conquerors of the fifteenth century, that what they would have regarded as an unpardonable presumption in a soldier, they were afraid to check in a minister of religion.

At the very time when the torch of discord burnt with a dreadful glare over all the island of Guam, Father *Saint Victores*, with the boldness of a martyr, traversed the country under no other protection than the standard of Christ; by words of peace and gentleness, and the insinuating tone of persuasion, he won the hearts of the inhabitants, and thus diminished the horror they entertained of the Spanish name. From the bosom of recesses not yet violated, he fulminated severe orders, which Quiroga, although enraged, did not dare to disobey: but, alas! the zeal of

the pious missionary was not long effectual against the ignorance of the natives, and the barbarity of the conquerors.

One of those extraordinary men, produced in every country to be the leaders of other men; intrepid from instinct, ferocious from calculation, forgetful of past, and insensible to future miseries; one of those men, in short, whose existence never goes beyond the present, had made some resistance at the Mariannes to the Spanish arms. Shut up in the interior of the island with a considerable number of partizans, he murmured at the praises bestowed by the fugitives on *Saint Victores*, and in the conduct and insinuations of this Catholic hero, saw only an additional perfidy. *Matapang* was the name of this dangerous man; he had left his two children to the care of his wife; and she, influenced by the virtues and moderation of *Saint Victores*, had entrusted them to him in order to make them Christians. Nothing more was necessary to induce *Matapang* to resolve internally on taking an atrocious revenge. In men so little masters of their first impressions, personal interest always prevails over the public good. He assembled his comrades, addressed them with all the fire of indignation long suppressed, kindled in their minds the sentiment of vengeance, and artfully gave them to understand, that their own future safety and the flight of the Spaniards depended solely from that time forward on the death of *Saint Victores*. His discourse revived the courage of the most timid; every one determined to lay a snare for the zealous missionary, and to destroy him in one of those journies, which he repeated perhaps with too much imprudence. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered. Matapang found means of attracting him to his own retreat; at first he thanked him for the trouble he had taken with his children, and solicited him to continue his attentions to those who were so dear to him. But to put his zeal to the proof, Matapang requested him to baptize a goat, of which

he was very fond. The answer of the Christian minister may be easily divined; and as he firmly refused to do what was demanded of him, Matapang, aided by two of his partizans, fell on him, and knocked him down with a species of wooden axe, which, except the sling, was the only weapon in use among the first inhabitants of the Mariannes.

Whether Quiroga was displeased at this atrocity is doubtful; but it is certain that to revenge it, was one of the motives for the horrors committed by his soldiers. The imagination recoils at the recollection of these scenes of carnage; to give an idea of them, it is sufficient to mention, that at the first trial of the Spanish arms, the inhabitants of the Mariannes amounted to more than forty thousand, and that at the end of two years five thousand only remained.

It was at this epoch that the first settlement was made. The natives were subjected to very severe laws, from the operation of which they had no means of escape; they bent under the despotism of their oppressors, and that hatred which arises from a sense of inability to resist tyranny rooted itself in their hearts.

LETTER XCVIII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

MAGELLAN gave the name of *Ladrones* to the Marianne Islands, because he was there made the dupe of his own good faith; and even now, there would be no injustice in continuing the appellation, the inhabitants having still so great an attachment to the endearing custom of appropriating to themselves the property of others.

As soon as the Spanish dominion was established, though on rather tottering foundations, the first care of the victors must have been to maintain their spirit of superiority over their new subjects. Quiroga had returned to Manilla; Father *Saint Victores* had fallen a victim to his apostolic zeal; and the person who succeeded to the command of the expedition, was solely occupied with such investigations as would give at home a high idea of the country which had been subjected, and with the more sordid care of quickly making his own fortune. He had requested some additional aid from the Governor of the Philippine Islands, as he was afraid Quiroga had sailed for Europe; but chance came more promptly to his aid than he could have ventured to hope for.

The Carolines had attracted the attention of the Court of Madrid, at the same time that the conquest of the Mariannes was under consideration. Nine small vessels from Luçon were conveying to the former Islands several ecclesiastics, whose zeal for the propagation of their religion sent them into voluntary banishment from an abode of ease and tranquillity. The winds were contrary from the beginning of their voyage, and, a terrible storm having thrown them out of their course, eight of the vessels perished on the Island of Guam; but the ninth fortunately took refuge in a creek, where it was sheltered from the tempest. The only monk who was saved remained some years at the Mariannes, where he preached with as much zeal and success as Father *Saint Victores*, but with greater good fortune. It is a very remarkable circumstance, that the persons of most consideration among the original inhabitants soon became the bigoted protectors of the religion of their oppressors, and presumed to interdict the lower classes from the privileges which they desired to possess exclusively, of enjoying the good things in a future life, which were promised them.

A work published at Manilla, in 1790, by Father *Juan de la*

Concepcion, a bare-footed Franciscan, contains some details of the ancient customs of this people: I have looked over this enormous compilation, and found it a production of ignorance and credulity. The descriptions of the miracles which took place at the Mariannes occupy alone five or six volumes, and it would be absurd to attach any credit to a multitude of ridiculous tales of sorcerers and of saints who took part in the conquest of this Archipelago.

Here is a page translated for your edification.

"No sooner had Quiroga arrived at the Mariannes, and pro-
"claimed to the inhabitants the new religion which he had
"brought them, than the sea retreated, as if to inform him that
"he ought not to return to his own country till he had success-
"fully terminated his enterprise. On the day after his landing
"the earth was agitated with a terrible noise, which was a
"presage to Quiroga, of the trouble and anxiety he was to
"experience in completing the conquest of Guam. On the third
"day, a most glorious sun animated all nature, and the Spaniards
"felt certain of success. On the fourth, a violent wind forewarned
"them of the resistance of Matapang; and on the fifth, some
"trees having been blown down by the storm, no doubt could
"be entertained as to the death of *Saint Victores*, or as to the
"frightful massacres of which the colony was to be the theatre.
"Every thing happened as nature had predicted; *Saint Victores*
"fell a victim to the fury of Matapang; *Quiroga, in his just*
"*revenge*, exterminated a great part of the natives, and the
"standard of the cross shone only for a small number of the
"just." So much for one.

"Father *Saint Victores* had scarcely fallen from the mortal
"blow of Matapang, when his soul, bounding over space, borne
"on the wings of the wind, arrived in his own country, and there
"announced this misfortune. The churches of the whole of
"Spain were hung with black, the bells tolled of themselves;

" the Court went into mourning; it was regarded as a general
" calamity. Eight or ten months afterwards, Guam was agi-
" tated by two or three earthquakes, the cause of which did
" not remain concealed.—The crime of Matapang was to be
" expiated." So much for the second.

" In one of his journeys to Tinian, Father *Saint Victores* at
" length succeeded in converting to the true faith, one of the most
" obstinate and incredulous of the natives, whom he had at
" different times attempted in vain. As the latter was returning
" to his country-house, in a state of deep reflection, he saw six
" females coming towards him very handsomely dressed, who
" were eating fire. Only one of them was clothed in black, the
" others in a thousand variegated colours. He saluted them in
" Spanish; but these aerial females answered in the Indian
" language, and menaced him with great misfortunes, should he
" refuse to submit to the new laws which had just been imposed
" on him. The incredulous convert promised to obey, and
" making the vision he had had public, he seconded prodigiously
" the zeal of *Saint Victores*." So much for the third.

" A strong proof," he adds, " of the truth of our religion is, that
" a short time after Guam was conquered, it was agitated by seve-
" ral shocks of earthquakes, which threw down some huts; but
" after the inhabitants had addressed their prayers to the true
" God, no other shocks were felt for the space of two years
" and a half." So much for the fourth.

I should be long before I had finished, were I to relate to you only the tenth part of the ridiculous stories of which this history is composed; but I was agreeably surprised to find in the midst of the trash of the fourteen volumes of which it consists, several pages consecrated to the Carolines, which are very curious. They are much more correctly written than the rest, and in a better spirit; there is not a single recital of miracles;

every thing is simple and natural; and to make his book interesting, the author has had no occasion to have recourse to prodigies. It is impossible that these pages could have been written by the same hand which produced the rest.

LETTER XCIX.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

ONLY a single instance of the small-pox has been seen here; but as this terrible disease is perhaps on the point of reaching this, as it has already ravaged part of Bengal, and some of the islands in the Indian Ocean, our medical men have taken precautions to anticipate its fatal consequences, by the introduction of vaccination. Unfortunately the vaccine matter was too old, and failed in producing the desired effect. The attempt, however, will not be entirely fruitless; for the Priest of Agagna, who took the trouble of attending the numerous experiments made by MM. Quoy and Gaimard, intends to have some matter brought immediately from Manilla, or Canton. If cock-fighting therefore allows him sufficient time, he may yet be of use to the flock confided to his care.

You will suspect, indeed, that medicine and surgery have made but little progress at Guam, since the only remedies in favour are *Kankrelas*, and cream of tartar, administered by the Governor and brother Cyriaco. Notwithstanding the excellence of their universal specifics, our infirmary was daily besieged by great numbers of sick and wounded, who by some inconceivable fatality had found these remedies quite inefficacious. The inhabitants of Guam, it is true, are difficult to treat, and little

accustomed to the convenient style of European patients. They do not come to ask for remedies: but they say with ludicrous confidence, *cure me;* as if doctors were bound to heal their patients.

Last Sunday a stout fellow, in a moment of impatience, irritated at the obstinacy of his mule, (for these animals are as headstrong here as in Europe) struck it so violently with a stick on the head, that the poor beast fell down dead. Afflicted at this disaster, the churl runs to our hospital, informs the surgeon in a sorrowful tone of the cause of his trouble, and supplicates for his assistance, for which he would be eternally grateful. The surgeon tries to console him for the loss, and tells him that as the mule is dead, his art is of no avail. The man insists, weeps, and intreats him to make the attempt, for he places a great deal of confidence in his skill; the surgeon, to get rid of his sorrowful importunities, tells him that he does not prescribe for beasts. "And whom then do you cure in France?" replied the man, and went away.

The inhabitants of the Mariannes are in general mild, and confiding in their behaviour towards foreigners; but they like to be treated familiarly. You cannot give them a greater pleasure than by addressing them in the easy language of friendship. Enter a house, shake the master heartily by the hand, give one embrace (but only one) to his wife, give twenty however to the daughters; take a seat, share their frugal repast, say that every thing is excellent; you are well received, presented with a hammock, one of the young females comes to swing it, and you fall asleep, to the harmonious but monotonous sound of some Latin canticle, or of some *chamorre* song. Next morning when you awake, you are offered some trifle, which you are at liberty to refuse; but if you accept it, gratitude requires you to acquit yourself of the obligation; and, according to the custom of the

country, you must offer something of at least double the value of the object which you have received.

Before we were acquainted with this singular practice, we were astonished at the generosity of these poor people: but when you are informed of the custom, buy, and never accept any thing; if you do, you are certain to be plundered. If you make a present of a pocket-handkerchief to-day, to-morrow you will be asked for a shirt, and in a few days after for a sheet.

At Agagna, the inhabitants are so given to this custom, that if you at any time neglect to make presents in return for what you have received, you will soon hear the *generous* donor remind you of his gift, talk to you of it at every hour of the day, and finally desire to have it back, without a blush. This is general; and from the highest officer at Guam (I except the Governor, whose real generosity we have had opportunities of appreciating),* to the most wretched peasant of Toupoungan, every body is mindful not to derogate from this ancient law: a curious example of it happened from my having one day, out of compassion, given an old shirt to a sick man at Agagna. As we were about to depart, his daughter brought it back, telling me in a tone of regret, truly affecting, that her father could not reward me for my present. In a moment of generosity I offered her another; moreover gave a parting kiss to the young messenger, and exonerated her family from every species of obligation.

Simple people! with regret I see the moment approach when I must leave you.

* I must also make an honourable exception of Don Luis de Torres.

LETTER C.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

IN recurring once more to the subject of the Cocoa-tree, and the innumerable benefits derived from it, I must take the opportunity of making you acquainted as well as I can with the form and characteristics of this superb vegetable, the noblest present which Heaven has made to the Islands of the South Sea.

The Cocoa-nut tree,—which, considering the richness of its foliage, I am not afraid to call the monarch of the woods, and the most valuable of all trees, when I reflect on its utility,—shoots from the earth with a trunk of two feet in diameter, which rises majestically to the height of one hundred feet, and waves its crown of verdure in the air. Its foliage, formed of a broad and flexible spine, bordered with long secondary leaves, yields to the slightest breeze, and in regular and graceful motions figures to the astonished eye the undulations of agitated waves. The leaves rustle against each other with a gentle murmur, softly interweave, expand majestically, and collapse without feebleness. They are large and vigorous in proportion as the tree is young, and as it grows old they become more scanty: they appear to form its strength, as the strength of Samson consisted in his hair; stripped of this ornament, its grey stem seems to bend beneath the enormous weight of the fruit which hangs at its head, and grows there in the form of bunches. The nuts form only a part of its wealth; as large as our melons, they contain in their double covering, a liquid more limpid than that which falls from the most agreeable cascades of our Pyrenees. It is sweet and grateful, but pernicious when used to excess, as well as the delicious cream which it deposits on the sides of the interior shell.

To climb to the top of the tree, the negroes, the savages, and the inhabitants of the Mariannes, all employ very nearly the same means. They make small notches in the trunk; or still oftener they form a sort of ladder, capable of bearing the greatest weight, out of the spine of the leaves, which they tie together perpendicularly to the surface. These means, however, are only made use of for children; for as soon as they grow to be youths, they climb the straightest trees with wonderful agility, and I have seen some of them who laughed at the difficulties they presented, and sought them out that they might show us their dexterity.

Without taking into account the agreeable and simple food extracted from the nuts, just cast your eye on the following table, and judge for yourself, how much this tree is beneficial to the islanders of the South Sea, and more particularly to the inhabitants of this isolated Archipelago.

From the fruit, or from the liquid which flows from incisions made in the unexpanded parts of the fructification, are obtained	Excellent sweetmeats, Good brandy, Vinegar, Honey, Oil.
From the shell	Cups, Small pieces of furniture.
From the trunk and leaves	Very strong ropes, Clothes, Thread, Materials for roofs.

To this imperfect enumeration you may add a multitude of little things which are very useful; such as baskets, mats, solid hedges, and impenetrable partitions; and you may then easily imagine, how highly the possession of the cocoa-nut tree is here estimated; and indeed, in it alone consists the greatest wealth of this country.

Were I a botanist, I should feel pleasure in giving you a learned description of a number of noble vegetable productions, which nature, attentive and benevolent, has disseminated in this extensive portion of the globe. I should describe to you the *navigators tree*, whose name indicates its benefits;* *the bread-fruit tree*,† almost as useful as the cocoa-nut tree, but much less plentiful; the *fan palm-tree*, resembling very much an elegant vase, from which the leaves, of a magnificent green, shoot forth like rays; the *areca*,‡ the *pandanus*,§ the *Indian-fig tree*, which of itself forms a forest. But it seems better that you should wait for the publication of our great work. Few botanists have studied the vegetable productions of India and of this vast ocean, with so much care as my friend Gaudichaud; and nobody is better qualified to give a scientific description of them, or to distinguish their different properties.

LETTER CI.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

MUSIC is one of the most agreeable amusements of the inhabitants of the Mariannes; they sing the moment they awake, they sing during the hours of rest, and they fall asleep singing. Their airs are languishing, harmonious, and for three voices; there are also two or three *boleros*‖ and some *seguidillas*:‖ but in general they prefer that which lulls and composes, to that which animates and enlivens; and their singing may be considered in some measure an emblem of their life. Almost every body has some taste,

* Urania speciosa. † Artocarpus incisa. ‡ Areca oleracea.
§ Pandanus. ‖ Spanish dances.

and plays tolerably well; but their voice is nasal, and accords better with their native airs than with those of Spain, which are more varied. The national couplets are always composed in honour of some saint of Paradise, or to celebrate some great event, such as the arrival of a ship. Our coming awoke the slumbering muse of the poet of the place; and we often heard songs, the burthen of which related to our voyage, and to some persons of the expedition; and which, if they did not indicate talents, were at least an evidence of a turn for satire.

Dancing is only customary among children. At the sound of a *mandoline*, or of a song, a little boy and girl, (their arms behind them, their heads held up, having an important air), follow each other with great rapidity, and with gestures similar to those of our boatmen. Their bodies are agitated; they measure each other with their eyes: the young girl seems as if she endeavoured to save herself from the pursuit of the youth; she runs round a hat placed on the ground, and her lover runs after her; this barrier is respected, and it must not be passed: but when he has caught the fugitive coquette, it rarely happens that she does not consent to give him a kiss, or allow one to be taken: if it does happen, a more fortunate wag instantly takes his place, and lassitude frequently grants that which had been refused to an obstinate pursuit, to tender and assiduous attentions. Observe the resemblance to the *Chega* of the Isle of France. These petty exhibitions, which are very pretty, take place almost every evening, in the front of every house; we, all of us, took great pleasure in stopping to look at them, and I believe that the vanity of the actors was flattered by our curiosity and our applause, as well as by the accompaniment of some trifling present.

I have already spoken of several diseases, to which the natives of these islands, and of almost all the other islands in this ocean, are subject: but that disease, the ravages of which are most felt

at Otaheite, at the Sandwich Islands, and even at Timor, has hardly been felt at the Mariannes. Our medical men met with no one instance of it; though our crew, by their imprudent confidence, often exposed themselves to its terrible effects. It seems that means have been found to conquer the disease, for it was formerly well known here, it is said, under the name of the *French disease*; but at present only a feeble recollection of it remains. May they long remain ignorant of its terrible inflictions!

LETTER CII.

Agagna, (Island of Guam.)

I HAVE now described Rotta, Tinian, and Guam, and the manners of their inhabitants; and, I may say, all the Mariannes, for the other islands of this Archipelago are uninhabited. I could undoubtedly have added something more; for instance, some observations on the privileges which the ancient nobility of this country assumed; of their forbidding the lower classes to receive baptism, pretending that they were to enjoy exclusively the eternal happiness promised them by our priests. I prefer however passing over such absurdities in silence; for in reading my remarks, you would no longer believe yourself (where I wish for a time to place you) nearly five thousand leagues distant from your country.

Guam is forty leagues in circumference. All the southern part of the island is volcanic, consisting of mountains, of reddish channeled formation, or rather of basaltic lavas. The northern part, which is almost desert, is formed of calcareous madrepores, of which the sides nearest the sea are abrupt and elevated. In the midst of this calcarious mass, in a place called *Santa Rosa*, a

small volcanic peak has started up. Masses of madrepores surround almost the whole of the island, which is rather defended by its own insignificance, than by nature, or the forts which the Spaniards have built on it.

The woods and mountains of Guam offer to the naturalists some objects worthy of research and investigation. Great numbers of birds, in every variety of splendid plumage, hop from branch to branch, and rarely attempt to escape the attacks of the sportsman. The purple-headed turtle-dove, whose colours are of surprising softness, and whose form is extremely graceful, is undoubtedly the handsomest. The king-fisher comes next, some specimens of which are magnificent; but in general the birds of this large part of the globe, though of brilliant plumage, have a monotonous voice or a disagreeable cry.

The sea is even richer than the land. It contains fishes of every kind, variegated with a thousand colours. The collection made by our medical officers is valuable; and they, I am persuaded, will collect many species unknown in Europe.* If I may believe Major Don Luis de Torres, whose veracity is unquestionable, great havoc is made of the inhabitants of the sea, by means of a small fish, the name of which I have forgotten, and which is preserved in reservoirs, and fed with great care. As soon as one of these is supposed to be sufficiently instructed in his business, he is put into the sea, and the fisherman, by striking aloud on his boat, makes him return with all the other fish, which he has been clever enough to entice into the nets.

There are thirty-five rivers in the island, some of which bring down grains of iron and of copper. The principal of these are Tarofofo, Ilig, and Pago; they run straight into the sea, and small vessels may ascend the first to a considerable height.

* The greater part of this collection, which cost them so much care and trouble, was buried in the waves at the Malouine Islands.

Although the country is very mountainous, the current of these rivers is very slow; that of Agagna, for instance, scarcely moves at the rate of a mile an hour. They are pretty well stored with fish.

Guam, Rotta, and particularly Tinian, were, at the time of the conquest of this Archipelago, covered with ancient colossal monuments; but at Seypan not a single trace of any such has been discovered. At present they are only met with at Tinian and at Rotta; and their ruins attest the genius of the founders of a colony, which ought to have escaped the ravages of time, and the sacrilegious arms of their fanatical conquerors.

LETTER CIII.

Saint Lewis Roads, (Marian Islands.)

YET more painful adieus! yet again must we break the pleasant ties by which we had been bound. We sail to-morrow, my dear Batlle; and you will agree with me that these continual changes, this tedious monotony of a voyage, almost always far from land, these days so uniform, in which each slowly revolving hour so perfectly resembles its predecessor, are enough to exhaust our perseverance. The consoling idea, "*we shall get home*," presents itself indeed sometimes to sustain our courage; but at the least contrary circumstance, the fatal "*when*" occurs, and the horizon of hope is obscured. There are moments when I almost begin to believe that he was not far wrong who said, "*that to be quite happy in this world, a man would require to have a bad heart and a good stomach.*"

Some causes of rejoicing however present themselves to our imaginations; we are steering towards the Sandwich Islands, where Cook terminated his glorious career. Our sick have, at the Mariannes, recovered their health. The provisions are good, the water delicious; our crew have abundance of brandy, and, though the voyage may be long, we are without fear for the future.

This seems a proper moment to give our purser* that tribute of praise which he deserves; not only for the disinterested zeal with which he has continually procured us necessaries at all the places where we have touched, but also for the extraordinary activity he displayed at Guam; and above all for the prudent firmness he exhibited in some discussions which arose concerning the quality of the provisions which were intended for us. Neither favours nor trifling concessions could turn him from the strict line of his duty. He never lost sight of the rights of the sailors; he supported them, he demonstrated the impropriety of preferences granted to this or that individual, and he said, '*it shall be so*,' because he knew that his will coincided with that of the government.

Our money consisted in articles of commerce. They were landed, and with them M. Requin bargained for what we wanted; without taking advantage of the confidence of the inhabitants, no one could have behaved with more prudence in the purchase of provisions than he did. As soon as it was day-break, the stores were crowded. Poultry, sucking-pigs, game, were brought and exchanged for saws, nails, knives and hatchets; and when it is recollected that these islands bore the name of *Thieves' Islands* on account of the ruling passion of the first inhabitants to appropriate to themselves what did not belong to them, and that a number of their descendants have inherited the same passion, an idea may be formed of the embarrassment which must have arisen from the

* M. Requin, of Toulon.

exaggerated pretensions of some dealers, and of the vigilance which their discontent rendered necessary to prevent disorder.

With people who are so artful and impudent, with an innate propensity to thieving, it is necessary sometimes to employ a certain degree of severity, mitigated in our case by our conviction of superior strength, and that the culprits are not sensible of the extent of their offence; and it was always by favouring those who showed themselves deserving of his confidence, that our purser punished the others who had given him good cause for suspicion. Was not this giving a lesson of honesty to them all? It is particularly in these close relations of self-interest, that it is curious and useful to study the manners of a people, and to examine their customs in the most trifling details. All their actions have one aim; all their words are weighed; all their looks have a direction. Elsewhere, man is often what circumstances force him to be; here however he is himself, because he defends his interest and his rights. I doubt not therefore that M. Requin was able to profit by the hours which he passed amidst these curious, good-natured, and superstitious people.

We are all on board; the anchor is to be weighed to-morrow at an early hour; it is past noon; to reach Agagna I must perform a journey of three leagues; and yet I hasten thither.....I wish to see, to hear *her* once more. If you had known her, you would pardon my weakness; and perhaps you would not pardon me for leaving her.

I arrived at Agagna, breathless, exhausted with fatigue; she was still weeping. You will believe that there was sincerity in this attachment, when I shall have told you, that this young woman was a savage. Oh! yes, I was very wrong in returning to see her.

LETTER CIV.

Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands), August, 1819.

THE name of this island recals to the afflicted memory a terrible catastrophe, which deprived Europe and the world of the most enterprising genius who, since the days of Columbus, had rendered himself illustrious by the boldest researches and the most glorious discoveries.

Cook perished at Owhyhee, the victim of his courage, and perhaps of his imprudence. As soon as the danger became urgent, his enraged companions, consulting only their love for a chief who had so often guided them securely in the midst of perils, and more than once saved them from shipwreck, gave themselves up to all the ardour which could possibly animate them; and in the midst of the carnage, which their deadly weapons made among the intrepid natives, they saw their captain fall, at the very moment when by his gestures he exhorted them to moderate their resentment. His mutilated corpse was committed to the ocean he had conquered, and no lasting monument points out to the navigator the exact spot where he perished. The narrative of his brave successor has consecrated the point between Kayakakooa and Karakakooa; but the eye looks in vain for the cenotaph which should immortalize the memory of this deplorable event.

The navigator cannot possibly separate the name of Cook from that of Owhyhee; as the name of Leonidas recals Thermopylæ; as the field of Pharsalia reminds us of Cæsar. In this savage country, the tomb of Cook is sought for, like that of Achilles in classic Greece; with this difference, that the former was illustrated by recent and extraordinary events, while the latter is

indebted for his glory to the verses of a poet even greater than himself.

It is certain that the Spaniard Gaetano was the first European who, in 1542, discovered the Sandwich Islands. Cook himself discovered there certain indications of the residence of Europeans; and the terror which the natives manifested at fire-arms, proved clearly that they were not unacquainted with them. Motives for the silence and discretion of Gaetano may be easily discovered.

All the west coast of America was infested with pirates; and only successful captures, or a long voyage round Cape Horn, could enable them to supply themselves with provisions. Gaetano, after having made the discovery of this Archipelago, clearly saw, that if he gave it publicity, it would become the rendezvous of these outcasts of the sea, who already impeded but too much the commerce of his country. This politic motive, and his wise foresight, induced him, in the chart which he published some time afterwards, to place the Sandwich Islands at ten degrees distance, both of latitude and longitude, from their real situation: thus, with the consent of Charles Vth, he fixed them at the 9th and 11th degrees, instead of the 19th and 21st; and the wars which Spain was obliged to carry on against France having directed her attention to other objects, no interest, it seems, was at first attached to the discovery of Gaetano.

Finally that celebrated man, who by his courage and perseverance had already conferred honour on his country by so many glorious undertakings, re-discovered this Archipelago in his third voyage, and gave it the name of the minister who had so generously protected him. Alas! this unfortunate man was no doubt at that time proud of the success of his researches.

We had hardly discovered the high mountains of the island, when I began to look out with anxious solicitude for that point,

stained with blood, which seems to warn the voyager of the perils which surround him, if he is not vigilant and courageous. Forgetting the errors of the English navigator, every wise and impartial navigator deplores so great a misfortune; throws a veil over its causes; and his heart, full of regret, accuses a savage and intrepid people of ferocity, merely because a great man was massacred amongst them.

Prepossession, however pardonable it may be, has always a tinge of injustice: it is difficult, I should say impossible, to judge equitably on any subject, when we are affected by some sentiment which overpowers the reason. We experienced this particularly on the present occasion. If we had consulted only our prepossessions, we should always have sent our musketry and artillery in advance; which, conveying an idea of our weakness, would also have displayed a suspicion of the people whom we were visiting, not very flattering to them, and which might have caused a great deal of mischief.

It was on the 6th of August that we discovered the island of Owhyhee: we were only a short distance from it; and the land, which we expected to see of a prodigious height, appeared to us as of very moderate elevation. An island which recalled so many unpleasant recollections, necessarily excited our attention; and every one fixed his eye on it. On a sudden, the thick clouds separating, which covered its regularly formed sides and enormous base, *Mowna Kah* stood majestically before us, of a height considerably greater than the peak of Teneriffe; its head surrounded with vapour, lost in the upper regions of the air, was marked by a small brilliant spot, which reflected the rays of the sun, and pointed out to us the limits of eternal snow. At the distance of some hundred yards from the top, a light tint of green, bordering immense masses of lava, gave a little animation to this magnificent but savage landscape.

During the night we shortened sail, and moved slowly along the coast towards the anchorage of *Karakakooa*. The winds were light, and the sea not rough; but the currents carried us off the coast. At sun-rise we were opposite to an extremely high mountain, (the *Mowna-Lae*,) of an almost imperceptible declivity, and which appeared to us everywhere barren: it forms a cone with a prodigious base, and perfectly regular on every side, for we never saw any change in its shape, although we were at a short distance from it, passing at the rate of six miles an hour, close by the volcanic rocks on which it rests.

At ten o'clock we saw the village called *Krayes*, consisting of a few miserable huts, built on an elevated plain, steep on all sides, but not very high. In the creek formed by the point, which protects it from the north and the north-east winds, there is another village of about fifteen houses, four or five feet high. The soil around seemed barren, of a reddish colour, evidently volcanic and little varied. Some dark spots, of small extent, and particularly perceptible at the bottom of the little valley, where the moisture must be greatest, indicate the faded remains of a vegetation which hardly exists. The smoke which rose from the side of the hills convinced us that this part of the country was inhabited; but the natives must lead a very miserable life, and are probably as rude as the soil from which they procure their subsistence. The creek forms a very perceptible angle; the water broke over the reefs at the point with great violence, but they do not extend far into the sea.

At noon a single proa came off to us: the crew consisted of four Sandwich islanders, large and well made, one of whom came on board, and danced with much gaiety and agility. Their features had a character of ferocity; and yet their manners were mild and timid. Some other canoes with a single outrigger arrived one after another; several of the natives, who steered them,

invited us to profit by the opportunity, and not to refuse the caresses of their wives, who were almost naked and disgustingly ugly. We did not think it right to yield to these pressing invitations; though I am persuaded that the refusal of the sailors was only dictated by the certainty, that at the anchorage they would get hold of some more bewitching *Laises* with whom they might make up for lost time, and be rewarded for the delay.

It was calm however the whole night, and the currents forced us towards the North-West. On the 7th, a great number of handsome canoes from every part of the coast accompanied us in our route: there were women in the greater number of them, who did not wait to be presented to us. Their indecent gestures, and their motions still more indecent, were intended to provoke desire, and make us ashamed of our self-command. They quarrelled for our attention, they solicited for a word, and appeared piqued at the continued but not very meritorious refusal of the crew. The chief of a small village came on board, and dined with the captain, while his wife, who remained close to the door of the cabin, went out at times and romped with the sailors. It was pardonable in a European, and particularly in a Frenchman, to suppose that the coquette profited by the absence of her husband to seek admirers; and that the caresses she bestowed on those who accosted her were unknown to the husband, whom we pitied sincerely for his good faith and confidence. But we were ere long convinced that the husbands of Owhyhee, in general, only take one or more wives in order to make an offer of them to strangers, and set them an example of noble generosity.

After dinner the confiding Sandwich islander, surprised to find his wife still at her station, reproached her loudly, and probably inquired if that were the purpose for which he had brought her on board. The unsuccessful lady seemed rather confused, and to feel the justice of his remonstrances; and with an air of indif-

ference went forward to the forecastle, where, in general, men are to be found who are not very nice, except when honour is in question: they were beginning to dispute for priority in the possession of this not very modest Venus, when the master at arms, whose duty it is to look after strangers coming on board, and to make everybody behave properly, appeared, as if by enchantment, forbidding the sailors to leave the deck, and in rather an ungallant manner led back the fair islander to her husband. It is certain, from the furious glances they both threw at him, that they were much displeased with his zeal and his vigilance; their indignant looks seemed to me to express a wish that he might be hated by every woman. The husband, anxious to show he did not regard himself as conquered by one trifling check, made some other attempts on those whom he supposed possessed of rather more authority; and he was much, and disagreeably, surprised to find that everybody refused his obliging offers.

What a disgrace to European husbands is the conduct of these men, whom, in our pride, we call savages!

The exchanges we made with the people on board the canoes which accompanied us, convinced us that these people are yet only in the infancy of civilization, and that it will require many centuries before they grow to its maturity.

LETTER CV.

Owhyhee, (Anchorage of Karakakooa,) August, 1819.

WE were in search of the anchorage of Karakakooa a-head of us, when we had actually passed it. The pilots we had taken on board were so stupid, that we could not with all the aid of our dictionaries make them understand. The sight of rather a large

town, situated at the extremity of a bay, induced us to put the ship's head towards it, in order to obtain better information... As there was no reason for anchoring at Karakakooa, more than in any other part of the island, and as this bay was pronounced safe, we anchored there on a sandy bottom at three cables' length from the town called Kayerooa.*

A great number of canoes soon surrounded the corvette, a still greater number came towards us from all parts of the coast; some were steered by women, slightly covered with a small piece of cloth round their waists, who eagerly solicited to be admitted on board. It was in vain to give orders that no communication should be allowed; several of them (excited, no doubt by the enticements of the crew,) braved all the prohibitions, escaped the watchfulness of the officers on deck, and were welcomed below in a manner with which they appeared perfectly satisfied.

At nine o'clock a large canoe, better formed than the others, and paddled by twelve men, brought on board the Chief of the town. He was six feet three inches high; his countenance was handsome and mild in its expression, his chest was broad, his head-dress was handsome, and his smile infantine. He was half covered by a mantle, which allowed us to see the exact proportions of all parts of his body; and though not very muscular, few men are better made. The becoming manner, however, in which he introduced himself, his language, (he spoke English very well,) his choice of words; the little page, who with an elegant fan kept the insects at a distance from him; the well-dressed officer who served as his escort; the marked readiness with which the canoes which surrounded the ship moved out of his way; the elegance, cleanliness, and size of his boat; all these things soon convinced us that our visitor was a person of distinction. We

* M. Ruilliard piloted us to the anchorage, which he had gone before to examine: we were sure he would conduct us to a secure place.

learned indeed in a few minutes that he was the brother-in-law of the King; that he was called *Kookini;* that the English had given him the name of *John Adams;* that he was the Governor of *Kayerooa*, and all that part of the coast; and that he was the only Chief of importance who had not accompanied the King *Ouriouriou* to *Toyaï*.

Fearing that the opportunity might not again occur, we wished to try his strength by the dynamometer: he readily complied, and reached ninety-three and a half, which no one since our departure from Europe had yet done. The strength of his loins was not in proportion to that of his hands.

Kookini promised the captain a proper situation to erect his observatory: he assured him that the spot which he might select for his operations should be *tabooed* (consecrated) for all the inhabitants; but he told us that before he could supply us with the provisions we required, it would be indispensable that he should inform the king, which would cause a delay of three or four days. At the same time he said, that with articles of commerce or dollars we might procure some provisions on shore; but that it was difficult to get water, as there was none good in the neighbourhood, that which the inhabitants drank being brackish. He added, that if we had no intention to change our anchorage, he would do all in his power to procure for us everything that we wanted. Satisfied with these obliging offers, we prepared for landing the instruments; and on the 9th the observations were begun.

LETTER CVI.

Kayerooa, (Sandwich Islands.)

KARAKAKOOA harbour is spacious and safe; the high mountains which protect it from the winds which blow most generally, namely, Cape *Kovvrovva* to the north, and Cape —— to the south, prevent the sea from ever being very rough. The beach is good, and some buildings, and two considerably projecting piers, offer a secure shelter for shipping.

The town of Kayerooa is of considerable extent; but the houses, or rather the huts, are at such distances from each other, particularly on the descent of the hill, as not to be at all connected with the part in the plain, in which there are some small beaten paths, which may pass as tolerable representations of streets and alleys. There are some houses built of stone, cemented with mortar; the others are made of thin deals, with mats or leaves of palm-trees, closely tied together and made impenetrable to wind and rain. The roofs are in general covered with sea-weed, which makes them wonderfully strong; while they are also very durable, owing to a few beams closely fitted and fastened with cords of the plantain tree. The huts of Owhyhee appear to me the best that we have seen since we have been in these semi-barbarous regions. Almost the whole of them have only one apartment, ornamented with mats, calebashes, and some country cloths. In that room fathers, mothers, boys, girls, and sometimes even hogs and dogs, all sleep together *pêle-mêle:* there the mothers offer their daughters to strangers; there the children learn, almost as soon as they are born, what they ought scarcely to know when they are grown up; there the son forgets what he owes to the father, because the father forgets what is due to the son; there, in short, the head of

the family has no authority, except what he derives from his own strength, while his son is yet in the bonds of infancy.

Two or three buildings, as seen from the roads, have a good appearance, and make one rather regret that they are, as it were, solitary in the midst of ruins. The most considerable is a store-house distinguished by its white front from the other huts; it belongs to the King, who uses it as a sort of repository, without venturing to confide his treasures to its keeping; these he buries in cellars. The second edifice is a *morai*, situated at the end of a jetty, projecting into the sea; the third is a house belonging to one of the principal chiefs of *Riouriou*,* who had address enough, when he quitted the town, to get it consecrated *(tabooed)* in order to protect it from intruders and thieves. I was given to understand, that whoever should endeavour to enter it, would be instantly put to death, and that the owner of the house was a very cruel and powerful man. The northern part of the town may perhaps consist of a hundred huts, most of which are only about three or four feet high, and six long. The doors are so low, that it is hardly possible to enter without crawling on the ground; and the air, which is breathed within these infected sties, is enough to stifle a person who is not accustomed to it.

On reaching the shore, there is a large dock-yard directly opposite, in which a vessel was building, of forty tons burden. Near it are some sheds, which shelter from the rain and wind a prodigious number of canoes, both single and double, remarkably handsome and well finished. They are made by means of an instrument called in this country *toë*, which may be compared to a carpenter's adze, though much smaller, and fit to be used by one hand. Our cabinet-makers do not polish the most costly furniture better; and without planes or any of the tools employed by our workmen, those of Owhyhee are capable of competing

* This name is pronounced indistinctly Riouriou, or, Ouriouriou.

with the best artisans of Europe. The inside of the bottom of their boats, as far as the thwarts, is painted black, and polished till it becomes very bright, by means of a yellow flower which is found all over the island. The largest canoe was a single one, seventy-two feet long, and three in its greatest breadth. The threads with which the planks were sewed together, and with which the other parts of the canoes and their outriggers were connected, were twisted and fastened with wonderful skill. The other canoes under the sheds were neither less elegant nor less carefully finished; but the largest were not above fifty feet long. These different yards were nearly all deserted. One or two workmen were occupied at intervals in repairing some damaged canoes; and I can easily conceive, that under such a King as *Riouriou* everybody would partake of that apathy which he seems to encourage by his example.

The number of canoes belonging to the King is immense; *Tammeamah* I. was on the point of attempting with them the conquest of all the islands of the Pacific Ocean. *Riouriou* perhaps will not be many years the peaceable possessor of the dominions which his father's courage transmitted to him.

After visiting a great number of the houses of Kayerooa, where these people, whose existence is so monotonous and so peaceful, repose from their indolent toils, I directed my steps towards the Governor's hut, as he had asked me to visit him. It is small, but very clean, and tolerably well furnished; containing rather a handsome bed, two wicker chairs, some Indian cushions, and a great number of mats. I was scarcely seated, when two females about forty years old knelt down on each side of me, and squeezed and rubbed my limbs* with all their might. Persuaded, that this

* In the language of this country this is called *Macer*. All the parts of the body are pressed between the hands, which go from the arms to the legs, from the thighs

was a piece of politeness on the part of John Adams, I allowed them to continue their labours for a short time; and thanked them in the best manner I could, by giving a small present to each, which they very readily accepted. The Governor requested me to paint his portrait: I sketched him in crayons, and he appeared satisfied with the likeness. He gave me different sorts of wine, which I drank out of glasses; and I could not but admire the good sense he showed in his efforts to embellish so melancholy an abode. On leaving his apartment I found his wife and his sister-in-law at the door, lying on a bundle of cloth; never have I seen such women. They were not more than five feet six inches in height, but so dreadfully fat as to be out of all proportion. Their countenances were mild; and they were elegantly tattooed; one of them had even her tongue tattooed. Their familiarity had not that air of licentiousness which characterizes the women of the lower classes. They allowed themselves however to be very freely handled; and he who should lay his hand on the bosom of one, would be thought very deficient in politeness if he were to forget the other. It is not easy to meet with finer and better formed hands than those of these two princesses: our coquettes would envy them, and would die of jealousy were they to behold their pretty little delicate feet, which are always however free from the restraint of shoes.

On the following day I found these princesses and their servants lying down in the open air; and it is on the sand of the seashore, screened with an enormous heap of mats and coverings, that they acquire that *embonpoint* which renders them so heavy and cumbrous. Many instances were necessary before I could be convinced that, in this country, such repulsive masses of fat could be regarded as the greatest beauties.

to the shoulders. Here it is employed as a means of making people sleepy; but as I was unaccustomed to this exercise, it had a contrary effect.

The two ladies who at present excite my astonishment are only miniatures, I am told, in comparison with the widows of Tammeamah. We shall soon be able to judge for ourselves. Farewell, my friend: health to our own light and active Abigails.

LETTER CVII.

Kayerooa, (Owhyhee.)

THE town of Kayerooa is situated at the foot of a high mountain which protects the anchorage from the North and North-West winds. From this mountain, particularly from the nearest declivity, the inhabitants derive the greater part of their subsistence. It is really melancholy to see the extensive plain which surrounds it on both sides, uncultivated and despised. I cannot conceive how a people so characteristically idle and indifferent can neglect so fertile a spot, which would at once enrich and save them great fatigue and suffering: a few days' labour would provide them subsistence for several months; and two years' perseverance would secure to them for ever those valuable gifts, of which, on the summit of mountains, a violent storm or some other catastrophe may so easily deprive them. At Guam I was justly astonished at the small quantity of food consumed by the inhabitants, even after long and steady labour: here the people would be frightened at the voracity of the natives of the Mariannes; and, if I except the chiefs, whose appetite appears better, and not so easily satisfied, I can scarcely conceive that the little nourishment they take can be sufficient to the wants of the human frame.

The mountains are covered with trees, which are in general useful and vigorous. Plantains, bread-fruit trees, *palma christi*, and tamarind trees, grow luxuriously; they are found also in the

plain, but do not thrive there so well as on the mountains. The cocoa-nut trees, which grow on the shore, and the bread-fruit trees, which surround the houses, attain but a very moderate height. The fruits which they produce are small and scanty, their foliage weak and faded.

The King frequently makes grants of land to such of the inhabitants as ask for them; but this favour I would only grant on the condition that they should engage to cultivate them; and if, after a certain time, I found the land in the same state of sterility, through the laziness or the carelessness of the grantee, I would not only deprive him of the gift, conditionally given, but would severely punish him, for abusing the confidence of his benefactor, and for the injury he had done to himself.

It appears at first view, as the King raises no revenue from the produce of the lands, that it is of little consequence to him, whether they are cultivated with care, or left to their natural fecundity; but the least reflection is sufficient to convince us of the importance to a state, not to neglect such great and certain sources of wealth. Nations are very happy that are enabled to dispense altogether with foreign aid.

I can imagine that Tammeamah may have somewhat neglected the cultivation of the land; and the cause of such neglect is as easily explained here, as in all civilized states. Occupied with the care of maintaining himself on the tottering throne bequeathed him by his father, his thoughts were entirely of war, and of keeping at a distance, or subduing, the enemies who sought his overthrow. With us, where a very small portion of the nation is called to bear arms for the sovereign, sufficient hands are left for agricultural labours; and more active zeal, with proportionate rewards, form a counterbalance to the evils occasioned by troubles and dissensions. At Owhyhee the case was very different: the aged warrior accompanied his young son

to battle, to set him an example of courage; and even the mothers almost always accompanied the armies, to which they could render important services. Add to these considerations, that Tammeamah, even without fighting, looked on himself as certain of victory; and that he always carried the war into the lands of his enemies.

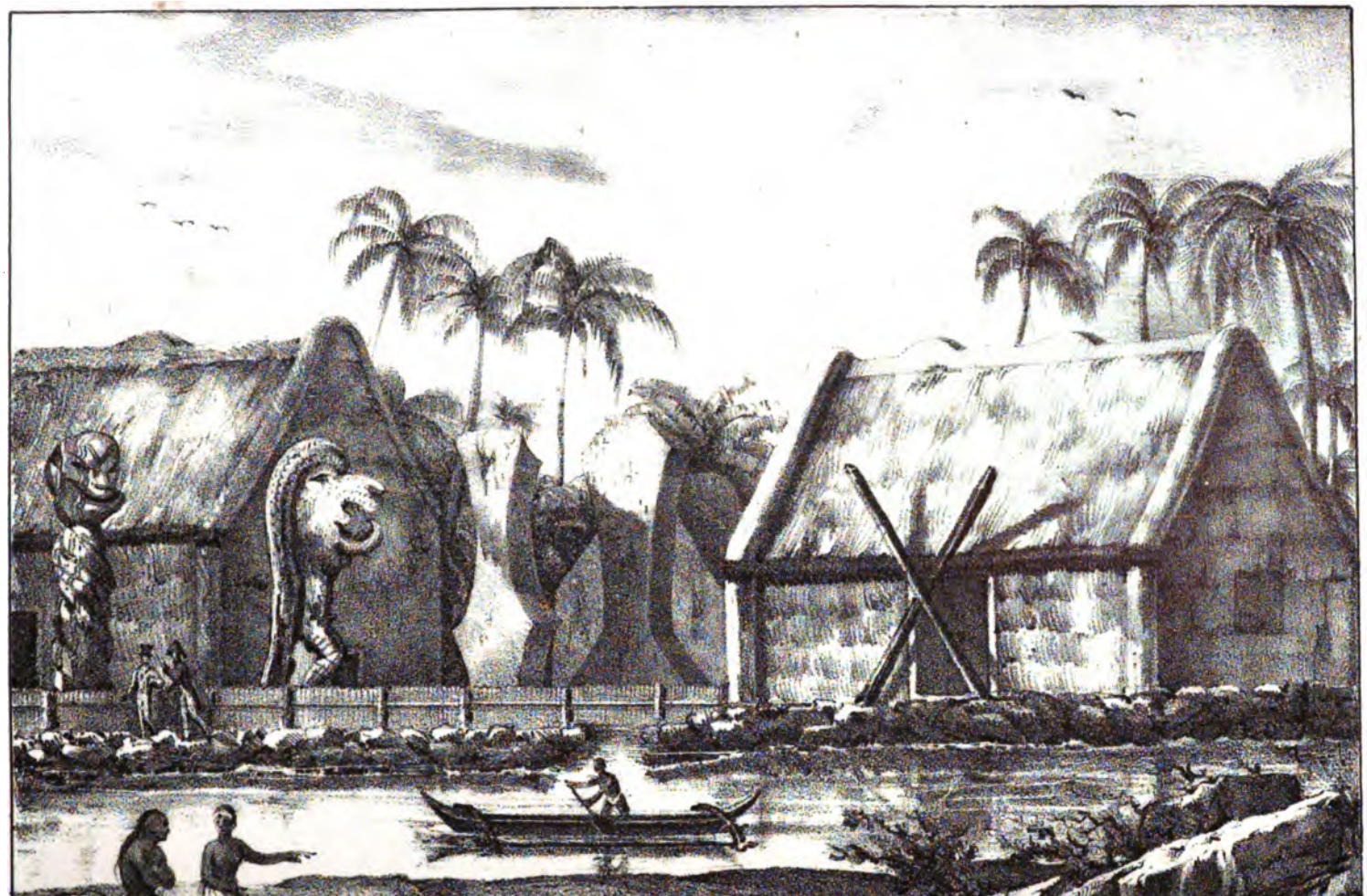
Our botanist, whose zeal augments with the difficulty and fatigue he encounters, has walked over the best part of the heights above the town. He assures us, that vegetation was very powerful there, and that it would be very easy to conduct into the plain, by means of shallow canals, the waters which fertilize these summits, and are entirely lost to the inhabitants, whose means of subsistence are entirely derived from the lands which adjoin the sea.

LETTER CVIII.

Kayerooa.

TWO small guns, or rather howitzers, placed in front, distinguish the Governor's house; and at some paces from it, by the side of Tammeamah's tomb, is a sort of camp, fortified by thirty guns covered with mats, and guarded by soldiers armed with muskets. One of them had a little bell and a sand-glass in his hand, to mark the hours of relieving guard. I passed by this camp on my way to see the place where the remains of Tammeamah were deposited. The natives who conducted me requested me to go a little out of my road, and approach a large hewn stone, placed against a very low wall, and at the foot of which, they gave me to understand, the most beloved chief of the whole island was interred. I followed them; and as soon as we arrived there, each of them approached with reverence this stone, consecrated by love and





The Burial place of Kaiakakoua — The Tomb of Tamahamah

Resting Place at Owhyhee.

gratitude, moved the earth and stamped on it three times. They requested me to go through the same ceremony; and on my compliance, they exhibited most lively marks of satisfaction. They several times repeated the word *meitei*, which I understood meant, that they thought me kind and compassionate.

Notwithstanding the solicitations which Berard and I made to them to accompany us as far as Tammeamah's tomb, they would not consent to pass this consecrated stone; and by using the word *tabou*, they convinced us that it was forbidden to them.

The edifice which contains the mortal remains of the King, whose name is never pronounced here but with the greatest veneration, is a square building of thirty feet, solidly built of canes; the corners are raised, and project a little; the door is of wood, four feet and a half high, and kept fast by a large padlock. Two large sticks, placed crosswise at two paces from the entrance, indicate that the spot is consecrated; and such is the respect of the people for the remains of their beloved King, that any person who should pass this boundary would answer with his head for his guilty temerity.

At the side of this religious monument, and nearer to the sea, there is a *morai* or cemetery, the last abode of the Kings who have governed this island. A dozen grotesque and colossal wooden idols recal them to the memory of their subjects. Some of them are standing, and covered with offerings; in their mouths were large fish and fruits; and as these are consumed by time, others are renewed. They are most probably the statues of those kings who governed well; others are thrown down in the dust, and half covered with stones and rubbish: the just indignation of the people was impatient of seeing tyrants placed by the side of their royal benefactors. In the middle of the *morai*, enclosed by a railing two feet and a half high, made of the spines of the cocoa-tree, there is a building which resembles the tomb of Tammeamah,

but is more lofty and extensive; in which a variety of new and elegant articles of furniture are carelessly preserved, and will probably soon be the prey of the insects, who have there taken up their abode. On one side of this edifice there is a small window, by which alone a few chiefs are allowed to inspect this melancholy spot. In other respects, this *morai* appeared very much neglected; the cause of which may probably be found in its vicinity to Tammeamah's tomb.

On the road to Karakakooa, after passing the last quarter of the town, there is another *morai*, situated on a height above the plain, which appears less neglected. Here there are about thirty statues, the greater part of them in very indecent attitudes: but the most curious of these edifices, and at the same time the largest and most venerated, is situated a quarter of a league further on, and quite out of the town. It is an enclosure of about a hundred square yards, surrounded by a wooden railing four feet high. The idol at the door is very carefully carved, and larger than the others: it has a great number of offerings in its mouth; it is fixed on a stake about two feet in length, which serves as a pedestal, and, including that, it may be ten or twelve feet high. The head is of an enormous size, forming nearly a third of the whole figure; the wood of which it is formed, is hard and shining; the figure has been carved to perpetuate the memory of a good prince.

The other statues are placed on the sides of the enclosure, very close to each other; five on the left, and standing, the last of which has its head covered with a sort of long and pointed hood, painted red; and six on the right, the largest of which has fallen to the ground, and its neighbour half thrown down. At some distance from the latter, there is an empty wooden building, more than forty feet high; to the several pieces of wood of which it is constructed, fragments of the cloth of the country are hanging, which have been rent by the winds, and become rotten by time.

Some paces further on there are four posts planted at equal distances from each other, and united together by branches of trees, from which the bark has been stripped. Two other posts planted in the middle, and much higher, support a piece of wood, on which there was the skeleton of a calf, or of a very large hog. Stunted cocoa-trees, and large and healthy plantains, surround this spot: at a distance, the high mountains of the island intersect the horizon; and on following their slow and almost imperceptible descent, the eye at length rests on Point Kovvrovva, where Cook terminated his glorious career.

LETTER CIX.

Owhyhee.

THE canoe, which the governor had sent to inform the King of our arrival, returned in a few days, having on board an American, who has been some time established at Sandwich; and a man named *Jack*, the King's pilot, and near relation, by whom he had been sent to congratulate us on our arrival, and to request us to repair to the anchorage at Toyai; near which he had fixed his residence since the death of his father, and where we should find a Frenchman enjoying some consideration.

I happened to be with the governor at the moment the double canoe, which had brought the deputies, put off from the corvette, and steered towards Kayerooa. Kookini held in his hand the portrait of Tammeamah, which had been tolerably well painted by the draftsman of the Russian expedition, under Capt. Kotzebue, and of which he had requested me to make him a copy. *Jack* soon came to us; and he and the governor had scarcely shaken

hands, when they cried aloud several times, beat their breasts, frequently kissed the portrait of the King; and during a quarter of an hour shed abundance of tears. Some of the persons who surrounded us, particularly the women, uttered cries of sorrow; while there were others who appeared scarcely to notice this scene of mourning. When they had done weeping, I asked Kookini the reason of this sudden affliction; he answered, laughing, it arose from remembering the death of Tammeamah; and from that moment he began to amuse himself, as if a few tears had totally effaced the recollection of the virtues and great actions which had given rise to them. *Jack* remained sorrowful some little time longer, but very soon devoted all his attention to the juggling and sleight-of-hand tricks which I performed for the sake of exciting their surprise.

As Kayerooa is the largest, most important, and most populous town of Owhyhee, I shall select from among its inhabitants such traits of character as appear to me applicable to the islanders in general. To enable me to describe to you the manners of these singular people, perhaps a longer acquaintance with them is necessary: but even that would give me a very imperfect idea of them; for men, though very generally the same in a state of civilization, are extremely different in these countries; where, according to the impulse given by their chiefs, the nature of their climate, their independence or subjection, they act either from natural feelings, from antient prejudices, or in obedience to the will of one man, whose ascendency sometimes changes a whole nation.

Lycurgus made his republic a collection of wise men, laborious and ardent defenders of their liberty; while Pericles, by introducing into Athens a taste for shows and magnificence, and the love of wealth, banished, if I may say so, from the hearts of his countrymen, that ardent zeal for glory which had so long terri-

fied Lacedæmon; and in the midst of his conquests he might easily foresee the ruin of his country, which after-ages would regard as tarnishing his laurels.

In a population of at most three thousand souls, if we find two individuals above six feet high, and four or five nearly six feet; if we find about forty, five feet eight or ten inches; and a great number above five feet three inches; we may conclude, I think, that they are a tall race; and yet (Captain) *King*, in the continuation of Cook's Voyage, says, that the inhabitants of Owhyhee are below the middle size. We certainly thought differently, and in the various places which we visited in this Archipelago, we often found occasion to confirm our opinion. The colour of the Sandwich Islanders resembles what artists call *sienna*, mixed with a little yellow. Their hair would be beautiful if they allowed it to grow; for it is naturally shining, and black as jet. Their manner of covering their heads is elegant, and adds to their stature. In general, they shave the sides of the head, and allow a tuft of hair to grow at the top, which extends into the back of the neck, resembling precisely the horse-hair hanging behind the helmets of dragoons. Some of them preserve all their hair, and allow it to float over their shoulders, or knot it together very gracefully like the Carolinians. None of them have woolly hair, but some of them have curls, which arises no doubt from the custom common to the Sandwich Islanders, of frequently bathing their heads in water. Their eyes are lively and full of expression; their noses rather flat, but many of them are aquiline. Their mouths and lips are of the middle size, their teeth very beautiful; and we cannot do otherwise than pity them on account of the wretched superstition, which makes it a duty to extract some of those ornaments of the mouth at the death of a friend or benefactor. They have broad chests, fleshy, but not sinewy.

arms; small bellies, with legs and thighs rather plump, and hands and arms extremely small. I believe that all of them, without exception, have their bodies, or some of their limbs tattooed. For this operation, they fix the bone of some bird to a stick; slit the bone in the middle, so as to give to it two or three points, which they dip in a black colour, ground with the milk of the cocoa-nut and the juice of the sugar-cane; they apply these points to the part to be tattooed, and then they strike gently on the stick to which the bone is attached, with a wand, two feet in length. This operation cannot be painful, for I have seen young girls undergo it without wincing in the least.

The designs are neither so regular, nor so well made, as those of the Carolinians. Sometimes a part of the body is tattooed, sometimes a foot, or the palm of the hand, sometimes even the tongue, as in Kookini's wife, and in the favourite widow of Tammeamah. In general the designs represent birds, fans, draft-boards, and circles with several diameters; but more frequently numerous rows of goats, and almost always on the inner part of the arm, of the leg, and of the thigh. I have seen several of the inhabitants tattooed only on one side, which produced a very singular effect; they looked just like men half burnt, or daubed with ink, from the top of the head to the sole of the foot. Frequently, from some inconceivable whim, they leave a design unfinished, as if the painter had been discouraged, or the person who desired thus to ornament himself had changed his mind in the middle of the operation.

These designs are not unpleasant at first sight, and after a time much liked; but the same superstition, which deprives them of their teeth, also imposes on them the law of burning every part of their bodies with a red-hot iron of a circular shape, in such a manner, that on first seeing them these dark and livid spots have



A young Woman of the Sandwich Islands dansing.

the appearance of so many scars. Some individuals have a great number of them on every part of their bodies, and are quite proud of showing them to strangers.

The women are not by any means so handsome as the men, and rather short than tall. The scars with which they cover their bodies, are much more tastefully finished than those of the men. They ornament in preference the most delicate parts, such as the cheeks and the breasts. What guilty profanation! the bust of these females seems in general to rival every thing which the ancients have told us, of that part of the Greek and Georgian beauties. Unconstrained by stays or bands, it attains the size and elasticity, intended by nature. It is neither too large nor too small, but firm and separated: the dignified breadth of this part in the young women, and their small feet and hands, are the principal beauties to which they are indebted for the homage voluntarily paid them by strangers. Their walk is neither so graceful, nor has their mode of speaking that softness which distinguishes the women of the Mariannes. They are extremely clean in their persons; but, as I have already told you, they never pique themselves on that modesty which embellishes even ugliness, or on that coquetry which sets a high price on favours, and gives to pleasure an additional charm. Their gestures are indecent, their allurements obscene, and their looks not expressive. The custom followed by many of them, of whitening the top of the head, and sometimes all the hair, with quick lime, completes their disfigurement, by giving them when young the appearance of age. Figure to yourself, if you can, the contrast produced by this species of white crown over an olive-coloured skin of different tints. Their hair is generally short. The death of Tammeamah, it is true, induced some of them to make this generous sacrifice; but Cook had before made the same remark. They have a great taste for verdant wreaths.

The princesses and other great ladies have reserved to themselves the exclusive right of ornamenting their heads with the yellow flowers of the *pandanus* woven into chaplets. Almost the whole of them only wear one ear-ring, but they are observed to have in general a passionate and foolish attachment to necklaces. They make them of flowers; sometimes even of large fruits *(jamrosa)*, and of every sort of plants. Persons of rank wear them made of braided hair put into a crooked bone of prodigious size. In the country young women are sometimes seen, who cover their bosoms with a plantain leaf to protect them from the heat of the sun; which reminds us, though in rather a grotesque form, of the Naiads of antiquity, who have been represented to us by the imagination of poets as leaving the waters to toy with mortals. The features of the women are not more expressive of mildness than those of the men, their voices not less sonorous; and whoever should imprudently attempt to seek in twilight for a Venus of Owhyhee, would frequently run the risk of addressing himself to a Hercules. From such a mistake only a trifling delay would result; and the hero who, as the fable goes, amused himself with combating only giants and monsters, is grown more humane in this country, and takes pleasure in rendering assistance to strangers.

LETTER CX.

Owhyhee.

ON the 8th of May, 1819, Owhyhee was the theatre of a terrible calamity, which plunged the whole island into consternation; and not only extinguished amongst the inhabitants, the pride arising from the recollection of glorious conquests, but also made

them look to the future with grief and apprehension. I have never been able to read the admirable description in Tacitus, of the death of Germanicus, without feeling deeply affected at the unhappy fate of that great man, and deploring the misfortunes of a city given up to the barbarity of a tyrant. Whenever you attempt to persuade the inhabitants of this place how little is sufficient to make them happy, they recur with affliction to the past, they look forward with dread to the future, and, with hearts overwhelmed with sorrow at the recent death of Tammeamah, they pronounce his beloved name with respect, and cannot find in the qualities of his son any motive for consolation under so severe a loss.

The people of this Archipelago were on the point of reaping the fruits of their courage and perseverance; they were about to taste the advantages of civilization, which had commenced under the most favourable auspices; a moment has again plunged them into that darkness, the veil of which had been lifted by their victorious arms.

On a bed of pain, Tammeamah saw the moment approach which was to tear him from the love of his subjects. He had just punished some rebels, and had established his power on a firm and durable basis. He was not afraid of death, he had sought and braved it a thousand times in the midst of dangers; but he regretted a life which might still have been useful to the people under his dominion.

No sooner had fears begun to be entertained for so valuable a life, than the conjurors, quacks, and priests, from all the islands, were assembled at Karakakooa. Useless trouble! Tammeamah was no more.

Couriers were dispatched at every moment of the day to convey intelligence to the most distant towns of the state of him on whom the happiness or misery of all depended. He was then

in a situation of appreciating the love and attachment of subjects for their good Sovereign; but finding that all efforts to restore him to health were fruitless, he devoted his last moments to the happiness of his people.

He called around him his son and his principal chiefs, who suppressed their sorrow, that he might the less regret a life, rendered illustrious by such glorious actions; he expressed his gratitude to them, and, addressing the heir to his authority, said: "* My son, I leave you master of a country, which ought, if you are prudent, to satisfy your ambition, but which you will lose if you endeavour to aggrandize yourself. You may judge from the sacrifice I have been obliged to make of my ease, what the inheritance I bequeath to you has cost me. The chiefs who at this moment surround me, have participated in my dangers; and I am indebted to them for a great part of the glory I have acquired. They will be faithful, if you are just; their attachment to me guarantees it: but your inexperience may lead you astray; and you must guide your actions by their counsels and instructions. Never be hasty in punishing a fault committed by the foreigners established in the islands; put up even with a second offence; and only endeavour to repel them at the third attack. If you behave yourself according to the advice I am now giving you, I will receive with pleasure the sacrifices with which you may honour me, and the offerings your love may bring. Farewell, my son! bear my best wishes to my wives, and to my mother. Farewell, my friends!"

As soon as this melancholy news was spread far and near, the people vied with one another in their cries of sorrow; every one seemed to have lost a benefactor and a father. They beat their breasts, tore their hair, and rolled themselves in the dust; all the domestic animals which could be got at were sacrificed, and a great

* These details are furnished me by Mr. Francis Mariner, long established at Woahoo.

number of houses thrown down. To preserve the memory of this fatal event, almost all the inhabitants had several of their teeth extracted: they engraved on their arms the beloved name of Tammeamah, and the date when they lost this good Prince: the women made a sacrifice of all their hair, and with hot irons burnt themselves in various parts of their bodies. At Karakakooa, all the people collected in the public square, filling the air with groans; their too poignant sorrow made them desert their huts, and they appeared proud of exhibiting the scars, the infliction of which seemed to them an act of duty. Such as repaired to the capital from a distance, to ascertain the truth of this great misfortune, were afraid to make inquiries on the road; and while they shook hands, they regarded each other with terror.

The Chiefs, in particular the officers who had first shared the glory and the danger of Tammeamah, saw, in his death, the melancholy presage of every sort of calamity. Three days and three nights passed at Karakakooa, without the people venturing to leave the public square; and such was their attachment to their departed monarch, that he who had only slightly wounded his body and his face, blushing at his neighbour's deeper gashes, appealed to him, and intreated him to extract one or two more of his teeth, and to cover his body with other burns, and with additional scars.

Such scenes of desolation took place, not only at Owhyhee, and under the eyes of the principal chiefs; but also with the same fury, or rather cruelty, at all the other islands. There was no necessity to prohibit amusements and gaming; during fifteen days, the people either confined themselves to their houses, or the public square, where they could see the tomb of Tammeamah, except to satisfy the wants of nature. Tammeamah was the exclusive subject of conversation: every body could relate some instance of his extraordinary courage; his justice and goodness

were praised by all. Sleep overtook them with such topics of consolation in their mouths, and they awoke at sun-rise, to renew the same eulogiums. He was for them the active monarch, and the just judge, the protector of the oppressed, and the terror of his enemies.

Even now, when sorrow for his loss is somewhat blunted, his virtues are never spoken of but with tenderness and regret. Friends never meet without shedding tears at the memory of the days that are gone; and the first toast given at meals, is always 'Tammeamah.'

LETTER CXI.

Karakakooa Bay, (Owhyhee.)

THIS monarch, who is so much regretted, deserved by his great and wonderful achievements the love of his people. Compelled by the guilty audacity of some rebel Chiefs to carry war into the islands which had been excited to revolt, he always displayed the greatest courage in dangers, and the most consummate talent in his expeditions. After conquering the Governors of *Mowhee* and of *Woahoo*, who had raised the standard of revolt, and declared themselves independent sovereigns, he had them formally tried and condemned to be shot.

The number of his troops increased with his demand for them. Certain of victory, and proud of serving in so good a cause, his subjects enrolled themselves with joy, fought with intrepidity, and died without regret. Women were known to follow the camp, to display the greatest courage in battle, and to rival the boldest chiefs in their zeal and love for the King. Tammeamah on several occasions forbade his subjects to precede him in attack-

ing the enemy, or to quit their ranks in order to protect him. This order, dictated rather by imprudent temerity, than by the wisdom which ought always to guide the actions of the commander of an army, was only partially obeyed.

If Tammeamah had only rendered himself illustrious by his conquests, his glory would have been of short duration, and perhaps even now would have entirely perished; but the benefits he conferred on his people have ensured him a perpetual existence in their hearts and memories. Constantly occupied with the care of maintaining his power, and almost always in the field of battle, it would have been very difficult for him to abolish all the ridiculous superstitions and barbarous customs his ancestors had adopted; but not to practise them, and thus reduce them to a nullity, or to cover them with ridicule, was to open a new era to his subjects, to give them a glimpse of better principles, and to liberate them by his example from the shameful hereditary bondage by which they were degraded. For here, as in all civilized countries, the people are very generally what their rulers make them; and where the sovereign protects virtue, few panegyrists of vice are to be found.

All nations have had some religion: this is an incontestable truth. In one place it has been mild and beneficent, in another cruel and tyrannical; one nation created for itself noble and generous deities, another adored tigers and serpents. On one hand, we see offerings made by love and gratitude; on the other, victims sacrificed from fear and terror. Each nation attached its own character to the divinity; and it would not be wrong, perhaps, to form an opinion of the morals of many nations which have ceased to exist, or are only imperfectly known, by the images of their gods or idols, which the hand of time has spared.

Eight or nine years ago human sacrifices were still practised at

the Sandwich Islands. Tammeamah partly put an end to this detestable custom, which the nations of Europe ought to have long since abolished. As soon as any affair of consequence was impending, such as the commencement of a war, or the results of a decisive battle, they endeavoured to make the deity propitious, by sacrificing to him one or several men. For this purpose an armed troop placed themselves in ambush near a road, or some frequented spot, and fell with loud cries on the first person unfortunate enough to pass that way. His body was a sacrifice to the gods, and carried as an offering to the temple, where the priest issued his oracles, and encouraged or terrified the soldiers.

When the sun or the moon was eclipsed, woe to the first person, of minor consideration, who was found near a sacred *(tabooed)* place: he was sacrificed without pity, and to his death the natives attributed the return of light.

Tammeamah was also the first who ventured to abolish this sanguinary superstition; having no fear that the sun would deny its rays to him.

In the wisest and best planned undertakings, however, it is always of great importance not to shock too violently the opinions of the vulgar, or the prejudices of the multitude: Tammeamah was afraid therefore, should he proceed too rashly, of exciting the people to resistance, and that they would practise in secret the customs which it was his wish to abolish. Accordingly he wisely modified his strict orders. When a criminal was sentenced to death, it had been the custom to execute him immediately; but Tammeamah ordered him to be reserved for occasions when sacrifices always made with much pomp were prescribed by religion or interest. In this manner he served the cause of humanity, without offending the religious prejudices of his subjects, which he was not yet in a condition entirely to extirpate.

Tammeamah had undoubtedly a good heart; his natural disposition led him to act well: but notwithstanding all the benefits he conferred, we may still deplore the misfortunes of a nation which has only the examples and lessons of one man as a model, and that man acquainted only with the first stages of civilization; and not yet far enough removed from the savage state, to allow only equitable laws to remain in force, and to abolish customs of which the mere idea makes us shudder. I shall describe some of these in another letter, when I come to speak of the offences and crimes, and of the various punishments appointed for criminals.

Tammeamah gave his soldiers pay; but their best pay was pillage, which was not merely allowed after a battle, but was actually ordered. In his destructive expeditions victory was almost always followed by a massacre; even the conquered themselves frequently set the example of this unheard-of cruelty; woe to the soldier who fell alive into the hands of the enemy!

When Tammeamah was about to put down the revolt of any of his subjects, the couriers he sent into the subjugated islands to levy troops were received with the greatest distinction. The governor or the most distinguished chief put three questions: viz. *Where do you come from? Why do you come? Who sent you?* As soon as the courier pronounced the name of Tammeamah, the people prostrated themselves; and in a few days a powerful army was on foot.

He possessed an immense number of muskets and a very formidable artillery; but it is said, though I can hardly believe it, that he refused to employ these to reduce the revolted islands to submission. Such conduct is not conformable to that prudence which generally characterized him.

The soldier was permitted to take *one taro, one cocoa-nut*, and *one melon* in the field of the stranger; but he was punished if he

took two. In the former case, said Tammeamah, the damage was much less than the advantage; in the latter he punished an act of injustice, as hunger was already satisfied.

It would be unfair to exculpate Tammeamah from that lust of dominion and conquest which formed the principal feature of his character. He enquired of all foreigners if they thought his double canoes were large enough to make a voyage of a thousand or twelve hundred leagues, it being his intention to conquer all the *Friendly*, and *Society* Islands. It would have been extraordinary if so many victories had not elated him, and served as fuel to his ambition.

From what Vancouver says in his voyage, it seems that Tammeamah in the early part of his reign was not powerful enough to retain his subjects in strict obedience: the distance was not great between the King and the principal Chiefs; and the influence of an officer frequently equalled that of the Sovereign. His power alone was not sufficient to save the lives of the unfortunate *Young* and *Davis*; he was obliged to make use of numerous escorts: but as soon as he was more firmly seated on the throne, he knew how to command obedience without forfeiting the love of his subjects; or rather, it was that very love which formed his best safeguard and protection. He was of middle size; his brow was contracted, his eyes small, his muscles strongly marked, his strength extraordinary, and his skill wonderful. When engaged in single combat, he could stop the spears of the enemy, while his own blows were almost always mortal. His manners in his youth were rude and savage, his look was cruel, and his tone of speaking that of a despot; but age very much softened his features; and the portraits which most resemble him, give one the idea of a good-natured man.

Latterly his dress was that of a Captain of the British navy: when he went to battle, he wore a helmet with plumes, and was

armed with a sabre, a spear, and a musket, which last he discharged on commencing the attack. His cloak was like that of the other Chiefs. After his example, all his soldiers marched barefooted; they flew upon the enemy with loud cries, and their rallying word was the name of Tammeamah.*

LETTER CXII.

Owhyhee.

I HAVE described to you the parts of New Holland which we have visited, in the darkest colours, and yet with truth: at present I cannot find expressions melancholy enough to give you an idea of the coast off which we are now at anchor; but partly to characterise it, I have only to tell you, that it makes us regret the peninsula of *Peron*, and might be called the empire of the dead. Not a tree nor a bush, not a single stripe of verdure, not a beast nor a bird, and scarcely an insect, give life to this desolate scene.

Two leagues from thence, the whole coast is indented with crooked and deep ravines, and broken into little cones and petty eminences, once the craters of volcanoes long extinguished. Immense deposits of lava, which the waves break over with violence; massy rocks, suspended like arches, from the precipices between which dart the rays of a burning sun; half-formed paths, which make us shudder as we tread them, and which at intervals are lost on the rocky shore, or in the distance, which we dare not attempt to reach; such are the terrific objects, which in this

* He spoke English, but could neither read nor write. Mariner, and all the Americans established at the Sandwich Islands, assured us that he was called the *Napoleon of the South Sea.*

inhospitable country shock our view, and depress our imagination. The misery of the people is to be deplored, who are frequently obliged rapidly to traverse these frightful deserts, without finding a small spring, or a single little rivulet, in which they may have the gratification of quenching their thirst; or a single bush under which they may repose from their fatigues. Oh! how much is the poor wretch to be pitied who is unable to change his abode, and who has constantly before his eyes, a view that reminds him of the difficulties he has experienced to support his miserable existence.

Riouriou, Tammeamah's son, has established his residence and his court, since his father's death, near this abode of mourning and sorrow. The reasons I have heard assigned for this selection, appear to me insufficient to account for it. One of them would do the prince great honour, the other is too contrary to his interests.

In one of our visits to Mr. Young, an Englishman of eighty, whose misfortunes alone would give him a claim on the attention of strangers, (even if his pretty daughters did not inspire the most lively interest,) we learnt that the motive which induced *Riouriou* to fix his residence near this frightful spot, was, that this part of the island being so wretchedly poor, he did not feel himself bound to supply his officers with much food, who, moreover, procured the greater part of their subsistence from the bay, which contains great quantities of fish.

But a difficulty on such a supposition suggests itself. The power of *Riouriou* is not yet so firmly established, as to allow him to risk displeasing his chief officers. One of the conspirators is already at the head of a powerful army: he is encamped a few leagues only from Toyai; he is perhaps on the point of some bold enterprise; and it is not politic in *Riouriou* to show his troops that his own interest is the only motive for his actions;

that he believes himself powerful enough to act unjustly; and that every body must submit to his caprice, in preference to reason. I should rather suppose, (and the conduct of some Chiefs about him confirms my opinion,) that it is by their perfidious advice he has chosen such a wild and melancholy habitation; and whenever the people thoroughly feel all the sufferings of which they have at present only a glimpse, then will be the moment for giving the signal of revolt, and perhaps of the fall of Riouriou.

Another motive for the residence of the King at Toyai, has been assigned by an individual, of whom I shall have occasion to speak in another letter; but as soon as I shall have mentioned his country, it will be easy to decide what credit should be given to such an oracle.

"Do not be astonished," said he to us, with a sorrowful voice, "at seeing the King prefer this dreary abode to the most smiling fields of Karakakooa, or to the sweet situations in the other islands; grief for the loss of his father has extinguished every other feeling in him, and henceforward the most barren desert is the abode which his heart will prefer. He has sworn never again to enter the town where he had the misfortune to lose his father; you will see Riouriou," he added, "and you will weep with him." We have seen him,—and he laughed with us.

LETTER CXIII.

Owhyhee, (Anchorage of Toyai.)

A MISERABLE hut, built of straw, from twenty-five to thirty feet long, and from twelve to fifteen feet broad, the entrance to which is by a low and narrow door; some mats, on which several

half-naked giants are reposing, and who bear the titles of ministers and generals; two chairs, on which are seated, on days of ceremony, a large fat, dirty, heavy, proud man, and a stout half-naked woman, who allows herself to coquet with every stranger, without betraying her fidelity to her large-jowled husband, who is eat up with I know not how many horrible diseases; walls made of cocoa-tree leaves, well sewed together; the roof made of sea-weed, much neglected, and presenting but a feeble defence against the wind and rain;—such is the palace of the monarch of the Sandwich Isles; and such are the King and Queen of Owhyhee, and such is their dignified court!

An immense number of soldiers armed with muskets, walking rapidly backwards and forwards in front of this noble dwelling, to the sound of a bell, which one of them rings at intervals; some guns pointed towards the sea, and a flag hoisted on the top of a long pole, indicate the residence of a King. From the interior of such a hut, however, the genius of Tammeamah issued, in his rage, those terrible decrees which made his enemies tremble; and by the aid of those very men whom we now see, he ventured to undertake such boundless projects, and reduced so many tribes to subjection.

The court of his son is not always so crowded, his chiefs are not always so indolent; he, himself even appears at times with a certain majesty in the eyes of foreigners; and the first time I saw him, he seemed, I confess, to display a good deal of dignity. He was dressed like a colonel of hussars, wearing a hat like a marshal of France; his wife was awkwardly but sumptuously dressed, though in the style of those English women, whom *Vernet*, in the *Rue du Coq*, exposes to the laughter of the idle Parisians. Their chairs were covered with a rich silk stuff, striped black and yellow. All this, if it had been exhibited in another and cleaner apartment, could not have failed agreeably to surprise

a foreigner, already prepossessed against the country and the splendour of the Sovereign.

I shall tell you on what occasion all these fine things were exposed to public view, by which I had an opportunity of seeing them.

The *Gascon*, of whom I have already spoken, (and whom I propose in a short time to introduce to you,) being informed that I was the draftsman of the expedition, came to meet me, on my going on shore, and in the most polite manner conducted me, as well as Messieurs Requin and Dubaut, to the apartment where the widows of Tammeamah pass their lives, in a state of idleness and sloth, which would make even a canon blush. To give us an idea of the favour and credit he enjoyed, he went up to the favourite of the deceased, and patted her lightly on the cheek with the back of his hand, with which she seemed not over and above pleased. After these protector-like caresses, he felt her pulse and made some quackish grimaces; which induced us hastily to ask him, if he also filled the situation of court physician; and when he told us, that he had attended and treated Tammeamah, we were not surprised at a result so fatal for these islands. After bestowing some slight caresses on the other Queens, (for he gave us to understand that it was not right to despise any person,) he in a general way made them all such compliments as are customary in his own country. From such ridiculous manners, from the freedom he took with the ladies, and from the sort of dandy airs he gave himself with them, one might have supposed that the Doctor had taken lessons in Europe from some modern Hippocrates: but alas! this poor wretch was totally ignorant; provided with a box, as the instrument of sacrifice, he gave ipecacuanha and squills to those who had a cold, and senna, manna, and cassia, where he should have prescribed an emetic.

He had promised however to introduce us to the King; but as

he wanted a pretext, he inquired if I would not be very glad to paint his majesty's portrait; I replied, it would give me the greatest pleasure; on this, he said he was going to announce us, and left us in the apartment of the Princesses, where, during half an hour, we were at liberty to make our observations.

The Queen dowager, the favourite of Tammeamah, was stretched out on some very fine mats, and wrapped up in a beautiful piece of cloth of *Lavalliere* colour. She is prodigiously fat, but her face is interesting: her eyes were heavy from a slight indisposition, her manner very engaging, and, after longer observation, I am not surprised at the strong attachment that Tammeamah had for her. Her legs, the palm of her left hand, and her tongue, are very elegantly tattooed; and her body bears the marks of a great number of burns and incisions she inflicted on herself at the death of her husband. She offered us some beer with much kindness, drank to us, striking her glass against ours; and on her proposing it, we drank the health of Tammeamah. A young man, very well made, and remarkably clean, waved before her an elegant fan made of birds' feathers; and a young woman brought to her at intervals, a small vase made of the calebash, as a spitting-dish; it was half filled with flowers, and covered with a handkerchief tied about it. This vase was also offered to the other Princesses; but it was evident that all the care, and the greater part of the attentions were devoted to the favourite, whose name was Tammeamaroo.

There were five of these Queens; and she of whom I speak, who weighed at least thirty stone, was the smallest. The others were rather shapeless masses of flesh than human figures. Two of them bore a great resemblance to the hippopotamus, which is said to trail his steps with so much difficulty on the shore. All of them were lying on their faces, and I have not seen a female here while lying singly on her mats, in the opposite position.

Their room was small, and crowded with calebashes, mats, little boxes from China, and with pieces of English and country cloths, all lying about in every corner. The entrance was obstructed by a great crowd round the door, and there was a guard placed close by, to watch over the safety of the Princesses. On enquiring what kind of amusements they had, and how they passed their time, we were informed that they were occupied in keeping death at a distance; which must be admitted to be rather difficult, considering the ability of the physician whom I have described to you. Happy are those who can do without him! and still happier those who require no other!

Our officious interpreter however having returned, we went with him to the King, who received us in the brilliant costume of which I have already spoken, but with such a stiff air, that we immediately supposed his limbs had been accustomed to greater freedom.

I sketched his portrait along with that of his wife, and included in the picture his principal officers, lying at his feet, and his two life-guards with birds-feather cloaks, who, with drawn swords, appeared ready to defend him. We presented the Sovereigns with an Indian shawl, and a pair of handsome ear-rings; but we had the mortification to see that they received our presents with indifference, and without appearing to attach the slightest value to them.

Before we retired, our master of the ceremonies asked me to perform a few sleight-of-hand tricks in the presence of the court, and the King gave me a pack of French cards: I readily complied, and, novice as I am in this art, I was very much amused at the surprise of the officers, and particularly at the unmeaning look of the King. His wife requested me in the most polite manner to teach her some of the tricks; I consented, and had the pleasure of seeing her practise some of them with great dexterity.

This young lady is the sister of her husband. In her manners she has something childish, soft, and even simple; which is, however, in her not unbecoming. The presence of the King puts no restraint on the demonstrations of her affection, or on her tender caresses. All the strangers who please her are examined by her pretty hands; and they are allowed to judge for themselves of the elasticity of her bosom, and the fineness of her skin. She appears to receive, without meaning, the kisses, that are prodigally given her also without meaning; she returns them as a child would do. Offer her your hand, she takes it with eagerness, and squeezes it affectionately; amuse her with some nick-nack, and her mouth, which displays a most beautiful set of teeth, will reward you with a kiss. Every sleight-of-hand trick which I performed, was rewarded by a fresh proof of her pleasure and gratitude. I confess I was very sorry not to know more, and sometimes I was obliged to repeat tricks which I had already performed. We saw her one day bathing on the sea-shore: she came forward and called us; and, had it not been for the crowd who surrounded us, I believe she would have granted every thing to the most indiscreet of our companions. I would strongly recommend to strangers who go to Owhyhee, and wish to pass some agreeable moments there, to get acquainted with this interesting female. Her name is Kaou-Onoé: she is about five feet six inches high; her shoulders are broad, her bosom small, and her eyes amorous; her limbs are plump and well formed, and her hands and feet extremely delicate. She is remarkably clean in her person. On her body are some round marks, caused by the burns she inflicted on herself on the death of her father; but I observed with pleasure that not a single tooth had been extracted.

King *Riouriou* has four other wives; but it is very evident that he loves Kaou-Onoé the best of any of them. Things which



I. Kăō-ōnŏrŏh
a female of the Sandwich Islands.

appear most extraordinary in the eyes of Europeans are here quite natural; and *we* are often astonished or shocked at customs, which the Sandwich Islanders regard as of no consequence. For example, the present King has married one of his father's widows, out of love, we were told, for the deceased. If Kaou-Onoé ever has a rival, I do not believe she will be one of the present Princesses; one of whom, however, is tolerably pretty and agreeable.

At our first visit, only Kaou-Onoé was in the King's apartment. The other Princesses were in a neighbouring hut, into which they invited us; and where we witnessed a very interesting scene. The favourite's brother, who had just returned from Woahoo, came in, labouring under evident emotion. Kaou-Onoé, who had accompanied us, embraced him with the greatest affection; and while we were remarking the difference between her tender caresses and those of other female sovereigns, our attention was arrested by the sobs and groans of a multitude of women, squatted on their heels at the further end of the room. For some moments a religious silence was preserved—the recollection of the virtues of the great Tammeamah was doubtless the occasion of their lamentations. A people cannot be wicked, who shed so many tears to the memory of a good Prince.

In embracing one another here, the people place their noses together and breathe strongly. If we may believe however what we heard, they began to understand the European mode of salutation.

LETTER CXIV.

Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands.)

HENRY IV. was quite right, when he advised the peasant, who complained to him of the bad quality of his land; "*Plant Gascons there, they thrive everywhere.*" There is one here; and he it is with whom I have undertaken to make you acquainted; he has adopted the customs of the country, even those which are the most ridiculous.

He cannot pique himself on the gigantic stature of Tammeamah's Chiefs; his height being at most three feet ten or eleven inches. A tuft of hair skilfully plaited reaches down to his mouth, and wantons with the zephyrs. At the very first glance, an opinion is formed of M. Rives, which time and better acquaintance fully confirm.

He is a native of Bourdeaux; of a country which is the land of bon-mots, where wit is hereditary in almost every family, and where the people are waggish, jocose, and have a particular relish for those trifling aberrations from truth, those agreeable hyperboles, which form the greatest charm of our familiar conversation.

Separated from his dear native city in his tenderest infancy, he has not acquired, or rather he has never known, the gaiety of his countrymen; but he has not been able to divest himself of their peculiarities; and his fibs, if he told them with better grace and adroitness, would be the only indication by which you could guess what countryman he was.

The first time he came to wait on our Captain, he was accoutred in so grotesque a manner, that at the moment we saw him, we thought he was a savage dressed up for diversion; but as soon

as he said, "Gentlemen, I have the honour to salute you with the most profound respect;" we instantly recognized, with some disappointment, the hero who had been mentioned to us at Karakakooa; several natives of the Garonne, whom we had on board, almost blushed for their countryman, and were tempted to disavow him. An elegant silk robe of disproportionate width and length beat about his legs, buried in yellow-topped boots, tolerably well made; his pantaloons and his waistcoat were very clean; but, to make them fit, he had been forced to contract them with pins and laces.

The citizen of Bourdeaux appeared so delighted to find himself among Frenchmen, that it would have been cruel in us not to have received him with politeness. We expressed to him the pleasure we felt in seeing him happy, for he had told us that he was so; we congratulated him on the favour he enjoyed with the King, for some words dropped as it were by chance, had hinted as much to us; and the Captain invited him to breakfast, for he was glad to renew his acquaintance with French cookery.

Fifteen or sixteen years ago he had gone on board an American vessel; and his taste leading him to romantic adventures, he threw off his cabin-boy's jacket; bade adieu to his smoked companions; and, in the pride of his heart, dared to anticipate a more successful career, which, in imagination, satisfied his young ambition. At first he found some difficulty in conforming to the customs of the Sandwich islanders; but at nine years of age, nature, though tender, is very plastic, and easily accommodates itself to privations and sufferings. I am ignorant in what manner he subsisted during the first year of his abode at Owhyhee; but it may be presumed that some generous and compassionate Chief took an interest in him, and assisted in keeping him alive. Young Rives must have gradually learned the language of the country; and the first use he made of it, was

to persuade his benefactor that he was the son of a celebrated physician.* Behold him then following his father's steps! doing his best to rid Tammeamah of some superfluous soldiers, and tacitly engaging to provide him others, by the help of a wife he had chosen. Chance perhaps effects as many cures as good physicians; and M. Rives, by some fortunate hits, must have acquired considerable reputation, as he was soon afterwards employed at court.† The results were, a grant of land, which he cultivated; a greater number of customers; larger profits; and two voyages to China, in a vessel of Owhyhee, to purchase medicines; and finally, the death of the great Tammeamah.

I frankly confess that I was very angry with him for some hours: I had gone on shore with the intention of returning on board before dinner; how his deuced eloquence overcame me I cannot tell, but certain it was, I found myself obliged to accept the invitation which he brought me, to dine with the prime minister, (who has been pompously named *Pitt* by the English,) with whom he had made an engagement for me without giving me any previous notice. The dinner was soon served up; it consisted of a piece of tough pork, a calebash half filled with Poë‡ and a dish of sweet potatoes on some mats: I was invited to fall to. I was then sensible of my folly and the perfidy of the Gascon; but as it was too late to retreat, I commenced an angry attack on the potatoes, which I soon devoured, willingly aban-

* And who in France does not know Doctor *Rives?*

† He told me that the favourite of Tammeamah was suffering one day under a severe colic, and sent for him; after some grimaces, he returned home, piled up some green sods in a vase, poured water over them, and made the Queen swallow a large glass of it, who was cured an hour afterwards. For this performance he received two fine pearls, which he exchanged at Canton for drugs. He already fancied himself a doctor.

‡ A paste made of the root of the taro. (Aruin esculentum.)

doting the rest of the feast to my companions. At the beginning and at the end of the repast, water was drank to the health of Tammeamah; we rose from table, *they* satisfied and contented, and *I* blushing like the crow in the fable, and, like it, resolved for the future to be more on my guard.

The minister however soon left us to attend to business, and M. Rives and I were left at liberty to pay attention to his wife. She was the prettiest woman I had then seen on the island; but the simpleton had foolishly thought it necessary to have two of her lower incisors extracted, in order to do more honour to the ashes of Tammeamah.

Her waggish air, the manner in which she allowed herself to be caressed, and replied to the caresses; her roguish eyes, her pretty hands, her little feet, were all considerations which would have induced me to overlook some obstacles, if M. Rives, who had probably resolved to mortify me that day, would have left me rather more at liberty. He remained however firm as a rock, and would not go away without me. At length we took leave of our amiable hostess, and I could not avoid pitying her for being forced to live in a country where no remedy is known for the itch.

In coming out I met my friend Gaimard; and we both availed ourselves of the politeness of our dear countryman to visit a mineral spring, at that moment covered by the tide; and to pay a visit to a person whom he wished to show us, who had been condemned a short time before to a terrible punishment.

This man, called Koerani, is from thirty-six to forty years old: we found him opposite to his hut sitting on a stone, and wrapped up in a piece of blue cloth: he had unfortunately found favour with the wife of a Chief of the islands, who, jealous and watchful, one day surprised him in *flagranti delictu*. He complained to Tammeamah, who condemned the gallant to have both his eyes torn out, which was immediately executed. The wounds had

healed well; and the unfortunate man, after this cruel and painful operation, found himself in perfect health. When M. Rives enquired of him, at our desire, why he had been punished in that manner, he told us his story with a smile; and the poor fellow seemed as much disposed as ever to amuse himself at the husband's expense. He told us that his eye-lids were inflamed for several days after the operation, and that he had suffered very great pain. In one of my subsequent letters I shall describe to you the manner in which this dreadful operation is performed; it will make you shudder with horror. Tammeamah certainly rendered great service to humanity, in abolishing in these islands some barbarous customs; but how many cruel ones yet exist, from which this stupid people have not the courage to free themselves!

LETTER CXV.

Owhyhee, (Toyai Harbour.)

IT is difficult to say how far the opinion of Mr. Young, as to the motive of *Riouriou's* residence at Toyai, is well founded, and which may be merely conjecture on his part; there must, however, be a very powerful one. I have already described the coast on which we are anchored, the sterility of which extends far beyond the point that forms the bay. The aspect of the town and its environs is not more flattering to the view; while the tuft of cocoanut trees which skirt the shore, and three others which have as it were accidentally sprung up at one extremity of the town, render its barrenness still more conspicuous.

The house of Mr. Young is unquestionably the most considerable, or rather the only passable one at Toyai. It is situated

on an eminence, whence the prospect extends to a great distance over the sea, and towards the interior of the island. On the right is seen the majestic *Mowna-Roa*, losing its head in the clouds, its sides parched by the sun, and deeply furrowed with winding ravines. The greatest aridity prevails in every part; some extinguished craters appear at different points, the sea beating its base with violence. On the left, the Mowna-Kaah commands the adjacent hills; yet near its summit the eye gladly perceives a vigorous vegetation, generally overhung by those dense clouds which give it life: at a distance, and as if to give symmetry to the picture, the Mowna-Laë displays its gentle declivity, majestically detaching itself in blue, from the landscape which it appears to crown.

The colour of the soil on which Toyai stands, is of a reddish hue down to the water's edge: these are the remains of lava, which time has pulverized, and which deny life to the humblest shrub.

About two hundred huts compose the town of Toyai; they are low, small, and badly covered. Many of them are not more than six or eight feet in length. The people who inhabit them will however bear no comparison with those whom we saw at *Karakakooa*. You breathe in the first-named anchorage; here you seem to be stifled; though the court of Tammeamah might be expected to give a little life to the scene. On a hill opposite to that on which the house of Mr. Young is built, there is a very large *morai* enclosed by a stone wall about four feet high. The statues seen here are colossal, and regularly placed; I have counted above forty of them. The earth is covered with pebbles, evidently thrown there by design, although I have not learned the motive. A native who accompanied me related that on the board which was placed in the middle of the enclosure, were exposed the dead bodies of those who had been strangled, or stoned to death; that the place was tabooed for all the inhabitants, except the high

priest, who repaired thither daily to consult the entrails of the victims. M. Rives afterwards confirmed what I had been told on these subjects, and which I had merely guessed.

Immediately below this monument is a fort, pretty regularly built, and mounting twenty-two guns. It commands the town and the bay; and although surmounted itself by the *morai*, there is no danger of an enemy's attempting to possess himself of this height, so great is the reverence of the people for the religion of their fathers. Here the name of Temple is given to a small spot enclosed by a hedge of cocoa-nut tree branches: in the middle are two huts; one of these serves as a residence for the priest, in the other are deposited the offerings with which the idols are presented; these are consecrated, and suspended on the branches of a banana-tree planted in the enclosure, or from the top of a high pole. The quantity is sometimes considerable; for I have seen the remains of four or five hogs, and enormous piles of bananas, offered by the piety of the inhabitants, and accepted by the voracity of their gods; who probably may in their turn be generous, and thus repay the blind confidence of their worshippers. I am positively assured, that the priests do not touch the offerings, and that immediate death would be the result of such an attempt. But how many are there amongst the brotherhood who have exposed themselves to the anger of their deities, and who must therefore know how much it is to be dreaded! It is here, above all other places, that the credulity of the people forms the whole science of those who dispense the favours of eternity.

In traversing the pathways which intersect Toyai, in every direction, numerous groups are seen occupied in various sports, by which they endeavour to shorten the lingering hours. These amusements of the populace will form the subject of another letter; and I am already certain of having some very curious details to present, which have been neglected or overlooked by

former voyagers, in whose writings I have searched in vain for a great variety of amusements, of which we have been witnesses every hour in the day: can they have been created within so short a period? Be this as it may, most of them are worth describing; and I felt the greatest pleasure in witnessing them. Individuals are studied in their domestic circle, a people in their public assemblies.

LETTER CXVI.

Toyai Roads, (Owhyhee.)

IN a country where men scarcely know any laws but their own caprice, or any authority but that which force imposes, it is perhaps of importance that the sovereign should rather be feared than loved. When he suffers any relaxation of his rights, or when he appears only to strike with apprehension, he approaches too near the condition of a victim. In the midst of a savage and undisciplined people, it is always wise and politic to let power be felt, even by those who assist in supporting it. The happy results obtained by Tammeamah I.; and the flame of discord which is on the eve of breaking out at Owhyhee, now that audacity has taken the place of fear, afford the surest evidence of the wisdom of this conduct.

How is a multitude of rebels, with arms in their hands, to be addressed? How is it possible to check by language, a band of armed mutineers, to whom reason and good faith are unknown, and who impute to weakness the humanity which would spare them? A single act of decision, one vigorous measure, frequently restores order and tranquillity. Terrified by an example of

severity, the multitude return to their duty; if they refuse to submit to justice, they will yet render obedience to fear.

Tammeamah I. punished on mere suspicion: his son will not disarm a man, whom he knows to be guilty. The first marched against a rebel at once, without allowing him time to increase the number of his partisans: the other fears to attack a seditious Chief, placed at the head of a few tumultuous individuals, who in all countries live only on disorder, and intestine broils. A rebel who was the enemy of Tammeamah trembled even in the moment of success: he who now raises the standard of revolt may consider himself in security after a check; every enterprise against authority was then dangerous: at present, treason and sedition may easily escape punishment. It is possible that the repose of *Riouriou* may be only the calm of the lion: but when I behold a man, and that man a King, surrounded by subjects, amongst whom discontent is loudly expressed; when I know that submitting to absurd customs, and enslaved by miserable prejudices, he fears, on the faith of a bigoted priest, or the perfidious insinuations of an artful minister, to attempt an action which might give firmness to his tottering throne; I conclude that such a King never will be able to preserve his crown, and that he will one day find himself bound with chains, before he is roused from his culpable apathy.

Scarcely had Tammeamah I. been apprised at Owhyhee of the revolt of the Governors at Woahoo and Mowhee, than he assembled his troops, and marched against them, with a firm determination to punish their temerity. The two rebels had declared themselves Kings of the islands committed to their charge. The one of Mowhee perished bravely, in the first battle which he fought against his Sovereign; the other was taken prisoner, and shot a few days after. The victor then placed the government of each island in the hands of persons in whom he confided, and went

to reside in both places for some time, to show his clemency after having there displayed his valour. He then returned to Owhyhee, to occupy himself with the prosperity of his people, and with the determination to extend his fame.

In order to establish his throne on a firm foundation, and to put down any disturbances which might arise, it became necessary to accustom his soldiers to fatigue, privations, and danger. As his power augmented, his ambition acquired strength; to gratify that, the sovereignty of a group of islands, scarcely occupying two hundred leagues, appeared wholly insufficient; and having once resolved to add to his dominions, he devoted every effort to that object. He purchased a brig, and two or three schooners; he augmented prodigiously his large double canoes, and, by his own avowal, was on the point of attempting the conquest of the Society and Friendly Islands. But death has put a stop to his ambition; he has perished in the midst of his laurels; and all the ideas of grandeur and power which had flattered the companions of his exploits, are fallen with him who gave them birth.

The number of his canoes was immense; we see more of them here in a paltry village, than you would find in all the Mariannes. Although he had the right, or rather the power, of monopolizing them entirely for his own use, it is but justice to say, that Tammeamah never employed force to obtain any thing from his subjects. His troops increased in proportion to his wants, and, proud of serving under a Chief so powerful and warlike, the people enlisted joyfully, the moment their prince wished to attempt any new enterprise.

In the midst of his triumph, however, his pride had to endure an affront, for which, sooner or later, he would no doubt have sought to take revenge. The Chief of the island of Atooi was a man of intrepid character, to whom his subjects paid a blind obedience, and who was not at all intimidated either by the vic-

tories or the threats of Tammeamah. That island is mountainous and woody; its inhabitants more resolute and ferocious than any other of the Sandwich Islands. They throw their spears with wonderful dexterity, and are also armed with guns, bows, and sabres. The principal stations of the island are protected by strong forts built of stone, well mounted with cannon: of these Tammeamah in vain attempted to render himself master; and in the troops which were opposed to him he encountered, for the first time, a degree of courage and resistance, upon which he had not calculated. Although he defeated the enemy in a pitched battle, this first victory, far from abating the courage of the Atooinians, animated them with redoubled fury; and they solemnly pledged themselves to their Chief, to die rather than surrender or forsake him. Finding that this expedition retarded the execution of other plans, Tammeamah proposed a truce, during which it was agreed, that the Chief of Atooi should preserve the title of King, but that he should pay a slight annual tribute to the Sovereign of Owhyhee. This arrangement took place nearly ten years before the death of Tammeamah, who was thenceforward only called upon to punish feeble revolts, or crush any rash and inconsiderate attempts to shake off his yoke.

It had not been without some degree of vexation that the King of Atooi saw himself under the necessity of submitting to the yoke that seemed to be imposed on him; he resolved however to shake it off the first favourable opportunity, and that has been furnished him by the death of Tammeamah. Perfectly certain of the apathy of Riouriou, he has given the latter to understand "that he was no longer his tributary, that he considered the engagements which had been forced upon him at an end, and that he would repel force by force. In the event of a contest, it would probably soon be seen which of the two Kings was destined to pay tribute to the other."

It is to be apprehended, that Riouriou will soon be attacked in his own capital, and that, profiting by the dissensions which divide the islanders, the English will, under pretext of pacifying them, possess themselves of the forts, and build others for the purpose of establishing their authority. I shall explain myself more fully in my next letter.

LETTER CXVII.

Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands.)

VANCOUVER, on his voyage round the world, remained some time at these islands, and in an assembly of the King, his Queens, and principal Chiefs, obtained Tammeamah's consent to place all the islands dependent on him under the protection of Great Britain; or rather he demanded, that they should be offered to George III. but governed by a native Chief. The opportunity then presented for the acquisition of this rich Archipelago was very favourable; but the advantages which the English would probably have obtained, would have been purchased with too much blood, (which it was essential to avoid,) to derive any benefit from such an enterprise.

By this politic convention, however, England became in a manner the mediator in all the dissensions which might break out in the islands, and thereby prevented any enterprise which other nations might have attempted. She then felt it improbable that the Kings who might succeed Tammeamah would either possess the same power, or the same courage, and that it would be easy afterwards to subjugate a people, of whom she had the appearance of being the protector.

Already a secret rumour circulates through the islands that the

power of Riouriou is about to fall into other hands; the people are preparing for a general contest, and the English are tranquil!.....Patience——!

An artful, cunning and perfidious character; the friend of Tammeamah, whose genius he feared, and the enemy of his son, whose weakness and prejudices he despises, will soon appear upon the stage; and, while serving foreign interests, will preserve the high station he has attained. He is satisfied, that, whatever may be the result of the events which are about to take place, he will have done enough to be rewarded, if the result answers his expectation; and that he can always command sufficient credit to despise the efforts of those who should venture to accuse him, if the party which he aids be vanquished.

This artful personage was prime minister to Tammeamah, who, after chastising the seditious chief of Woahoo,* placed him in the government of that island, which, next to Atooi, is the most fertile of the whole Archipelago. His power was scarcely inferior to that of the King himself; and the English, in gratitude for the services they have received from him, named him Pitt, after their own minister. As soon as he heard of Tammeamah's danger, he hastened to Owhyhee, leaving as his substitute at Woahoo an imbecile brother, whose sole occupation is to demand *ava* from the people, or a glass of wine from strangers.

When Tammeamah died, various parties were formed; and while the malcontents retired from court, he remained with Riouriou and his Queens, waiting for an opportunity of putting his schemes into effect. At first, he appeared to partake of the public grief: by degrees however he proceeded more boldly towards his object; and, at length, he has quite thrown off the mask. He knows the principles of wise Europeans, and to secure to himself their friendship, has just embraced Christianity, convinced

* The King of Woahoo was Pitt's father.

that this was his surest road to future greatness. Such is the person, who is said to be planning the ruin of his own country, and who is about to transfer it to the sway of strangers.

As the ceremony of his baptism took place on board, with considerable pomp, I must give you some account of it. The King wished to be present, and was accompanied by the Queen Dowager. M. Jeanneret was ordered to convey their Majesties and the rest of the Royal Family on board, in the Captain's boat. I was on shore; and wishing to make this scene the subject of a sketch, I preferred embarking in one of the King's own double canoes. M. Gaimard followed my example, and joined me, in preference to going in the yawl which had been sent for us. His Majesty required a few minutes to dress, and, with a great want of gallantry to the ladies, he made them wait for him above half an hour. His two favourite wives were already embarked; but, before he entered the boat, he caused himself to be *untabooed*, that he might be at liberty to shade himself from the sun, under a tent or an umbrella. His costume was not very brilliant; it consisted of a short blue jacket, with a narrow edging of gold lace; a pair of green pantaloons, and a black straw hat. He was very careful of his grand costume. The King was the last who embarked; and we remarked that on entering the canoe, he rubbed his nose very hard against that of the Queen Dowager, and that they both shed tears.

His vessel headed the procession; our boat followed next; and behind us were two double canoes, and four or five single ones, on board of which were several persons of distinction. It was easy for us to compare the relative velocity of these vessels; when we wished to come up with the headmost, we had only to desire our pilots, who were officers of Riouriou's household, to give nine or ten strokes of their paddles, and we were immediately a-head of the other; in order, however, to hasten the

general progress, we took the canoe of the Princesses in tow, and thus were soon enabled to reach the ship.

The King was saluted by eleven guns: his Majesty went below to see them fired. The altar had been already prepared. Mr. Pitt had been above two hours on board; the Abbé de Quélen, our excellent chaplain, not being able to make himself understood by his auditory, officiated with the utmost simplicity. Our commander was the godfather — while M. Gabert, his secretary, represented the godmother—their servant acted as clerk. Chairs were offered to the Princesses, most of whom sat on the ground, betraying very little curiosity to see what passed, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of M. Rives, who told them it was charming, and that they ought not to lose so good an opportunity. I have seen the time when his persuasive eloquence snatched from the demon fifty souls, who were quite astonished that so much importance should be attached to such a simple ceremony. Many of the officers asked us how many teeth we should extract from the minister, and what members we intended to deprive him of. We had great difficulty in making them understand that these sacrifices were contrary to our religion, and that those who adopted it must renounce them. These honest simpletons, who are accustomed to plunge continually into the water, could not conceive what great merit there was in a man's suffering a spoonful of it to be sprinkled on his head, or why he should be rewarded for it. The godmother, Gabert, would have willingly converted them all; but the moment he began his sermon, he was called to attend other duties, and forced to obey. During the ceremony, the King called for a pipe, and began to smoke. The Queens were astonished at the brilliant costume of the priest, and at the beauty of the image of the Virgin on the altar, requesting that they might be permitted to kiss it: they also frequently asked for something to drink, which we could not

refuse them; this put them in good humour, for the length of the ceremony appeared to have tired them. They examined the ship with great curiosity, and even went down to our cabins, giving us to understand how happy they thought us in having such elegant and convenient little beds. Refreshments were served in profusion to all the company; our commander invited the principal officers to a collation, while we were very well satisfied to remain with the ladies; amongst them was the charming Kaoo-Onoé, who, together with the other Princesses, was excluded from the King's table.

LETTER CXVIII.

Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands.)

AFTER having exchanged some presents with M. Freycinet, the minister Pitt took his leave; and, furnished with his passport to paradise, went home to his seven wives, and to sacrifice to his idols. It is singular that this baptism should not have produced any effect amongst the Chiefs who were present, and that the King should have thus publicly allowed his minister to renounce his religion, in a country where the slightest violation of any of its precepts is punished with so much severity. This is already striking a great blow at the King's authority, and a still greater proof of the independence and power of *Louis Pitt*.

In a country so full of prejudices it is difficult, even after long and mature reflection, to distinguish between those which owe their origin to the caprices of the principal Chiefs, and those which arise from the gross stupidity of the people and their religion. Without entering into useless or fastidious researches, I shall therefore at once proceed to notice a few of those which

prevail throughout the Archipelago, without troubling myself as to their origin. A nation which has no other archives than tradition, must frequently fly from one error to another,—perhaps change its system every century, and entirely lose its primitive character, without being sensible of the change. We know who our ancestors were, and the period when the truth of our history is concealed in the darkness of ages is extremely remote; whereas two generations may have perhaps sufficed to give these Islanders a new character, and foreign manners.

I think I have already told you that human sacrifices were still in practice as late as ten years ago. It was Tammeamah I. who caused the abolition of this barbarous custom; and had he rendered no other service to humanity, this most important one would have given him a sacred right to the veneration of all nations, and the adoration of his subjects. Human sacrifices have been practised by many nations: the Egyptians, whose manners were so gentle; the Scythians, who were so independent; the Medes, so devout; the Carthaginians, so fierce and unconquerable; all sacrificed to their idols of wood and stone, hundreds of unfortunate beings, destined to insure the success of a battle, or the cessation of pestilence. By similar sacrifices the people here sought to conciliate the favour of the deities in all their enterprises. In Carthage, and other countries, the children of persons of the highest rank were immolated; whilst here none but individuals taken by chance, or condemned criminals, were sacrificed.

There are at Owyhee priests, half-priests, and high-priests: the privileges of the last extend over all the inhabitants, even to the King himself. It is the high-priest who interdicts him from such and such an act, who prescribes him what to do, and whose orders are executed with the utmost strictness. His severity is not exercised on the different members of the royal family

alone; he condemns himself to privations and sufferings; and, what is remarkable, he is not more indulgent to himself than he is to those who are subject to his will. One would imagine that by this conduct, he seeks to persuade the people that his decrees have some grand object in view; that they are dictated by supreme wisdom, and it would therefore be a sacrilege to violate them.

Can it be that this man so powerful and revered, should himself be the first victim of the prejudices which he causes to be respected? He appears to believe himself sometimes invested with the power of commanding the animal creation, and even the elements themselves. He taboos the sea two or three times a month, according to his caprice; that is to say, he commands it to punish those who shall, in defiance of his prohibition, bathe in its waters, or in those rivers which flow into it: he who should dare to disobey the edicts of the high-priest, would be immediately punished with the greatest rigour, and in a way which I will tell you hereafter. Twice a month he also forbids the cocks to crow; and the bird which happens to offend is shut for the rest of the day in a deep and winding dungeon, without food, whence his cries cannot be heard. He it is who consults the entrails of the victims; who presides at the consecration of the morais and temples; who has the care of dead bodies, or exposes them to the voracity of the feathered tribes. The other priests, and half-priests have inferior functions to perform; but their orders are equally respected.

The religion of this people is a mixture of idolatry and Mahometanism. The King has seven gods, his first officers six, and so on in proportion down to the common people, who have but one; but I believe no class pays them reverence from any other cause, than their submission to customs which have been established in these islands time immemorial. I do not think that

there is any public worship here; I never saw a Sandwich islander at his prayers, nor has any one of my fellow voyagers been more fortunate. In other respects they not only consult their fetiches, but the entrails of their victims; thus rushing from one error to another.

I have said that there is a mixture of Mahometanism in their religion; and the conduct of the men towards the women, as well as the existence of certain customs, justify my assertion. The weaker sex is forbidden to eat pork, turtle, bananas, &c. while the men do not believe that women will enjoy equal rewards with themselves after death, or rather they think they must not hope for any. It is true the women here act a very secondary part, and that they will be accustomed before-hand to the humiliations with which they are menaced.

They believe that a deluge had swallowed up all the inhabitants of the earth, with the exception of some individuals on the summit of the Mowna-Kaah and Mowna-Roa, so that it would appear by this account, *we* are the descendants of the Sandwichers. Every nation has its share of self-love!

The private houses of the priests are never tabooed; and in that of Toyai, belonging to the high priest, I never have seen any luxury beyond those enjoyed by the common people. The apartments of his wives are close at hand, two of whom are very pretty women.

As to the small temples inclosed within the morais, they are tabooed for every body; and he who should attempt to violate their sanctity would be punished in the most exemplary manner; and so it should be. The more absurd and ridiculous any thing happens to be, the more likely is it to be turned into derision, and overturned. But a religion being necessary to the people, it became necessary to support it by rigorous measures, even though it should be opposed to reason. To decry a single article,

is to sap the whole edifice; every act which infringes it, is in all countries regarded as a sacrilege, and the enemy of the gods always pursued as an assassin. The priests of all ages have been deeply sensible of the importance of the ancient laws which they have created; the first use they have made of their power, has been to secure it on sacred foundations, by persuading the people that supernatural wisdom presided over their decrees, and guided their most trivial actions.

LETTER CXIX.

Owhyhee, (Sandwich Islands).

BEFORE we quitted the anchorage of Toyai, the captain had sent a favourable answer to Mr. Young's* letter, in behalf of the son of his generous benefactor. This grateful old man, alarmed at the troubles with which his adopted country was threatened, entreated M. Freycinet to state at a general assembly of the principal Chiefs, that the happiness of all depended on peace and union; and that the only means by which they could prove their respect for the memory of the Sovereign, whose loss they so much deplored, was to remain faithful to his son, and to punish such rebels as should attack his power; that besides this, the rights of Riouriou were sacred, and that he would find in the Sovereign of England a powerful support against every enemy.

This request of Mr. Young's could only have been dictated by generosity of sentiment; personal interest had no share in it;

* This is an Englishman who belonged to one of the ships under Captain Vancouver, and whom the Sandwichers retained by force at Owhyhee. Tammeamah was strongly attached to and consulted Young, in his most important concerns.

the poor old man has but a few days to live; extended on a bed of sickness, he perceives the rapid approach of death, and, little regarding his own sufferings, his last prayers are offered up for a country, which the beneficence of Tammeamah makes him grieve to leave a prey to the factions which are about to divide it.

At the request of M. Freycinet, the King convoked all the Chiefs, and the widows of his father, under a species of shed; informed of the object of their meeting, I also repaired thither, as did the captain and several of our officers; M. Rives acted as interpreter. The King having been tabooed that day, was not permitted to enter. Four or five of the Chiefs amused themselves at dominos, and as many of the Queens in eating *poe* out of their large calebashes; four or five other grandees were snoring very tranquilly at the feet of the Princesses.

M. Freycinet, who probably hoped that a more numerous and *august* assembly would have been collected, asked whether he should commence: as soon as the King answered him that he might, one of the principal Chiefs, named *Ooro*, rose and went away whistling. The others listened, whilst Riouriou conversed with the captain of a ship from Woahoo, that had arrived the evening before. The harangue was short; he told them that peace was the surest guarantee of their happiness; that civil war impoverished and destroyed a nation, more than any other calamity; that those who declared against Riouriou, would also declare themselves the enemies of England; that such amity now reigned between France and England, that it was a sufficient motive for the first of those powers to join in protecting the son of Tammeamah; that hatred of every kind ought to be abjured in favour of the memory of a prince so much beloved; and that they might rest assured, the first moment of a revolt would be also that of the punishment of the guilty. The captain added, that the rights of Riouriou to the throne



Ooro,

one of the principal Chiefs of Ouriouriou
King of the Sandwich Islands.



of Owhyhee were incontestable, and that, should any unexpected reverse oblige him to abandon it for a time, the coalesced powers of Europe would not fail to restore him to his rights, by cementing the peace with the blood of the disturbers of the public tranquillity. M. Rives endeavoured to translate the expressions of the French orator into the language of those whom he addressed; but, whether it arose from his deficiency of memory, or that the language of these islands is more rapid than ours, his interpretation was included in a few words, so that it was no doubt owing to his want of address, that this new *Catilinarian* produced so little impression.

After this *august* ceremony, the King thanked M. Freycinet; M. Freycinet thanked M. Rives; M. Rives thanked us; and was thanked in his turn by the Queen dowager: the whole affair ended in thanks; and, not to be more ungrateful than others, I returned thanks to sleep for not having seized upon me during the soporific half hour that the meeting lasted; a favour which the god did not grant to every one.

We are now quitting this island, so rich in illustrious remembrances, and are going to visit some new possessions of Tammeamah; this not being capable of supplying us with the provisions requisite for our passage. We have heard the comforts of Woahoo, and the fertile fields of Mowhee, extolled to the skies: we shall soon see whether the blessings conferred by the late King extended beyond his capital.

LETTER CXX.

Mowhee, (Sandwich Islands.)

WE left Owhyhee on the 15th of August, at four in the morning, with a very light breeze, which, however, freshened up during the morning. We coasted along Taouraé, a barren island, flat, and moderately elevated, on which was not the slightest appearance of vegetation. The soil is reddish, and furrowed at intervals. The island is desert and uninhabited; some breakers extend beyond its western point. On doubling this, we discovered the small rock of Morikini, from whose summit rises a lofty column of smoke, which would have induced us to suspect there was a volcano under it; the pilots on board, assured us, however, that this was not the case. That part of the North-East coast of Mowhee which we were able to distinguish, appeared to me to be extremely barren; high mountains, separated by a neck of low land, divide it in two parts. The Western coast is bold, and the volcanic rocks which rise above it are cut into sharp angles, forming deep ravines and frightful declivities. When the clouds, which are driven by contrary winds rising from these caverns, and disputing their possession, float over the verdant summits of these mournful heights, the reflection of the light, and the lively tints bestowed on them by the sun, in contrast with the dark and stormy points of the horizon, form a landscape at once harmonious and terrific. Some elevated springs, fed no doubt by the humidity contained in the surrounding vapours, give a degree of animation to these pointed rocks, which might almost be taken for the realm of the dead. The base of this mountain, which somewhat resembles our Canigou, is dry and barren, without the smallest trace of that verdure which crowns its summit.

As soon, however, as the South-West part of the island had been coasted for a little time, and we approached the North, a vigorous vegetation began to show itself, together with banana and other trees, which give life to the scene, and awaken pleasing sensations in the mind of the navigator. From the perpendicular of the most lofty summit of the great mountain, to the North-West point of the island, and even beyond that, the country is quite delightful; so that it was with extreme pleasure we beheld the anchor drop in the harbour of Lahaina, that we might enjoy the prospect, which appeared the more brilliant, from the other objects that surround this part of Mowhee, as well as the isles which enclose its bay, being barren and repulsive. A chain of breakers extends the whole length of the coast. The anchor is however cast at one or two cables' length distance, without incurring the least danger, although sudden gusts of wind arise here frequently, and blow with great violence. The group of islands which surrounds this bay will not permit the sea to run very high; and the bottom being very good, tends to banish every apprehension.

The observatory has been fixed on a small stone elevation, close to a house built of masonry, belonging to the King; richly tufted shrubs and beautiful cocoa-nut trees create an agreeable freshness. While the astronomers are observing the heavens, let us range through the country; we shall certainly not find so much majesty there; but the variety and beauty of the scene will repay us with interest.

The environs of Lahaina are like a garden. It would be difficult to find a soil more fertile, or a people who could turn it to greater advantage; little path-ways sufficiently raised, and kept in excellent condition, serve as communications between the different estates. These are frequently divided by trenches, through which a fresh and limpid stream flows tranquilly, giving

life to the plantations, the sole riches of the country. Hollow squares, of the depth of two, three, and sometimes four feet, nourish various sorts of vegetables and plants; amongst which we distinguish the Caribee-cabbage, named here *taro;* double rows of banana, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, *palma-christi*, and the paper-mulberry trees, intercept the rays of the sun, and allow you to walk at mid-day. Every cabin has its enclosure, and every enclosure is well taken care of; it seems to suffice for the wants of the family. Here, the father turns the ground with his long staff of red or sandal wood; there, the son clears the soil of weeds, and prepares the dinner; farther off the mother is seated at the door of her hut, and weaves the stuff with which she clothes herself, whilst her youthful daughter, unincumbered with drapery, is seated by her side, and tempts you by her unsophisticated caresses.

The space cultivated by the natives of Lahaina is about three leagues in length, and one in its greatest breadth. Beyond this, all is dry and barren; every thing recals the image of desolation. Nevertheless, the soil and its resources are the same; whence therefore this apparently culpable neglect? It is a natural consequence of the mode of reasoning adopted by these people; they have all that is necessary at hand, what advantage would there be in seeking superfluities from afar?.... Superfluities are thrown away on these people. Twenty acres of land will not produce them a better dinner than their square of *taro*. It is so rare to see ships put in here, that the hope of their arrival, and the ennui of disappointed expectation, would more than counterbalance all the advantages which they might procure by bartering.

Let us, therefore, leave these good people to their early habits and natural inclinations; why teach them desires and wants? If repose, comfort, tranquillity and pleasure constitute happiness, they are happy; what do they want more? Would you propose

to give them in exchange for these, interest, the love of glory, avarice, jealousy, and all the passions of which they are now ignorant, and which prevail in our wiser Europe? They will laugh at you, and, leaving you to your prejudices, return gaily to their own lowly huts.

I have here remarked the same customs, and the same tastes, the same gaiety and benevolence, as at Owhyhee. Are the natives of Woahoo equally happy?

During one of my late excursions, hearing loud cries proceeding from a small enclosure that I had just passed, several of my companions hastened with me to the spot, where we saw a young female seated on the ground, surrounded by about fifteen women, who were rubbing her with great violence, breaking forth at the same time into loud cries: approaching, with an air of sympathy, we inquired the cause of this general sorrow; their tears ceased, and they told us they were endeavouring to cure a sick person, whom these cries would restore to health: upon which, the lamentations recommenced with more ardour than ever. With us, such a process would soon put an end to a patient; but here the louder the groans, the more efficacious the remedy. The most remarkable peculiarity in these scenes of desolation is, that when the parties are weary of crying, they become silent; then chat and laugh, and begin to roar in a moment after; such was the case in this instance.

These *macerations*, and some indigenous roots, are the only remedies in use here: surgery has not made greater progress than medicine; and I do not think the Bordeaux doctor will extend their progress greatly.

The tears shed for the restoration of this young sufferer, and for the death of Tammeamah, are the only ones I have seen flow in the Sandwich Islands. Have our own tears generally, or frequently, a source equally noble and innocent?

LETTER CXXI.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the dangers to which an in-shore navigation is exposed, there is great pleasure in seeing different places, as it were, every day: as the eye delights to refresh itself on so many new objects, nothing animates a mariner like the sight of land. A single day of rest,—one hour's walk,—efface from his mind the remembrance of many melancholy hours, and throw a friendly veil over the perils and sufferings which again await him.

We left Mowhee on the 25th, quite satisfied with our stay, although we did not find there the provisions of which we stood in need. Now that I have been able to appreciate all the advantages of this island, and have been a witness of the happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants, it appears to me that I should have lost something, had we not put in there.

If they are not the most interesting people on earth, they certainly are one of those who most deserve to be regretted, and whom a voyager would be most happy to see again.* We found all that can delight the species at Mowhee; while we met with all that amuses and attaches them at Woahoo. There, the people are happy, here they are joyful; there they have no occasion for dissipation, here they are eager for amusement and give themselves up to it. Life is peaceful and uniform in the first of these islands; in the second, it is varied and tumultuous: at Mowhee, the natives prefer a tranquil life, here they are fond of agitation. Not but that men are the same in both islands; but the difference I have noticed in their manners, tastes, and mode of living, appears to me to depend on the complete isolation of the first,

* I should however rather see the Carolinians once more.

and the frequent visits of foreigners among the others. I may perhaps find other causes hereafter.

The anchorage of Woaboo is called *Pah*: it is nearly four cables' length from the town of Anourourou, and about two from a strong line of breakers, through which there is a clear passage into a large and commodious harbour, which it would be very easy and perhaps desirable to improve. The protecting points of Liahi and Layloa afford it but little shelter from the winds, which are so fatal to shipping; but as on the approach of bad weather it is easy for them to enter the port, the road-stead of Woahoo will always be the most convenient in the Sandwich Islands to navigators, at the same time that the pleasures of the island will make it the most attractive rendezvous.

In consequence of the dislike which a great portion of the inhabitants of these islands have for labour, it may be supposed that considerable tracts remain uncultivated, that the fields are badly tilled, and plantations scanty. A very little ground sufficing for their wants, they are satisfied when that is cultivated, and enjoy it when it is productive. All the environs of Anourourou are so much neglected, that you would at first suppose some superstitious ordinance had forbidden their culture; yet the soil is so extremely rich, that it is impossible not to deplore the folly of a people who might so easily augment their sources of enjoyment.

The hill overlooking the town, which is shut in by two small hillocks, rich in vegetation, is the only portion which has been rendered useful; there may be seen some sugar plantations, and some fine plots of the Caribbee cabbage. An industrious Spaniard, named Francis Marini, has planted vines here, which yield him some fine grapes, and a very pleasant wine. He is the only person in this country who possesses a herd of cattle; but it is to be feared that, instead of encouraging his exertions, the go-

vernment may become alarmed at his riches. Marini appears to possess great credit with the King; but a single word might ruin him; and the most frivolous suspicion may not improbably be sufficient to deprive him at once of his liberty and property.

Two large and deep rivers fertilize and water the environs of Anourourou. The inhabitants we have found uniformly kind, obliging, timid, and docile; in our various excursions we have had the means of properly appreciating men, concerning whom Europeans entertain such mistaken notions. Our provisions, our sacks, arms, and articles of barter, were all confided to them, yet we never had cause to reproach them with the slightest violation of good faith; while the trifling recompenses with which we repaid their attentions were received, if not with satisfaction, at least without a murmur, and always with an appearance of gratitude.

The Governor of Woahoo is brother to the minister *Pitt;* and following his example, as soon as he was informed in what consisted the ceremony of baptism, he also became a Christian, and returned on shore with a full sense of the advantage he had derived from it. The occupations of this Governor are surprising; they scarcely leave him a moment's time to give to strangers who have to treat with him. In the morning he intoxicates himself with *ava;* in the evening, and during the night he does the same: during the intervals of these copious libations, he proceeds reeling to the square of Anourourou, with an ample supply of knives and fish-hooks; there, in the midst of the numbers who are subject to him, he joins in the different games, and lays bets with such of his officers as will take them. He never recollects his rank but when the chances are unfavourable to him; then, under some pretext or other, he contrives to obtain restitution of part of the property which he has lost at play. With the great, it is said often to be the wisest part to allow one-self to be in the wrong.

LETTER CXXII.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

COMMERCE has attracted to this place some Americans, who, in the hope of speedily making their fortunes, established themselves here several years ago. I cannot say that they carry on any regular trade here, but rather contraband: they can obtain whatever they want at so cheap a rate! In the morning they take half a dozen of wine to the Governor, and the good soul is soon stretched at their feet: they make presents of a few hatchets and muskets to the principal Chiefs; all the rest of the population are then quite at the disposal of these gentlemen. Some strong and active men are sent to the mountains; the forests are examined, and some sandal-wood trees are cut down: these are conveyed to the water's edge at night by about twenty women, who are paid for either carrying or dragging them along, with a few ells of European cloth or linen; thence to be embarked on board a vessel that is always stationed in the harbour. On the arrival of spring, their correspondents on the North-West coast of America come here with a cargo of furs, to obtain provisions, and increase their rich ventures with the acquisitions of their partners; and, sure of an immense profit, they push on to Macao, or Canton, to sell their cargoes to the lazy Chinese for dollars, sugar, or silks, which they know how to transmit speedily to Europe. However lucrative this species of commerce may be in appearance, it has great drawbacks; nor do I know to whom the perilous activity of some, or the long solitude of others, would offer attractions.

We are all of us much delighted with the Sandwich Islands; some new object presents itself every day: we study the manners,

and customs of this singular people; and the moments of relaxation which our occupations leave us, are never long enough to allow ennui to have any share in our excursions. But how soon would this life of uniformity become tiresome to us; how disgusting would be these savage customs; how gloomily would pass our days, how mournfully our nights!—not a soul with whom to share our pleasures; not a friend whose cares we might alleviate; and our country, that expects us!—how much more attractive to me is a moderate fortune in my native land, than the greatest riches on a foreign shore! Remote from the paternal soil, the air is frozen, nature discoloured, the fruits tasteless, even the very waters bear with them a slow poison. The sky, the earth, the trees, the clouds, every thing presages evil, and seems to attack the springs of life. The most trifling event is regarded as an extraordinary occurrence; the fruit that withers, the leaf that falls, congeals your soul; the lessening sail seems to bear away your last hope; and you die, vainly calling upon a country, which you are destined never to see more. Alas! what must be the sufferings of an exile!

LETTER CXXIII.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

YESTERDAY I made a very interesting excursion, and visited the vineyard of Marini, of whom I have already spoken. It is situated on the slope of a beautiful hill, the foot of which is watered by a small river bordered by *palma-christi*, banana, and superb cocoa-nut trees. I gathered some of the grapes from the vine, and found them excellent. There is nothing now to prevent the culture of the vine in this island. The prejudice which so long

prevailed against it no longer exists: its success is certain, provided the situation be well chosen; and the Sandwich Islands will probably owe to a Spaniard this inestimable advantage.

On quitting the vineyard, I directed my steps towards Liahi, a small bay, where the natives fish for pearls: I was escorted thither by about twenty of the islanders, who with exceeding civility directed me to the most convenient path-ways; amusing themselves as we went along in seeing me play with some small shuffle boards. How much mistaken Europeans are respecting the manners and character of the people who inhabit this so much frequented Archipelago! How can men, who would throw themselves into the water for the sake of merely swimming a little longer in my company, deserve the character of malignity? Could those robust islanders, who bore me on their shoulders to prevent me from wetting my feet in the marshy spots, be of a cruel and savage nature? How can these poor savages, by whom the trifle I offer them in return for an important service is accepted with the most lively gratitude, be represented as insensible to every kindness that is shown them, and as actuated by hatred alone? Unhappy creatures, how much are ye calumniated!

My friend Gaudichaud, along with two other officers of the ship and myself, yesterday ascended the summit of the extinguished volcano which overlooks Anourourou: when I had got about half way up, I became quite exhausted with fatigue; upon which the natives placed themselves behind me, assisting me with their arms and shoulders to reach the top, and would scarcely accept two or three fish-hooks which I gave them in return. To-day I have just been witness to a more curious scene, which had nearly been fatal to one of these poor fellows.

I had set out for Liahi, with the intention of not returning to sleep on board, prudently taking with me some provisions and a bottle of wine; I had, besides, a fowling-piece; you may there-

fore imagine that my baggage was not very light. Being rather prepossessed against the natives who accompanied me, I refused to entrust them with my provender, although frequently invited to do so; thinking, from the eagerness with which they proposed it, that they intended to steal some. Lassitude at length induced me to consent to their proposal; I gave up the eatables, only reserving my gun and powder-horn. At every halt I was requested to amuse them with sleight-of-hand tricks: when I taught them how these were to be done, they considered themselves overpaid for all their fatigues, and were greatly diverted with their own awkwardness in trying to imitate me.

Night, however, surprised us near some solitary huts, situated close to the beach. On my expressing a wish to remain there, several of them ran to announce my arrival. Scarcely had I entered one of these, when a fine young girl, though rather warlike in appearance, came and placed herself by my side, covering herself at the same time with the mat which had been prepared for me. I was alone, among the people of whom so terrifying a picture had been drawn in Europe; yet I resigned myself to sleep with the utmost confidence.

When I awoke in the morning, I was disposed to continue my route; but first wished to attack the provision basket. On its being brought to me, I perceived that a great deal of the wine had been taken, and the bottle filled up with water: in order to prevent a repetition of this, I mentioned the circumstance to the natives, giving them to understand how much I was displeased. On a signal made, they all quitted the cabin, and I did not remain long behind: on going out, I found them assembled in a circle, whilst the principal guide made them all pass in review before him, and, smelling the mouth of each, he commanded him to breathe strongly. Stopping at the tenth man, he ordered him to repeat the experiment several times, and then appealed to the tes-

timony of two of his companions, who, also smelling, certified that he was the culprit. The group immediately began to jump about and to utter cries of joy, while the offender stood motionless and confounded, exposed to the derision of all his companions as they passed him. Persuaded that no further vengeance was intended to be exercised on the culprit, I went in to breakfast; but scarcely had I seated myself, when I heard the most fearful cries uttered by him who had been detected. I went to the place, and beheld the Sandwichers armed with leaves of the cocoa tree, lashing the offender with the utmost violence. The moment he saw me, he threw himself on the ground, thereby affording his companions the means of striking him with greater facility. I rushed up, addressed myself to them, endeavoured to parry the blows, entreated them to pardon him, and had the utmost difficulty in rescuing him from the fate which seemed to await him. At last I placed my hands on his head, pronouncing the word *taboo;* upon this, they immediately threw down their weapons, surrounding me in the most friendly manner, and appeared no longer to perceive the guilty person.

A few minutes after we resumed our course for *Liahi*, where I arrived at an early hour, greatly exhausted with my excursion. The pearl fishery is there carried on by divers, who often go to a great depth to obtain the shells which contain the precious deposit. This traffic is never very productive; and it often happens, that in a boat-full of shells, not above two or three pearls are obtained fit for trade. There are none, however, of a very fine colour; and the natives would do well to renounce, for a time at least, this branch of labour. I returned the same evening but little satisfied with my trip; but more than ever convinced of the kind nature of the islanders. On my arrival at Anourourou, I gave a few trifles to each, and, unperceived by the rest, I gave a handkerchief to him who had been so severely

chastised; he transferred it, however, soon after, to the person who had detected him, and I could not by any means induce him to accept another. I know not whether his comrades had forbidden him to receive any thing, or if their threats prevented him from taking it.

P. S. I have just seen the culprit again; he told me, that his punishment being now at an end, I might be generous to him. He therefore received two fish-hooks and a small knife, with the greatest delight.

LETTER CXXIV.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

I HAVE already told you, that I found a great difference between the habits of the people of Mowhee and those of Woahoo. It appears to me much more striking, after examining Anourourou and its environs, and after living some time among the active race which peoples this little corner of the earth. I must take care, however, not to praise their activity too highly, when they scarcely cultivate a few acres of ground near their capital: but I confess I would rather see a spirited than a slothful people; and I like better to see a man walking about and bestirring himself, though without an object, than languishing on a sofa for fear of incurring fatigue.

At sun-rise, men, women, and children quit their dwellings; some betake themselves to fishing (chiefly the women) on the rocks, or near the shore; others to the making mats; the rest offer their little productions to, or solicit employment from, strangers, in exchange for European articles; while the masters of families repair

to the public square, to witness or participate in amusements, of which they are astonishingly fond. There it was that I felt the greatest pleasure in observing these people: there, interests were excited, there the passions were in movement; he who shook his neighbour's hand, or rubbed noses with him,* might perhaps be his adversary, or his rival, the next moment. Collect a certain number of the lower classes in *our* cities, towns, or fields, and let them indulge in any exercise whatever; let them be ever such good friends when they meet, it is ten to one that before the day closes disputes will arise among them, quarrels break out, and not unfrequently blood be shed. *Here* I have witnessed but one quarrel, and in that, there was only a tuft of hair lost by one of the parties. You shall hear what was the occasion of this, at which the disputants themselves laughed when it was settled.

At some distance from the shore, and fronting the Governor's house, the inhabitants of Anourourou are in the habit of rolling a round stone, about two feet in diameter. It is completely rubbed over with fish-oil, and other greasy substances, after placing it in a hole some inches deep. I was present yesterday at this game, and saw the preparations. The competitors placed themselves in a circle round the stone. The bets were deposited on the ground, under the care of an old man, for whom they all appeared to entertain great respect. The objects of contention were pieces of cloth, made of the paper-mulberry,† knives, carved calebashes, and mats, all of nearly equal value. The candidates were to leap upon the ball with one foot, and the prize was to belong to him who could maintain his balance there the longest. The surrounding spectators decided who was the winner, by striking one hand against the other at equal intervals.

* The mode of salutation in the Sandwich Islands.

† Broussonetia papyrifera.

It is evident, that as the ball is not fresh greased after the contest begins, the last candidates have the best chance of obtaining the prize, as the feet of the first must have taken off some of the slippery substances. Here, however, the glory (or some other less elevated sentiment perhaps) is every thing. They pique themselves on being the first on the stone, and seem to lose the prize with less regret, when the obstacles they have had to contend with are greatest.

Yesterday, two rivals presented themselves at the same moment, who were confessedly the most expert at this exercise, as all the rest gave way to them. At first a slight contention arose; loud words and angry gestures succeeded; until at length throwing aside their mantles, and approaching each other with threatening looks, they attacked one another with their fists, each seizing his antagonist by the hair, till one of them was thrown to the ground. They then rose, and no other conflict disturbed the sports. The victor in this struggle first leaped on the stone; but it was the vanquished who retained his place the longest, and consequently won the prize.

One circumstance is, however, worthy of remark; it is, that no cry was uttered by any of the spectators during the quarrel. The circle was enlarged, but without encouraging either antagonist; they suffered them to continue their blows freely; and when the struggle was ended, no one congratulated the conqueror, or appeared to feel pleasure at his success. This equity astonished me in a bustling crowd of men, all interested in what was going on; but it surprised no one but myself, because I happened to be the only European present at this party of pleasure.

LETTER CXXV.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

THE other sports which are daily practised by the natives of Woahoo, still further depict their character.

The extinguished volcano which overlooks the city, is about six hundred feet high, and the declivity extremely steep in several places. Wagers are laid among a dozen candidates; and he who first attains the summit of the cone, is declared the victor.

One of the exercises in which they appear most to delight, is the throwing to a great distance, a stone about an inch thick, and three inches and a half in diameter; he who throws this quoit out of the line cannot gain the prize, however far it reaches. The skill which they display in this amusement, and the distance to which they throw the quoit, keeping it close to the ground, are truly astonishing. The game I like best to contemplate, but which is of late much disused by the inhabitants of Anourourou, reminds me of that which is described by Homer, when Ulysses returns to his palace, and, still unknown, makes the suitors of Penelope feel a presentiment, that it is the hero himself who draws the bow; what the Grecian poet merely fancied, is here actually performed. Small hoops cut in two, about six inches high, are placed at a short distance from each other, in a straight line. The player has a small stick formed like a spindle, but about three feet long, which he trundles along the sand, crossing the hoops, and casting it by the thickest end. He who throws it the farthest without touching the hoops, wins the game. I have seen natives who could throw the stick more than two hundred yards.

The most active amongst the islanders never exert themselves but at the games which I have mentioned: the idlers, and in that

term I would include nearly the whole of the inhabitants of Owhyhee and Mowhee, generally pass their time at more sedentary games. One of these consists in placing three bundles of cloth alongside of each other, and then hiding a stone beneath one of them. The game consists in guessing under which bundle it has been placed.

It appears that the wand which they use to mark out the piece of stuff which conceals the stone, is considered sacred for strangers, for they never would allow me to touch it, and they more than once repeated to me the word *taboo*. The last of their games I shall notice, is a sort of dominos, the pieces of which consist of black and white pebbles, placed side by side on a piece of board.

It is rather remarkable, that these monotonous games are not played at Woahoo, and scarcely by any other persons than the wives of the governor; who, although nearly as corpulent as the widows of Tammeamah, can scarcely drag themselves once a day to the water-side, which is not more than a hundred paces from their dwelling. The other evening, on my return from a walk, I went into their house, where my reputation as a juggler made me always a welcome guest. They intreated me to amuse them with a few tricks: I readily complied, persuaded that I should at least prevent the time from hanging heavy on their hands. In about five minutes, however, I found them one after another closing their eyes, and soon after falling into a profound sleep. Worn out by fatigue, I was not long in following their example, nor did I awake for two hours; when my nap was interrupted by the return of the governor, supported by two of his attendants, who prevented him from falling and breaking his bones. Never did I see a public functionary so completely drunk!

LETTER CXXVI.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

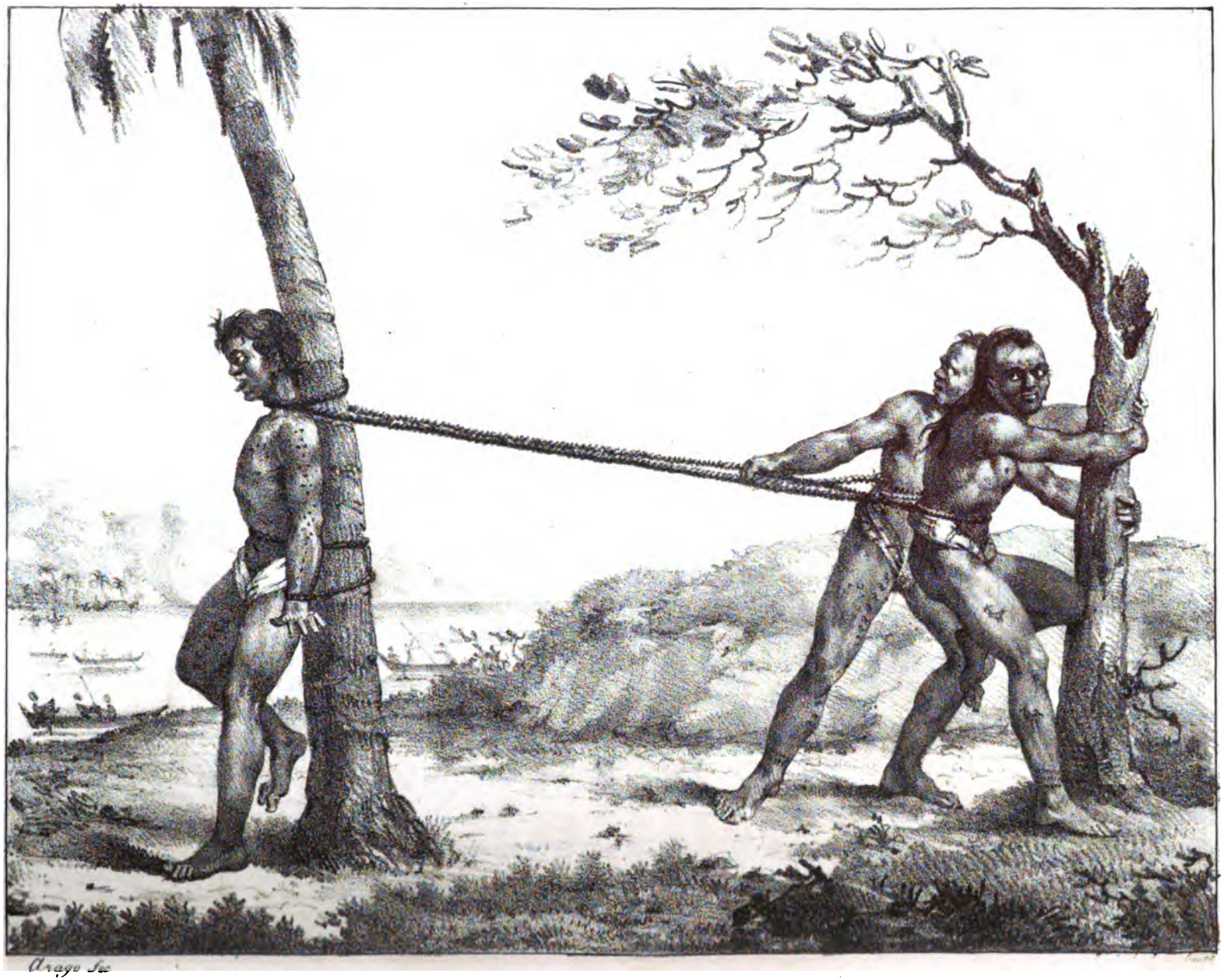
AFTER describing the amusements and pleasures of the natives of the Sandwich Islands, I shall now make you acquainted with the pains and punishments to which criminals are condemned. The transition is rather abrupt; but the Spaniard Marini, whose civility to strangers is really admirable, has just been giving me some curious details, which for fear of forgetting, I commit immediately to paper. The scenes of cruelty I am about to describe, are revolting; they will show you what practices and terrible punishments are ordained to assuage the wrath of a block of wood, or in obedience to the command of a bigoted priest.

I am not one of those who say "*this practice is contrary to the institutions of my own country, and I will therefore not submit to it.*" Persons who act on this principle are never well received among strangers; and amongst savage or half-civilized nations, their imprudence would expose them to the greatest perils, without having any body to blame for it but themselves. The best way in my opinion is to conform with a good grace to the customs of the countries through which we pass, and to bear patiently the crosses or absurdities which we have not the power of altering. He who travels for the sake of study, must act differently from the philosopher who would instruct, or the legislator who would reform. For my own part, I have generally kept my observations, praise, or censure, to myself. And if at any time my curiosity has led me too far, or made me brave certain prohibitions, I felt that I was alone responsible for my rashness, and that no other would be its victim. I confess also that a request not to do certain things has often led me to do those very things immediately;

I was resolved to see. I wish you to remark, however, that the dangers to which I exposed myself, had a very different object from that of insulting principles, or laughing at customs: *I wish to see*—I wish to know:—and even while I was braving the laws of the country, I assumed an air of respect for them; and on my return from a dangerous excursion, always manifested great veneration for the places I had visited. Of what future consequence then was any fault I might commit, so long as no one was injured by it, and my own curiosity was gratified. I wish you also to observe, that any violation of the absurd customs to which the natives of these islands are still subject, when committed by a foreigner, does not involve such serious consequences, as when committed by a native. I am ignorant whether Tammeamah's dying commands are one cause of the indulgence which is shown for the liberties we take; but it is certain that the Priests, Chiefs, and even the King himself, do not appear to attach much importance to the air of respect which strangers profess for their consecrated things; and they seem equally insensible to the contempt and indifference with which we speak of them.*

A few days ago, I showed Riouriou a *Camera-obscura*, which Mr. Lerebours was good enough to give me. The Queen had been already amused by those moving pictures; but the King, who had that day been *tabooed*, and was consequently forbidden to cover his head, could not partake of this pleasure: I therefore gave him to understand that I thought him wrong to allow

* Mr. Choris, the able draftsman of the Russian expedition, commanded by Captain Kotzebue, asserts in his interesting work, that the wife of *Kraimokou*, Governor of *Woahoo*, having remained on board an American ship after midnight, on a *tabooed* day, was indebted for her preservation entirely to the bravery of those who accompanied her on shore, where the people were waiting in crowds to put her to death.


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himself to be shackled by such an absurd interdiction, and that no evil could happen to him by infringing it. He refused with an air of terror; yet I am convinced he inwardly regretted his inability to satisfy his curiosity. I saw him some time after walking carelessly by the sea-side, but carefully avoiding the cocoa-nut trees, which would have afforded him shade.

I cannot affirm that the high-priest has the power to inflict any punishment on the Sovereign who should disobey his decrees; but I know, that should a Chief or any common person venture to do so, he would run the risk of his life.

The punishment of death is inflicted here in various ways;* and as if suffering was regarded as nothing, they begin by subjecting the criminal to a forty-eight hours' fast. This wholly differs from the system of the Brasilian tribes, who, previous to punishing, indulge their prisoners of war with every pleasure which can make them regret the loss of life. Here, as soon as the two days' fast is terminated, they conduct the criminal, bound, to a morai, at the door of which the high-priest is in waiting for him, and pronounces a certain formula, the meaning of which I have not been able to ascertain. Two or three persons then lay the criminal down on a piece of wood, placing his head on a stone; whilst the executioner, who is chosen indiscriminately from among the most athletic of the spectators, dispatches him by a violent blow on the forehead, with a club. His body is either interred immediately, or left to the birds of prey, according to the will of the priest, or the nature of the crime.

Another mode is,—the criminal is fixed with his back to a cocoa-nut tree, and strangled by two men, who pass a cord round his neck, and draw it with great force, supporting themselves by another tree at a short distance from the first.

* I obtained these details from M. Rives; and they were afterwards confirmed by Marini.

One thing of which Marini informed me is particularly worthy of remark; it is, that very few persons attend these executions, although they are of very rare occurence. Paris is a civilized place, Owhyhee a savage island!

It appears that the wishes of Tammeamah, to reserve the violators of sacred objects for occasions destined to render the gods favourable, have not been gratified. At present the natives who are surprised in a morai, or bathing in the sea, on a consecrated day, would be put to death upon the spot; and such is the respect which the people entertain for their ancient institutions, that when any person is found openly offending, every one tramples upon him, or treats him with unexampled cruelty.

No one is perhaps more under the dominion of these prejudices than Riouriou himself; nor any one so cruelly superstitious. If the sun or moon be eclipsed, he is the first to fly to the morais, and to order the execution of those whom his soldiers can seize, or who may happen to pass near that sacred dwelling; and the greater the number of victims thus sacrificed, the sooner he is persuaded will those luminaries resume their brightness.

Tell me, if it is not high time that the English, whose numerous vessels plough every sea—that the Americans, who already possess several small establishments in those islands, should liberate these poor people from the influence of customs of which Tammeamah had made them perceive the absurdity? What, not a single attempt made of this nature! If you are afraid that the abolition of these atrocities would be purchased by too much blood, undeceive yourselves; they press heavily on the Islanders themselves; and you would soon behold them, armed by yourselves, repulse those madmen who would attempt to oppose your benevolent exertions in their favour. Can that people be really wicked from whom the memory of a good King can draw so many tears?

In the Archipelago of the Society Islands, much less important than this, all these barbarous customs are unknown; while that of Sandwich, which has had a man of great conceptions for its Sovereign, appears likely, under the sceptre of Riouriou, to fall back into that darkness from which the genius of Tammeamah had begun to raise it.

LETTER CXXVII.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

INDEPENDENT of capital punishments, there are horrible ones for other crimes; and here I must avail myself of the observations of Mr. Gaimard, our second surgeon, who accompanied me on a visit to the man of whom I spoke in a former letter.

Whenever a native of the lower classes is convicted of being too intimate with the wife of a Chief, the latter has the right of seizing him, and of ordering his eyes to be put out. This cruel operation, which is in Europe often fatal, is rarely so here; and yet it is performed without the assistance of any instrument. I repeat that I have not seen it executed myself; but the poor wretch with whom Gaimard and myself conversed in presence of M. Rives, told us how it was executed upon him. Two men held him by the feet, two more by the arms, and another by the hair of the head; whilst a sixth, who was the executioner, gave him a violent blow with his fist over each eye, and almost at the same instant plunged his fore-finger into the lachrymal angle, and pulled out the ball; the other eye was taken out in the same manner, yet we could scarcely perceive a cicatrice under the lower eye-lid.

This fact may appear inconceivable; all the medical men to whom I have mentioned it, have treated the story as absurd: but M. Gaimard heard the recital, saw the victim and examined him; he is not easily persuaded of the truth of an opinion which his reason disavows. He is now in Paris; I publish the fact, I appeal to his testimony, and I have no fear of his contradicting me. The Spaniard, Marini, told me that he had witnessed two similar executions; adding, that they were very frequent, and that he never heard of their being attended with fatal consequences. Although I have never witnessed any of these horrible scenes, yet having seen one victim of them in company with a young surgeon of great talent; as several persons have assured me of the fact, who have been present; as all concurred in satisfying me that the operation was scarely ever mortal, and that it was performed without any kind of instrument, I can attest on oath the details which I have given. If I dwell at this length on circumstances which may appear incredible to our medical men, it is because I am afraid of having the old epithet, " travellers' stories" applied to what I have related. I have stated however nothing but facts, and abstained from all reasoning on the subject: what more can be required?*

That for the violation of any thing sacred, a considerable robbery, or any other crime, they should condemn an unfortunate being to the punishment I have described, may be easily conceived, particularly among a race of savages; but that a person who happened inadvertently to eat bananas or cocoa-nuts on a day when those fruits are forbidden, should be subject to it, is inconceivable, and what one cannot explain. If in Europe similar punishments were denounced against those who should eat meat on a Friday, the priests.....Hold my friend! These are

* Is not this punishment precisely the same with the practice of *gouging*, formerly (and it is believed still) prevalent in the United States? TRANSLATOR.

subjects upon which I shall not touch, and you will approve of my silence.

I have not heard that there are any prisons in the Sandwich Islands; but I understand that Tammeamah banished those of his officers who offended him, to Mowhee and Woahoo. As to such soldiers as did not instantly obey his orders, he put them to death without mercy, and frequently sacrificed their fathers and brothers along with them. I cannot venture to assert that human sacrifices are still offered up in this Archipelago; but when I put the question to M. Rives, he refused to answer me, and Marini turned away his head, affecting not to understand the question. Many Americans reside in the islands; the English are continually visiting them; yet these horrors continue!

There are many other punishments in use here, but they only fall on the cocks that crow on a *tabooed* day; and I merely mention such absurdities, to prove the state of darkness in which the inhabitants still remain.

Who then, it will be asked, are the persons that perpetuate such customs, and who so rigorously punish the violators of them?—The Priests. Who are the Priests? Ignorant and assuming bigots who play upon the credulity of the multitude, and who strip them of their property at pleasure.

Can you believe this, my friend? You who are at more than four thousand leagues distance from the Sandwich Islands! You who dwell in France!

LETTER CXXVIII.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

I HAVE in vain searched for a religion in this Archipelago; I have found priests, consecrated places, and idols; but I have seen no form of worship.

Besides the huts which I have already mentioned, to which they give the name of temples, there is in each morai a little sacred corner, whence the priests issue their oracles. I think I see them on the day after an offering has been made by the natives, and after having *tabooed* every spot from which they could be seen, assembled round the bananas, hogs, and pieces of cloth destined for the gods, gaily dividing the spoil, and laughing at the credulity of the people!

On the day following, crowds again approach the temples; the fruits have disappeared, the cloths have changed their places. The priest advances, and declares that the idols have gratified their hunger, and that they are satisfied with the generosity of the faithful: every one departs contented. I am told that the high-priest, following the example of the King, has seven gods and a goddess, whom he names *Kareo-Pai-Pĕah*. Is not this only another word for knavery?

On occasion of grand solemnities, such as the death of one of their Chiefs, or after a victory, the principal personages taboo themselves, and are preceded by one of the common people, bearing a white or a red fillet: death is denounced to whoever dares to speak to, or touch them. By way of thanksgiving for a victory, or to denote mourning for a defeat, they condemn themselves to a fast of twenty-four hours, while the morais and

temples are filled with provisions. Do you believe that the priests fast likewise?

Marini the Spaniard, who has been settled here for a number of years, and speaks the language like a native, knows by heart all the prayers in use among them, and he assures me that none of them have any meaning whatever. They are, by his account, words taken at random, and placed after each other, which in a sitting position they pronounce in a disagreeable humming tone; and, what is very remarkable, the most offensive words form the chief portion of these prayers. Do you not find an astonishing resemblance between these prayers and those of the natives of the Carolines? No one comprehends them; and does it not appear from the mysterious power which the priests attach to the unmeaning words they pronounce, that they merely wish to laugh at the credulity of the people, and to surround their power with a superstitious belief, that they alone possess the secret of understanding the supernatural language which they address to their gods?

Their principal deity is named *Kooah-Noohih-Noohih*,* others are called *Kaleah-Kohooh, Okanoo-Tooh, Okihoo-Okiai;* I know not whether these have any signification. Marini, from whom I have obtained part of these details, never appeared much disposed to answer my questions on such subjects; and he has told me that although he holds the worship of the natives in sovereign contempt, he had been frequently obliged to be present at their ceremonies of taboo, and that he durst not expose an image of Christ, or any indication whatever of our religion, even in his own house.

His two wives observe the rites of the country; and Marini, on

* I frequently put a final *h* to a number of the words of the Sandwich Islanders, because the natives in pronouncing them, generally finish by a slight aspiration, or a kind of suppressed sigh.

initiating them into the mysteries of our faith, did not prohibit them from paying obedience to their own priests. He also told me, that when he heard of any person likely to die, he went to his hut, and, under the pretext of applying a remedy, he baptized him. "I have already," said he, "in this way saved more than three hundred souls from hell!" This is not the only benefit he has conferred upon these islands. I wish I could give you some positive details of the religious ceremonies prevailing here, if there really exist any; but all those to whom I address myself on such topics either refuse to answer my questions, or studiously elude them: the best way under such circumstances is to suppose, that in preserving this profound silence on the subject, they are conscious they have nothing but absurdities to relate, or horrors to unveil.

LETTER CXXIX.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

IF you happen to know any young female European, who is anxious to travel, and to procure a foreign husband; if you have the smallest regard for her, pray advise her never to think of settling in the Sandwich Islands. The condition of the women here is truly wretched, and, if not regarded as beasts of burden, they are treated like beings perfectly useless, except to propagate the species.

There is scarcely ever any affection between a wife and her husband. A man goes into a hut, and offers ten yards of cloth for a young girl, whom he proves his ability to maintain; his offer is accepted, he takes away his bargain, and a few days after, he is at liberty to leave her, and take another. If, however, she happens

to be pregnant, the husband is obliged to retain her, and in that case he generally does so with pleasure.

The attachment of Tammeamah for his favourite Queen is a subject of great praise; how is it that his example has not found a single imitator?

Next to taro, the food which the Sandwich Islanders most prefer, are bananas, hogs, and cocoa-nuts. Yet a woman convicted of having only once eaten of these, is instantly put to death. She suffers the same penalty if she dresses her food at a fire which has been kindled by a man; or even if she smokes one of his pipes! Their apartments are distinct; the men may, however, enter those of the females when they please; while the women are prohibited from going into those of the males, under pain of death.

At Karakakooa and Toyai, I saw most of the women employed in manufacturing cloths. Here I have only seen them occupied in making mats. It is true that the paper-mulberry is not so common here as at Owhyhee, and that foreigners, who more frequently visit Woahoo, leave behind them a great number of shirts, with which the greatest part of the young females clothe themselves. Can you guess why we seldom see any but the prettiest among them habited in these shirts, and why the old women never have any? All the women, even the Queens, are excluded from the ceremony of *tabooing*; and it would be impossible to save their lives, if they were to present themselves at it: they are afraid of their indiscretions.

Need I be afraid, after this description, that any Parisian female would have the least desire of settling at the Sandwich Islands?

Strangers who come to this Archipelago, have little difficulty in meeting with a female companion. They enter a hut, and for a handkerchief, a necklace of glass beads, one or two shining buttons, or similar trifles, they are at liberty to make their choice.

You need not be afraid of a refusal, even if you address yourself to the husband or brother; they will immediately go out, and not attempt to return till you allow them.

Here there is no rivalry or jealousy between the women: if you do not like her whom you first selected, she will go and find you another, who will please you better; she will lend you her mat; she will offer you the use of her cabin.

The word licentiousness has no meaning here; every one runs after pleasure, and no one finds the least fault. I repeat, is there any fear that a *Parisienne* would ever come to settle here?

LETTER CXXX.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

THE men scarcely wear any clothes; the dress of the women sometimes consists of a piece of linen, tied in a knot round the waist, and falling down to the knees; at other times they wrap five or six folds of coarse cloth round their bodies, and which covers them from head to foot.

I have remarked that the feet of the Brasilians and Hottentots whom I saw at the Cape, those of the natives of Mosambique, the Timorians, those of Rawak, and Waigiou, are all long, and extremely flat. Here they are small and pretty, and very much resemble those of the Carolinians. The distance between these two Archipelagos is between eight and nine hundred leagues, and yet various observations induce me to conclude that both these people have had a common origin. The character of their physiognomy is certainly not the same; but their skin is of the same colour, and many of their motions perfectly analogous!

I have seen several slings at Woahoo, which are twisted exactly

like those of the Carolines; and the little net bag in the middle is precisely similar. Their language, it is true, differs; but their songs have nearly a similar tone. As to their dances, if those of this place are more warlike, it may arise from the taste for conquests with which their Kings have inoculated them, and from that belligerent disposition which they have acquired in encampments, or military campaigns; soften the language and the sudden movements, and the dance is the same. The motions of the arms and lower limbs, the pauses, the short steps, the rolling of the eyes, and the sighs, are all what I saw at the Carolines: I have only observed that here the gaiety is sometimes terrific, in the Carolines it was almost always gentle and timid.

In other respects, both have nearly the same taste for navigation, and the same skill when at sea: the first, it is true, only manœuvre their flying proas with the sail, while the others seldom make use of any thing but the oar; the difference arises, however, from the different construction of their vessels. Both people are the best swimmers in the universe.

Each nation has the same passion for those designs with which they cover their bodies; with this difference, that here, the devices are unmeaning and whimsical, without taste, and in general badly executed; while those of the Carolines possess the greatest beauty and regularity.

At Owhyhee, the instrument with which they tattoo themselves is the claw of a small bird, of which the points are drawn close together, by a thread made from the banana tree. This claw is fixed at the end of a small rod, but at right angles, so that in giving it slight blows, the claws pierce the skin by degrees.* At the Carolines, the mode of tattooing is the same, though the instrument differs: there it consists of a crab's claw, the points of which are always equidistant, which guides the artist, and enables

* The opposite plate will give a better idea of this subject.

him to execute those beautiful designs, which adorn, and almost appear to clothe them.*

It would be easy for me to point out other traits of resemblance between the two nations; but I fear the pleasure I have in speaking of the Carolinians draws me further than I could wish. I return to the Sandwich Islanders.

The natives of this Archipelago go bare-footed; but when any accident obliges them to take precautions, they make very convenient sandals out of the leaf of the banana tree, asserting, that the coolness and juice of the leaf is an excellent remedy for hurts of every kind. I certainly have more faith in it, than in the efficacy of the *Kankrelas*† of the Governor of the Mariannes.

When a female of the Sandwich Islands wishes to shelter her shoulders or bosom from the heat of the sun, she makes a hole in a large leaf of the banana tree, passes her head through it, and thus forms a very convenient covering. I have seen several young girls thus attired on the shore, who recalled to my mind the fabulous Naiads, whom the imagination of the poets has pictured to us as sporting with the Tritons, and other deities of the ocean.

* In a work worthy the attention of the learned, and calculated to excite the curiosity of those who wish for information, M. Maltebrun thinks that the designs with which savages adorn their bodies, are the histories of their family, and ancestors. I regret to be obliged to oppose this ingenious opinion: one proof amongst many others to the contrary, that the designs are taken and disposed by chance, is, that many times I amused myself with tracing figures on the shoulders and thighs of the savages, the subjects of which my own imagination always supplied. I must however add, in favour of M. Maltebrun's opinion, that since the death of Tammeamah, all the Chiefs, and numbers of the lower classes, have engraved his name upon their arms, together with the date of his death. At the Carolines, all those of the same rank have designs exactly similar; these cannot therefore be the history of their families.

† Boiste spells it *Kakerlacque*; but I have followed the above mode, mariners not knowing the animal by any other name.

They have all a great passion for necklaces, bracelets, and crowns. All the flowers of the Sandwich Islands are put in requisition for the purpose of adorning the women, and they are generally arranged with elegance and taste. When unprovided with pearls, or glass beads, they make drawings of necklaces and garters on the skin in a manner really wonderful: their other devices consist of hunting-horns, helmets, muskets, rings, but more particularly fans, and goats. Those of the men are muskets, cannon, goats, and dominos; together with the name of Tammeamah, and the day of his death.

The hair of the females is worn short; that of the men long, and in general disposed like the horse-hair on the helmets of our dragoons.

The men may partake of every kind of food, excepting on the days of *taboo*, or of consecration, while the women are only allowed to eat water melons, poë, bread-fruit, and fish. The intoxicating beverage of both sexes is *ava;* this is said to make the skin fall off in scales, to redden the eyes, and render the body lean. There is no doubt that many of the Chiefs drink it in profusion, to prevent them from becoming corpulent.

The objects of exchange which they prefer, are guns and powder for the Chiefs; hatchets, ermine, and knives, for the other classes of the natives; and handkerchiefs, glasses, and beads, for the women. In other respects, dollars will easily purchase whatever these islands produce.

There are no venomous animals or beasts of prey in the Sandwich Islands. Marini keeps about twenty horses, and a very large aviary.

I do not think that Riouriou would ever permit a foreigner to be a benefactor to his dominions; he would rather see his subjects remain as stupid as himself.

LETTER CXXXI.

Woahoo, (Sandwich Islands.)

SUCH are at present the Sandwich Islands.* I have told you what I have seen: I have related what I have heard from persons whom I could not suspect of any intention to deceive me. Every thing, as you see, is savage in this Archipelago; yet a powerful man, a generous king, has governed it for a considerable number of years.

If the youth of Tammeamah had been as glorious as his old age, it is to be presumed the manners of his people would have been improved at least by habit, if not by reason. But, alas! this monarch did not begin to make his subjects sensible of the benefits of civilization, till his advanced age no longer allowed him to establish them on a solid basis. And besides, the strangers who visit this Archipelago are not guided by sufficient disinterestedness and good faith, to induce the inhabitants to adopt their manners and customs.

The glorious days of the reign of Tammeamah were those when he was in the flower of his age. He was cruel in his youth; in his old age he had to blush for his unfortunate campaign against *Atooi*.

While young, his subjects were terrified at his hasty and violent temper. The least opposition to his will, was punished with death: and unhappily the Chiefs, who had served his predecessor, seconded him but too well in his deeds of cruelty. One day, in a fit of jealousy, (for he alone here experienced the passions of

* We were told, that the natives of *Atooi* were in a more advanced state of civilization than those of Owhyhee or Woahoo. I am not much inclined to think so, if it be true that their King is as cruel as he is commonly reported to be.

Europe,) he condemned his two sons to be strangled; and was so enraged at the tardiness of the executioner, that he rushed upon them, and strangled them with his own hands, amid a great part of the population of Karakakooa, accidentally assembled in the public square.

Age however calmed his passions, the people adored him; and his officers often expressed to him a wish, to be sacrificed on his tomb. I confess I forgot to ask, whether any of these sacrifices actually took place: but M. Choris, whom I take pleasure in quoting, asserts, that several of his favourites had solicited this strange boon.

It is impossible to eradicate from the natives of the Sandwich Islands the idea, that the death of their great King was announced by prodigies. A short time previous to his being seized with that illness which removed him from his people's love, the sea rose six feet above the highest tides, and fell again in a few minutes. No subterraneous noise was heard, no shock was felt; the sky was clear, the air was calm, the sea alone was agitated: no damage however was done to any vessels. This I was told by Marini.

Throughout the whole of the islands, on the day of that phenomenon, there was but one voice respecting it; all anticipated calamities: and as, in the expectation of great catastrophes, fear always presupposes the most terrible, the whole population regarded it as a presage of the death of Tammeamah, who in fact died a week afterwards.

To form a just estimate of the qualities of this extraordinary man, we must place ourselves amid the people whom he was called to command: we must see him, subjected at first to the barbarous customs of his ancestors; struggling afterward against the inclinations of the Chiefs, who wished to maintain them; and ultimately stamping them with his courageous reprobation.

It is certain that, with the power ascribed to him, we may be excused for supposing that he did not render his possessions so flourishing as he might have done; and that he did not do enough to advance his people higher in the scale of civilization. A number of barbarous prejudices still flourish there; and, unless his son has adopted them anew, we must blame Tammeamah for not having destroyed them.

Be that as it may, he is the first who abolished human sacrifices: he it was who favoured commerce with strangers, by establishing in his states simple regulations, calculated to promote the general interest by means of barter; he set an example of the first legal judgment, at the condemnation of the two Chiefs who had set up the standard of revolt at Woahoo and Mowhee; and it was he also who refused to offer up victims to the Sun and Moon, when these celestial bodies were eclipsed.

He added to his navy a schooner and two fine brigs, purchased from the Americans: he received strangers with distinction: he showed himself equally polite with themselves in exchanging civilities: he caused forts of some consequence to be built at Owhyhee and Woahoo; he considerably increased the number of his cannon and musquets: he subjected his troops to strict discipline: in short, he showed himself worthy the regard and friendship of some of the Sovereigns of Europe. Let us add, that his courage was proof against all dangers, that his genius was superior to that of his royal predecessors—and we may form a conception of the imperishable attachment which all the natives of the Sandwich Islands have vowed to him, and of the religious respect with which they pronounce his name.*

* 500,000 dollars (above £100,000) were found in his treasury.

LETTER CXXXII.

At Sea.

I BEGIN to think myself very foolish to entertain such apprehensions at the commencement of our voyage; and to perceive, that nothing is in fact more easy than to make the tour of the world. What Mediterranean sailor would not consider a voyage to the Canary Islands as a mere trip? What seaman on the western coasts would think any thing of an expedition to Martinique, Cayenne, or Brasil: from Brasil to the Cape of Good Hope, not the least obstacle occurs, not the slightest reef of rocks. If you would get into a higher latitude in search of the general winds, the island of *Tristan d'Acunha* is the point where you ought to stop and put about. On the contrary, would you approach the coast of Africa, you will salute as you pass St. Helena, now associated with such important recollections, and the latitude is given. From the Cape to the Isle of France is not above seven or eight hundred leagues; and the wind pent up in the channel of Mosambique will hurry you over this distance in a short time. Bourbon touches on the Isle of France: and, if the passage thence to Endracht's Land be longer, nothing detains you on it, you have avoided the zone of calms. Timor, Amboyna, Waigiou, pass before your eyes, without your having time to perceive them; and simple canoes make these easy trips daily.

Occasionally you will heartily curse the heat and the calms: but what situation in life is without its inconveniencies and vicissitudes? Be prudent and above all provident, and you will have water to quench your thirst: calculate your resources, and these trips will not be more laborious than others. At the Marianne Islands you will forget some slight crosses, and inhale strength

and spirits to reach the Sandwich Islands. After having studied the manners of the savage inhabitants of that Archipelago, you will reach Port Jackson by passing amid the *Feejee* or Friendly Islands, which are not always such to strangers. If travelling by land amuse you, you may hire horses that will carry you beyond the Blue Mountains, in Europe deemed impassable, and return to Sydney, not to Botany Bay, as is still imagined among us; after having seen those savage hordes, which are gradually disappearing from this fifth quarter of the globe, and whose wretched existence you cannot help deploring. To return to your own home, you will double Cape Horn, after enjoying the sublime view of those enormous masses of ice, that have been torn from the pole by impetuous winds, and driven to a less rigid clime. If you are wise, you will take *a good offing* from that little known point of the American continent, and you will be enabled to meet with tranquillity, the assaults of those terrible hurricanes, that ravage those antartic regions. On returning to that Atlantic Ocean, *swept*, as I may say, by so many vessels of so many nations, you are at home.....but no; sometimes pointed rocks sport with your confidence, and punish you for being too happy or too presumptuous. Let us hope, that we shall escape this trifling inconvenience; and that our prudence and sagacity will guard us from every kind of misfortune.

Do you know, my friend, that I begin already to calculate? and that, it seems as if two-thirds of our course are already passed. This idea imparts to my heart such lively joy, that I finish my letter hastily, as if a courier were at the door, ready to take it and deliver it.

LETTER CXXXIII.

At Sea.

HAVE you received my last letter? Have you answered it? I have already proceeded a long way, since the last courier departed, and I have something to tell you. Friendship is communicative; for whatever interests us must also be interesting to our friends.

After having quitted Woahoo with much regret at not being able to visit Atooi, where we might have completed our observations on the natives of the Sandwich Islands, our ship's head was directed nearly South, and we might conjecture at our ease where she would stop next. We were persuaded, that we should first touch at Otaheite; and read with avidity those pleasing pages of the narrative of our Bougainville, where he describes the pleasures his crew tasted in that island, exhibited by his original mind as a terrestrial paradise... Our most ardent wishes carried us to that point of Venus, consecrated by so many feasts: we counted our handkerchiefs, our buttons, our necklaces; in short, we reckoned up all our wealth, and the most economical of us congratulated themselves on having saved from the seductions of the Marianne and Sandwich Islands, a number of trifles, which they hoped not to carry so far as Port Jackson. For my part, my friend, I had no longer any thing to reckon; my wealth had vanished; a few waistcoat buttons composed the whole of my fortune, and I endeavoured to reconcile myself before-hand to the privations that threatened me.

The wind was favourable, and we were advancing with rapidity.....On a sudden orders are given to alter our course, and stand to the westward. Certainly our voyage had already been

pretty long, and we could not be otherwise than a little fatigued with so many cruises; yet a little gloom overshadowed our countenances, as soon as we had reason to fear that we should no touch at Otaheite.

The care and attention bestowed on the observation, showever, led us to presume, that our Captain was seeking one of the nodes of the magnetic meridian; and we thought with some reason, that, after having found it, we should turn back, and at length visit the desired island. You know, my dear Batlle, we love to believe, what is the wish of our hearts.

We have just found this node of the magnetic meridian, but our course is not altered. The possessors of European trifles already begin to disdain them, while they who have none left no longer regret their prodigality. Two days, three days, succeed; we are already far from Otaheite: we renounce the hope, that had so much seduced us. We are steering our course toward New Holland. At least, may the distance that separates us from it be soon passed over![*]

We have made land..... it is *Pilstaart* Island. It perfectly resembles a bower. Rocks as pointed and slender as church steeples, have been placed there by nature in a poetic fit. At a distance you would say a squadron of ships was endeavouring to take the island. The foot of these pyramids, beaten incessantly by the waves, preserves its dingy hue; while the upper part, the resort of millions of birds, is covered with a white coat, that well resembles at some distance the sails of a ship.

* I cannot express to you the regret we all felt, at not touching at any of the little known islands of this vast ocean. Otaheite had particularly excited our wishes: and we supposed that our Captain must have been bound by his instructions not to touch there, by steering a different course when we were so near it. However, Otaheite at present would have offered no result of importance to the sciences: and it is probable, that this consideration alone determined M. Freycinet to steer at once for Port Jackson.

The nearer we approach, the better we distinguish the needles. The *coup d'œil* is truly magnificent, and I am endeavouring to take an accurate view of it.

If we may credit mariners, this island is uninhabited and uninhabitable; accordingly we pass by, without complaining of the winds that carry us from it. But we think we distinguish a canoe beyond one of the most pointed rocks: we are certain of it: it is manned by three persons, who are rowing with all their might: they are coming towards us: they wave a piece of white cloth on the end of a paddle: perhaps they are some poor fellows, whom a storm has driven thus far: perhaps they are persons unfortunately shipwrecked, to whom providence sends unexpected succour.* Let us wait for them, should there even be some danger in doing it so near the land.....The breeze continues, the island sinks, the rocks are already confounded with the vegetation..... alas! we are at a considerable distance: at length we bring to; but night is coming on,—we can no longer distinguish the canoe, our hearts sink within us. How many days may elapse, before such another opportunity offers itself to those unfortunate men!

LETTER CXXXIV.

At Sea.

AT last we have made a geographical discovery: a small spot of land appears in the horizon not laid down in the charts. If

* It is possible, that they were three natives of Pilstaart, and that the island is inhabited, for we saw there some very fine clumps of cocoa trees. It would have been gratifying to have landed there; and we requested the Captain to do so, but in vain; though no doubt he would have been very ready to have done it, had it been practicable.

it should prove a continent! If it should be an island like Sumatra, or Borneo! Should it only be such a one as Timor, or Manilla!.....We draw near; it displays itself in all its majesty. Congratulate us, my dear Batlle; it may be a short quarter of a league in diameter: I flatter it;—it is near a quarter of a league in circumference. Lengthened reefs surround it, and render its vicinity very dangerous. A few trees crown its summit, on which thousands of birds take refuge.

Let us see; what shall we call it? Let it be a flowery name. Shall it be Green Island, Red Island, or ..... No, I suppose it will be *Rose* Island.

Perhaps it might be beneficial immediately to point out its latitude and longitude, since it may prove fatal to some voyager: but I am forbidden to disclose the secret, and I am dumb.

LETTER CXXXV.

In sight of New Holland.

IT is so true, that one pleasurable moment effaces from the mind of the voyager, even the remembrance of past vexations, that now we are arriving at a new colony, where we cannot fail to gratify our impatient curiosity, we no longer venture to complain of the motives that carried us to a distance from Otaheite; and on the contrary, congratulate ourselves on seeing the happy moment that will again show us our native land, approach with more rapidity.

We are now off New Holland; every step will now bring us nearer Europe: one more laborious course, and we shall revisit the Atlantic Ocean.

The coast that shows itself before us, though woody at inter-

vals, is far from answering the idea we had formed of it from exaggerated descriptions. The foregrounds in particular are extremely barren, and intersected by little coves, which must afford excellent shelter for boats. A little higher up, a tolerably vivid vegetation shows itself here and there; while in a clear distance, grayish mountains, on which sparkle fires, kindled no doubt by the savages, crown the landscape with a tolerably fine effect.

How vexatious that night is coming on! one hour's daylight more, and we should enter the river..... Impossible, my friend. The breeze dies away, and we must ply off and on, till to-morrow morning.

Harbours on our right hand, harbours on our left; Sydney river, with its light-house before us; it seems impossible, that we should miss the anchoring place, since our Captain has studied the geography of the coast.

It is seven o'clock in the morning, we are still plying to windward, and I am afraid we shall not see Port Jackson to-day. How vexatious!

But the wind suddenly ceases; we have a chopping sea, as after a violent storm; flashes of white lightning furrow the cloud, that flies rapidly over the mountains, already enveloped in dark night. This vast mass of vesicular vapour separates from the earth, and remains motionless at a small elevation; other copper-coloured clouds fall on it, they become tornadoes, collect, and change their shapes and hues. The eye perceives balls of fire, sheaves, phantoms. You wish to point out an object; it is gone. Rapid fires rend them, the thunder sullenly growls: you would say, that all the elements in confusion were warring against each other in the air. The ship is motionless and prudently awaits the issue of the turmoil it witnesses. The sails are brailed up. Presently the sea boils around it: it is agitated;

it rises, it bellows: and we, tossed about by it, are driven twenty or thirty leagues from that land, at which we had flattered ourselves with arriving some days sooner.

LETTER CXXXVI.

Sydney, (New Holland.)

THE entrance of Port Jackson may be at most a league across. A few reefs, and two or three rocks even with the water's edge, nearly touch the north point of the river, and are consequently little to be dreaded by ships. As we advance, the passage imperceptibly widens, and offers to the mariner a considerable number of little creeks, that are well sheltered, and a sure protection against bad weather.

The coast that borders the spacious harbour of Port Jackson, is a curious spectacle; a novel and vigorous vegetation is there intermixed with small houses, the European architecture of which strikes our eyes, and excites our admiration. We see only the advanced posts of a city, and are struck with astonishment: we are scarcely arrived, and ask how many ages this colony has existed.

An edifice equally useful and majestic first presents itself to the view of the traveller. At the South entrance of the river rises a magnificent light-house, equally solid and elegant in its structure; the light is visible at a distance, is revolving, and shows itself only at equal intervals, that ships may not confound it with fires kindled on other parts of the mountains. A telegraph is added to this building, and corresponds, through two intermediate posts, with that placed on the governor's palace at Sydney. Farther on we see country houses, that remind us of

the elegant seats in the environs of Bordeaux. Large, useless plants and weeds have given place to the fruit-trees of Europe and regular odoriferous hedges; and amid a prodigal and sportive nature appear, as if by enchantment, long and spacious avenues, terminated by country boxes, carefully embellished by the ingenious hand of art.

On the left of the river, a handsome dwelling, seated on the slope of a hill, shaded by light *casuarinas*, elegant *Norfolk pines**, and lofty *eucalyptuses*, particularly claims our attention. The grape, the peach, and the apple, enrich it alternately. Little terraces are intersected by trenches filled with cool and limpid water: huts are reserved for the stores: a noble building denotes the abode of the master. Every thing is turned to advantage, every thing is rendered useful, round this superb habitation: and Mr. Piper, the harbour-master, who built it, seems to have embellished it only the better to entertain strangers.

He was the first person who came on board us; he welcomed us in the most flattering manner; and it was impossible for any one to show more readiness to serve us. Shall we find every one here equally obliging?

The road is defended by several fortifications, very well placed, and in very good condition. That we first remark, is the battery at the signal-post, of solid construction, built on a rock very difficult of approach, and making a cross fire with a redoubt at the East of the little bay. A new fort, regular and of little elevation, but built like the ancient towers, is also capable of protecting or preventing a landing; and seems placed there more particularly to defend the stores and residence of the governor, whose stables appear to me to be built with a view to render them capable of being fortified in case of need. Their

* Araucaria.

architecture is so whimsical, that I cannot find terms to describe it.

It was near this last fort, that we dropped anchor the first day; and thence also the landscape appears in all its majesty.

LETTER CXXXVII.

Sydney Town, Capital of Cumberland County, (New South Wales.)

ENGLAND was infested by thieves and highwaymen; girls of the town were the ruin of families; a nook of land, almost at the antipodes of London, offered nations a secure asylum from storms; a few whale-fishers, and an experienced captain, gave a brilliant description of this country; a philosopher conceived a generous and philanthropic plan. Ships employed by the state were loaded with those whom the metropolis disowned as her children: they were landed in New Holland..... The robber obliterates the remembrance of his crimes by an active and laborious life: the prostitute becomes a wife and a mother, and remembers her errors only to detest them; her children receive from her lessons of probity and honour: the lands are parcelled out by a judicious, impartial, and rigid Governor, who bestows with discernment, and refuses with firmness: they are cleared by vigorous hands, that acquire from them wealth, of which the possessor will have no reason to be ashamed. Lofty trees, that ages had so much trouble to rear, are felled, and rolled over the ground that fed them. Spacious buildings assume the place of smoky huts; an active and intelligent population is now in motion, and eager in pursuit of pleasure, on the very spot where savages formerly engaged in bloody combats. Obscure paths become broad and level roads: a town arises—a colony is formed—Sydney becomes a flourishing city.

LETTER CXXXVIII.

Sydney.

OUR Staff went ashore to-day, and were introduced to the principal officers of government by Mr. Piper, whose obliging attentions never slackened for a moment. General Macquarrie, governor of all the English possessions in New Holland, received us with extreme kindness, and assured us, that whatever the country afforded was at our service. The judge-advocate, Mr. Wylde, a person of great merit, and the judge, Mr. Field, were, emulous to convince us, that we were among friends. The store-keeper-general of the colony expressed in the most flattering terms, the happiness he should feel in doing any thing to serve us: in a word, we were loaded with civilities; and when these visits were concluded, the officers of the garrison, the colonel in particular, joined us, would be our guides in our different walks, and shewed that they also set some value on our friendship.

I will not give you a description of the town, which I have just gone through: I am enchanted, and I had rather give my admiration some respite. Magnificent hotels, majestic mansions, houses of extraordinary taste and elegance, fountains ornamented with sculptures worthy the chisel of our best artists, spacious and airy apartments, rich furniture, horses, carriages, and one-horse chaises of the greatest elegance, immense storehouses—would you expect to find all these, four thousand leagues from Europe? I assure you, my friend, I fancied myself transported into one of our handsomest cities.

The English garden that embellishes the government house, particularly fixed my attention; I spent two hours there in one evening; and beneath a Norfolk pine, whose horizontal and

graceful branches agreeably sheltered me from the heat of the sun, I sat down to meditate on my native land. The shrill cry of the yellow-crested white cockatoo occasionally struck my ear; and while I pursued with my eye, and could stroke with my hand, the silky plumage and rounded bodies of several black swans, that stalked sedately through the walks, my attention was distracted by the irregular noise of the swift kangaroo, which, resting on its tail and long hind feet, leaped over hedges and bushes, without any object in view. Every thing was new to me, trees and animals; and I cannot express to you the magic charm I felt, as my memory dwelt on the dearest objects of my own country, from which every thing in nature told me I was far away.

A single instant had produced this metamorphosis, a single step had caused these new emotions. In the town, I beheld Europe, for European hands had raised it: here nature was not altered, and not a form, scarcely a leaf, resembled the productions of our countries; I was alone with myself, I was a stranger to every thing.

The approach of night put a stop to my reflections; and I returned on board, carrying with me an eager desire to land again, and again to enjoy the same spectacle.

LETTER CXXXIX.

Sydney.

MR. WOLLSTONECRAFT, one of the principal merchants here, and whose name has acquired a certain degree of celebrity in England,* has given us some accounts of this colony, (which one

* Mrs. Wollstonecraft was the author of an excellent work, entitled *The Rights of Woman.*

of his partners has made very dangerous scientific excursions to explore,) that strongly excite our curiosity. Mr. Scott, private secretary to the storekeeper-general, and a man of great erudition, particularly captivated our attention, even on subjects of little importance, by his agreeable and original powers of description. Mr. Oxley the surveyor-general, whose skill and courage have had the guidance of expeditions to the interior of New Holland, that have shared with him their honourable dangers, has also given us an interesting account of his adventurous excursions; and already makes us sensible, that we shall hereafter be indebted to his zeal and courage for the knowledge of a vast portion of this fifth quarter of the globe. M. de Mestre, and one of his friends, whose name I am sorry I have forgotten, offered themselves as our guides in the different excursions we wished to make. The officers of the garrison have proposed to join us in shooting parties, in which we shall find both an instructive and useful recreation. We have engagements for a fortnight, and all the inhabitants of Port Jackson rival each other in their attentions to us.

The town of Sydney-Cove, the capital of Cumberland county, is built partly in a plain, partly on a little hill, that overlooks the south side of the river, so as to display an amphitheatre, and form a delightful prospect. The principal buildings exhibit themselves in a very original manner over the old wooden houses, which are gradually disappearing, and have their places supplied by structures of hewn stone, ornamented with pleasing sculptures, and embellished by balconies, in a style truly remarkable. You would imagine that our best architects had deserted Europe, and repaired to New Holland, to re-produce their most elegant designs.

You see at first, on the left, the spacious residence of the Governor, surrounded by a magnificent English garden. The apart-

ments are remarkable for their distribution, richness, and for the pictures they contain of combats between the savages of New Holland. The Governor, who resides a part of the year in his palace at Parramatta, has not had the bad taste to overload this fine dwelling with too many sculptures or other ornaments, which are almost always detrimental to the general appearance, and spoil the effect.

To the right of the palace, but at a great distance, appears the regular front of the superb barracks, built of brick and stone. Still farther on is an hospital of elegant design, ornamented with a fine colonnade, where the patients may breathe a pure and salubrious air at all hours of the day. At a less distance is distinguished a spacious building, which is the house of prayer; and still nearer, on the harbour itself, we perceive immense magazines, in which are deposited the goods kept in store. Fronting this storehouse, on the other side of the cove, is a quay not yet finished, where ships may be laid down to careen, without incurring the least danger. A great number of other public buildings and private houses embellish this truly magnificent prospect; and nothing indicates that this town, already so beautiful, is the work but of a few years.

In the new quarter, the streets are wide, straight, but not carefully paved; which renders them difficult of access, and disagreeable in the rainy season. As to the old quarter, built on the slope of a steep hill, foot passengers alone can make use of the paths close to the houses; and it is easy to foresee, that in a little time it will be destroyed, unless the ground be levelled, which in certain places would require infinite labour.

The environs of the town are not very luxuriant, though tolerably well cultivated. A few country-houses however, built with elegance, and embellished with gardens loaded with the fruits of Europe, fix the attention. Of the trees transferred from our climates, the peach and the oak have succeeded best. The

former produces excellent fruit, and grows without trouble; the latter is as beautiful as in our finest countries; and, if I may credit our botanist, even acquires here more valuable qualities for building. The other trees that shade the ground, are the fig, the pear, the apple, and the orange; all useful, all furnishing resources in time of scarcity.

When the sun is setting, and the observer from the top of a lofty building turns his eyes towards the country, he enjoys a prospect truly interesting. From the midst of those deep forests that lately were trodden by the feet of savages alone, arise immense columns of smoke, impelled by the wind, amid which burns a bright flame, illumining the distant horizon. All the new grants are cleared by burning: an old trunk of a tree at first resists the fire; by degrees its moist covering dries, is charred, and becomes itself fuel to feed it; the branches are consumed, and bring down with them the neighbouring branches, which soon communicate the flame to the remotest trees; but, as these burnings must be frequently repeated, and the proprietor of a piece of ground must guarantee the adjacent property, he begins by circumscribing with the axe, the space he means to cultivate. The fire, arriving at this boundary, as it ceases to find aliment, stops, dies away, and its beneficent ashes give life to the land it has thus cleared.

LETTER CXL.

Sydney.

I CANNOT comprehend how the government of Sydney, so sage in its regulations, so just and so severe in its policy, can permit savages from the interior to reside in the capital. For the

purpose of concealing from women and young girls the disgusting spectacle of hideous nakedness, it ought to confine to a separate quarter all those wretches who wear no kind of clothing; or, by a regulation strictly enforced, oblige the savages to conceal at least certain parts with the skin of a kangaroo, or some other covering.

Yesterday I went to the house of one of the richest and most respectable merchants here, to spend the evening. What was my astonishment, on entering the court, to see girls from fifteen to eighteen years old encouraging in their savage sports, men and women absolutely naked, and exhibiting all the appearance of the most disgusting wretchedness! These persons, covered with old scars, and armed with spears and clubs, had already received as rewards for their capers and grimaces, some pieces of bread, which they still held in their arm-pits, and a few glasses of wine or brandy, the active effect of which on them was already perceptible by a boisterous mirth and frightful dancing. Their gestures soon became more violent, and their language more loud: all spoke at once, all shook with a ferocious air their murderous weapons. Attracted by the noise, the master and mistress of the house hastened to the place with their guests, and invited me to wait the issue of the disturbance. I yielded with a good grace, persuaded that their excesses would not be carried to any greater height, and that the ladies would leave us to *enjoy* the spectacle alone. In this expectation I was disappointed; and their soft voices, on the contrary, excited the courage, or rather the ferocity of the actors. But when these poor creatures had finished the prelude to their bacchanals, they began to brandish their clubs with greater force and dexterity against the adjacent fence, as if they were practising to strike more surely; afterwards these unfortunate men, whose gaiety at first appeared so peaceable, struck each other repeated blows; two of them

were stretched on the ground dangerously wounded, and a third received a mortal blow. Their companions, who had hitherto taken no part in the action, but by encouraging the combatants, then rose, quietly carried off the victims, who were perhaps their fathers or brothers, and disappeared with their burdens.

This scene took place in the midst of a civilized city; the spectators were respectable merchants, and elegant and accomplished young ladies; a few days before, I had already seen, in company with my friend Dubaud, a similar spectacle in the yard of a little public-house, where also one savage fell a victim to the cruelty of another.

The manners of these poor creatures, their habits and customs, furnish the curious inquirer with a number of interesting particulars. When we think of the poverty of their country, and the scanty resources they find in the waters of the ocean and rivers; and when we calculate the small advantages they can derive from their weapons; we need not be surprised at the small number of individuals that travellers have found in these vast solitudes. The wandering and precarious life they are forced to lead, and the very frequent recurrence of a total want of food, sufficiently account for their feeble constitutions. A body lean, and far from robust, supports a head void of expression, or rather characterised by brutal ferociousness. They have in general small eyes, a very flat nose, a mouth of monstrous width, enormous feet and hands, excessively slender legs and arms, and very white teeth. Most of them want the two front teeth of the upper jaw; and I have seen a young girl of fourteen or fifteen undergo this painful operation with astonishing fortitude. She rested her head against a wall, while a woman much older than herself, whom I took to be her mother from the likeness between them, applied to the two teeth she wished to be removed, a bit of wood of the thickness of a quill, and struck it with a large stone. The young girl did not

utter a single cry, or make the least wry face, though the operation was twice repeated. As I was very desirous of knowing whether this custom were generally adopted by all girls, and whether there were any period at which this sacrifice was enjoined them; I endeavoured by my gestures to make the old woman understand me, and asked why she had thus removed these two teeth. She answered me by a gesture so expressive, adopted in all the islands of the South Sea, that I no longer doubted but the young girl was about to be married; and I was still more convinced of this, when I saw a savage painted with a thousand stripes come up, throw a kangaroo skin over the shoulders of his intended, spit repeatedly in her face, and trace on her body stripes of all colours with oclire and gums. I confess this fashion of dressing, and the attention paid to it by her gallant adorer, so raised my curiosity, that I followed the happy couple as far as the wood that surrounds the Governor's garden. The two spouses made their appearance a few minutes after, and I observed on the face of the husband some traces of the stripes that I had seen on that of the woman.

Alas! how brief is the duration of gallantry among these men, barbarous as they are, though so near the state of nature! On his return from this excursion, the husband threw on his wife's shoulders a little bag, containing some provision, for which he was indebted to the generosity of the English; ordered her to walk a little faster; and even assisted her with a few kicks, that made her advance more speedily than she wished. Indignant at the brutality of this man, I followed him, well disposed to put a stop to his ill treatment, when chance again made me witness of a scene that I cannot refrain from relating to you.

By the side of the river, and near the house of Mr. Piper, my two savages descended a hill, that brought them near the shore, where was a small creek, in which were five or six little canoes;



Timbéré
a native of new south Wales
Taken when at port Jackson

I ran after them, as if I were engaged in the chase, and soon heard loud cries, or rather fearful yells. I hesitated for a moment, but at length determined to advance cautiously. A score of savages were dancing, leaping, brandishing their spears, and clapping their hands against each other or some part of the body, round a woman hideously ugly, who was crouching on some kangaroo skins. As soon as I made my appearance, he whom I took for the Chief* of the party knew me, came to me, and pressed me to advance. He spoke to his companions, who soon came eagerly round me, offering me their hands. The cries of the woman put a stop to their entreaties; they resumed their posts; and howled their best. At length the woman was delivered, uttering a few deep sighs, and the hurly-burly was at its height. ....What was my astonishment at seeing the poor creature with difficulty rise up, carry in her arms the little infant just born, enter a canoe, and dip the child several times into the water! After this ablution, and a few more grimaces and gambols by the two persons who appeared most interested about the woman, I approached in my turn, and gave the poor mother my handkerchief and cravat, which she accepted without the least sign of acknowledgment, to cover the new-born babe. I was not then aware, that this trifling gift would be the subject of a quarrel, which might have been fatal to some of these madmen, if I had not put an end to their disputes by resuming the gift I had just offered.

* The day before I had taken his portrait at the house of Mr. M'Intosh, an officer of distinction; and made him a present of a little penny knife.

LETTER CXLI.

Sydney.

AT the first thought we might suppose, that, with weapons apparently so little formidable as those of the savages of this part of New Holland, battles would not be very fatal, and quarrels soon appeased. But in this we should be strangely mistaken; for here a single combat never ends but with the death of one of the antagonists, and general engagements conclude with the total extermination of one of the parties.

The grounds of hostility are in general the theft of a beast of prey, or some other object of little value; or still more frequently the culpable want of prudence in Europeans, who give the savages, in exchange for the skins of serpents or other animals, a few bottles of spirits, that produce a surprising effect on these poor creatures.

Scarcely do the intoxicating fumes get into their heads, when they breathe nothing but battle, and shout forth their war cries. Impatient for murder, they seek antagonists, provoke them by ferocious songs, and demand death in the hope of inflicting it. They find but too readily the opportunities they provoke; and their war-whoop is answered by whoopings not less terrible. Then the combatants, drawn up in two lines, perhaps twenty steps from each other, threaten mutually with their long and pointed spears, launch them at their adversaries with wonderful strength and dexterity, and finally attack each other with ponderous and formidable clubs. Limbs are fractured, bones smashed, skulls laid open: no exclamation of pain escapes from these ferocious brutes: the air resounds only with frightful voci-



Savage of new Holland coming from Battle.

ferations. He who falls without having found a victim, dies rather of despair, than from the hurts he has received; and the warrior who has laid low a few enemies, soon expires without regretting the loss of life.

How culpable are the English for not checking these disorders, and subjecting the savages to milder manners and more humane customs! As their frequent hunting parties have destroyed the greater part of the game that served for food to these wandering tribes; the latter, in consequence of the famines to which they are exposed, have been compelled to approach the European settlements. Reason and humanity both loudly proclaim how glorious it would be to take measures for the preservation of so many individuals, often condemned to a state of starvation, to them the more horrible, as their most familiar relations inform them of nothing but accounts of quarrels and combats; and because they are total strangers to the generous sentiments, for which we are indebted to the valuable benefits of civilization.

It is easy to conceive that in these regions, which nature has treated with so much rigour, assemblages of men will be rather multiplied than numerous. A space of ground, capable of supplying a score of individuals for a time with food, will have been disputed with fury by those settled on it: but soon, after having in vain sought from the earth an aliment almost always little salutary, these poor creatures, uncertain of the future, and terrified by the remembrance of the past, wander like spectres in the depth of the forests, and, panting, search the ungrateful soil for the means of life it refuses. The vegetable kingdom does not furnish them with the least resource; of the trees and shrubs they can make no use. The only gramineous plant that is casually found among the briars and ferns, yields only a dry and bitter seed, as large as that of a grape; and the only nutritious roots are a few bulbs of orchideæ.

If we were now to collect in one spot the wandering bands that roam these solitudes, famine would soon attend them. To men who are happy, society is necessary: to these unfortunates, want renders it impossible. Every individual who should kill a wild beast, would see with the greatest regret, the produce of his dexterity shared by men to whom he owed nothing. And besides, what animals can they kill? Kangaroos, the speed and irregular leaps of which render the chase of them so difficult; and cassowaries, heavy indeed, but so scarce, that hardly four or five of them are killed in a year. Can fish be any resource to them? What could they hope from their spears and clubs against the inhabitants of the sea and rivers? what other means have they of attacking them? And then the periodical disappearance of the fish, and the storms, and the tempests.....Is there any region upon earth, to which nature has behaved more like a step-mother, than that of which we are speaking? What people ever dragged on a more deplorable existence?.....

From this state of things have arisen scenes of distress, which we should refuse to credit, were they not attested by travellers most worthy of belief, who have themselves witnessed these revolting spectacles. "We have seen," says Mr. Collins, "the unhappy natives of New South Wales, in times of great scarcity, reduced to such extreme leanness, that you would take them for so many skeletons, and whole tribes have perished for want of food."

Would you believe, my friend, that these unhappy beings, after having carried on a war of extermination against frogs, toads, snakes, lizards, and different species of caterpillars, (particularly one of enormous size, that assembles in clustres round the highest branches of the eucalyptus,) have pursued in their fearful rage the most hideous spiders, and devoured them greedily; and then had recourse to the earth, attacked in their dwellings those

formidable ants, that burrow in the ground and lay it waste, kneaded them with the acrid juice of certain roots, and thus made of them a fetid ball, that long served them for food!.....

LETTER CXLII.

Sydney.

WILL you not be astonished, my dear Batlle, to learn, that the hearts of these savages, of whom I have been speaking to you for some time, are actuated by sentiments nearly similar to those which we find in certain persons among us, who are always ready to parade their nicety of feeling and the point of honour, to make them the subject, or rather the pretext, of a quarrel? could you ever persuade yourself, that duels, actual duels, took place among them; and that in affairs of this sort, certain laws were in vigour, and their regulations strictly enforced?.....The fact, however, is true; and while in their general actions, and private combats, they follow only their instinctive ferocity, in these duels *in fashion*, they submit with the strictest fidelity to established regulations.

As soon as two adversaries have challenged each other, they proceed toward the country, armed with clubs, and accompanied by one or more witnesses; which of the two combatants is to commence the attack, is decided by lot, or rather by skill.

A line is drawn on the ground, which they must not pass, under penalty of being knocked on the head by the spectators. The two antagonists, with imperturbable tranquillity, and a justice that cannot be too much admired, advance in turn to the edge of the barrier, and throw into the air a crooked club, which.

flies whirling round to a considerable distance, and, as it falls, returns to the feet of him who threw it. You have seen a nearly similar effect on a billiard table, when a dextrous player makes a ball advance a little, and then retrograde without having encountered any obstacle. What we do on the table, these gentlemen do in the air; and their skill is much more wonderful than that of our Mingos, Spolarts, or Charriers. He of the two combatants who makes the club return nearest to the line, has the privilege of giving the first blow to his enemy, whose defence is thus reduced to little or nothing. You shall hear.

The victor takes his weapon in both hands, and raises it; the loser approaches, bends down his head nearly to the girdle of his adversary, awaits the fall of the knotty cudgel, and is allowed to avoid it only by slight movements, without warding it off with his hand or arm. You may judge of the care the former takes, to make sure of his blow; as, if he fails, he must expose himself in his turn to a similar trial.

However, the dreadful intoxication in which these wretches are accustomed to indulge, obliges them sometimes to renew the contest, which is always repeated till one of the adversaries is laid on the ground with a fractured skull.

It frequently happens, that a band of twelve or fifteen of these wretches take arms against an equal number of antagonists; and they attack each other with fury, even within a few steps of the town, till one of the parties finds no more enemies to encounter.

I repeat, it seems to me high time that the government of Sydney should put an end to these deplorable scenes, which cannot be otherwise than painful to every feeling heart. Perhaps it may be feared that these wretches, alarmed at any punishment inflicted on them, would assemble round the distant habitations, and commit still more serious disorders: but even there their

phalanxes would soon be broken by our weapons and two or three servants; and I have no doubt, that the most satisfactory results would be obtained from the exercise of a just severity.

I have diligently sought after abuses in this fine colony, yet that I have just mentioned is the only one that has hitherto met my eyes. Can you guess the reason, why the English allow it to remain?.....

LETTER CXLIII.

Sydney.

A TRAVELLER returned from New Holland is often asked in Europe, what he has seen at *Botany-Bay*. He answers; 'a magnificent harbour, a small manufactory of bad cloth, some curious plants, reptiles, and five or six transported malefactors.' 'What!' adds the inquirer, 'is that settlement, which flowery narratives describe in such glowing colours; that handsome, large, and populous town, in which we find stately mansions, superb hotels, rich equipages, and galley-slaves—all fabulous?' 'No, Sir; it is all very true; all exists, not indeed at Botany-Bay, but at Sydney-Cove, which is ten miles distant from it: except public baths, and druggists, you will find in the latter town all the accommodations we enjoy in Europe, and all the conditions of life that exist in our own country.' 'And those culprits whom England has disgorged, are they not formidable enemies to the peace of the citizens, in a place where they can abscond with more ease, and where independent nations live, who are ready to receive them?' 'Still, my dear Sir, you are in a mistake; there, the man guilty of forgery is employed in useful labours, which acquire him, first, land, then respect, and ultimately honours. There

the thief, renouncing his guilty habits, often arrives at the magistracy, and becomes here even the scourge of thieves.* I have seen a sharper deservedly enjoying the confidence of Government, inculcating on the children of Sydney as much by example as precept the principles of the strictest virtue and truest honour. You would fancy, that the air of this country, though breathed by ferocious tribes, purifies the heart, and gives birth in it to every generous sentiment.'

Does not the very opinion generally adopted in Europe, that convicts transported to Port Jackson soon become honest men, contribute to render them so in reality? and could we not find a knave in France, who would change his principles, if his morals and probity were sincerely praised? Believe me, my dear Batlle, this sentiment is innate in man; praise him for qualities he has not, and particularly reward him for them, he will acquire them almost involuntarily. I remember often at school, when indifferent to my duties, I found my master, deceived respecting my zeal, praise my progress and application, I at first blushed at commendations which I had not deserved, and soon endeavoured by my exertions to preserve his esteem, which I had in some measure filched from him.

You may well suppose, however, that among so many malefactors escaped from the prisons of England, and in some cases from the gallows, individuals are to be found, in whom nothing can destroy or neutralize the habits of crime. Others more scrupulous indeed, but steady in their first principles, renounce them, because they have been attended by punishment; yet seek to persuade themselves, that their lives are free from reproach, and that they have been the victims of enmity, injustice, or party-spirit.

I cannot resist the inclination of giving you an account of a

* The high constable of Sydney in 1819, had been a pick-pocket in England.

Frenchman, of the name of Morand, whose son, a perfectly honest man, is now the possessor of a magnificent establishment at Sydney, and who cultivates in the interior an immense tract of land, acquired by the labour and economy of his father. This Morand did not reproach himself with any crime: he was desirous, he says, of *becoming a partner in the Bank of England without advancing any money;* and he took a pleasure in boasting of his courage and address to all who went to see him. I cannot better make you acquainted with this original story, than by extracting it from Péron's voyage. It is Morand himself who speaks.

"War had broken out between Great Britain and France: the forces of the two nations were pitted against each other; but it appeared to me easier to destroy our rival by attacking its finances, than by force of arms. I resolved therefore, *like a good patriot*, to take upon myself this ruin, and accomplish it in the heart of London itself. If I had succeeded, France would have erected altars to my memory: and on how little did it depend, that I was not proclaimed the avenger of my country, instead of being treated as a felon!...

"Scarcely had I arrived in England, when I began my labours, and they succeeded beyond all expectation. Seconded in particular by an Irishman, not less able than myself; and who, *prompted like me* by a noble patriotism, displayed still more eagerness for the ruin of England; I was soon enabled to counterfeit bank-notes with such perfection, that we found it very difficult ourselves to distinguish those that issued from our presses from the genuine notes.* Already I exulted: all my arrangements were made for inundating England with the produce of our manufactory; I wanted only some particular information relative to the numbering, when my companion, whom I had hitherto regarded as *an honest man*, took it into his head to steal from our store a few of these notes, which still wanted some formalities,

trifling it is true, but indispensable. He was taken up almost immediately: and, as he had not hesitated in one instance to act *dishonourably*, on this occasion he did not hesitate to behave as a poltroon. He made a full confession: I was taken up, and carried to prison with him: all our implements, all the produce of our manufactory was seized; and Great Britain was saved from the ruin I had prepared for it.

" Evident as the proofs of our *project* were, I did not despair (thanks to the nature of the criminal laws of England,) of escaping death: but such were the weakness and terror of my cursed *partner*, that I could not doubt of our mutual destruction, if I were to be confronted with this pusillanimous fellow before a court of justice. To prevent my own fate, which could not have retarded his, *I resolved to prevail on him to rid me of himself.* Besides, as the author of our misfortune, it was but just that he should suffer the punishment of it. Accordingly I endeavoured to convince him, in a very pathetic discourse, that, our death being inevitable, we had nothing to think of but the means of escaping the pain and ignominy: that, setting one mode of death against another, it was better to die like men of honour, than to perish by the hands of the hangman.....The Irishman was moved, but not resolved: I then pointed out to him, that, if his own infamy did not affect him, he ought at least to spare his children the disgrace of finding themselves treated as *the offspring of a man that was hanged;* and that, if he were unable to bequeath them wealth, he ought by a generous sacrifice to save them from shame and disgrace.

" These last reflections inflamed the Irishman with a noble courage. We procured some corrosive sublimate; I pretended to take a dose; he took one in reality, and died: and thus, freed from this *imbecile rascal*, I escaped the gallows, that awaited us both. I was let off for transportation to this colony, where I am

condemned to spend the remainder of my days. The period of my sentence is expired: I carry on with advantage two of my original trades, those of a goldsmith and watchmaker. The two rascals* who work with me, triple my profits. In a few years, I shall be one of the richest land-holders in the settlement; and already I should be one of the happiest, if I were not incessantly tormented with the regret of having so unfortunately miscarried in such an *honourable* undertaking, and seeing myself on this occasion considered as a vile criminal, even by those among you, my countrymen, who cannot be acquainted with the *noble principles* of my conduct, or who do not properly appreciate them."

Does not this anecdote afford an interesting episode for a melodrama? You are in the native land of those spectacles, my friend; exert your genius.

You must have observed in this narrative, a passage that requires a slight explanation. Morand says, that he was condemned to transportation for the remainder of his days: and he afterward adds, that the term of his sentence is expired. In this there is no contradiction.

A convict arrives, condemned to seven years' transportation. If he be of any trade, he may procure employment at it as soon as he arrives: and, if he be industrious and frugal, he is soon enabled to work on his own account, and to earn money enough to begin a little business. The Government of Sydney, well informed of the conduct of the convicts sent from England, is careful not to grant lands to any but those who render themselves deserving of such a favour. They have then a beneficial purpose in view in clearing the ground, and enriching them with

* So M. Morand called those of the convicts, goldsmiths or watchmakers, whom he employed in his work at home, and whom he treated with the most sovereign contempt. "Those rascals," he said sometimes in speaking of them, "would risk their necks for a watch."

the products of our climates. But for the performance of this labour, a single pair of hands is insufficient, and with every possible diligence would obtain no beneficial result. What then is the plan of English philanthropy? The convict condemned to be transported for seven or fourteen years, whose conduct since his arrival has been blameless, is given as an assistant, or servant to him who has finished his term, or who has obtained a grant of exemption: he receives wages; his labours are recompensed; and, if he be frugal after his term is expired, he in his turn, obtains the same advantages as his master, and, like him, receives servants, who assist him in clearing fresh lands. In this manner the labour, the trouble, and the reward have been equally distributed; and, while the country is improved, the man becomes better, and society is benefited.

If a convict has given any cause of dissatisfaction during his passage, on his arrival he is put into irons, employed on laborious works, and does not recover his liberty, till he has afforded some pledge of his future good conduct. If while in irons he be guilty of any fresh crime, he is hung; and his just punishment serves as a lesson to those, who might be tempted to live in guilt like himself.

Let me hasten to say, that examples of this kind are very rare; and that the wisdom of the laws by which this settlement is governed, as well as the beauty of the climate and fertility of the soil, promise England a source of wealth, that it would seek in vain in its other distant possessions.

LETTER CXLIV.

Sydney.

AMONG the kind offers with which we were honoured by Governor Macquarrie, that of furnishing us with the means of crossing the Blue Mountains by the road to Bathurst was eagerly accepted by the commander of our expedition; from a persuasion that our surgeon, who has studied zoology with great success, and our botanist, whose zeal no difficulties can check, would find in these distant excursions, objects worthy of the attention of the learned.

M. Freycinet had intended that I should go along with them, to make drawings of the most picturesque views on this journey, as well as those subjects of natural history, the preservation of which might be impossible or doubtful. This offer I should have accepted with eagerness, if some very powerful reasons had not engaged me in other excursions, at least as perilous, and much more instructive to myself.

In the first place I was aware, that the road from Sydney to Bathurst was perfectly known; and that the commandant of the troops now at Sydney, an able draftsman, whose portfolios were enriched with every thing curious the country produces, among other excursions had accompanied Mr. Oxley in his laborious and celebrated journey, and had employed his pencil on every view worthy of delineation. I was already acquainted with the intentions of M. Freycinet, who would not have this tour extend to more than ten days; and had reason to fear, that

I could not employ my time to any advantage, as the term fixed was barely sufficient for the journey. I did not hesitate, therefore, to refuse the offer made me, persuaded before-hand, that I should obtain from the excursions I projected, subjects of congratulation for having engaged in them.

Still these powerful considerations, to which I may add the kind offer of Mr. Oxley, to carry me to his country-house, a short league from the torrent of *Kinkham*, would not have determined me to refuse, had I not been certain that my place would be perfectly well filled by M. Pellion, one of our midshipmen, whose zeal, activity, and courage never failed him in dangerous enterprises, and whose talents as a draftsman rendered him equally proper for this mission.

It occurred to me that a number of new and picturesque situations might still be found; and Mr. Oxley had assured me, that the mountains in the vicinity of the *Kinkham*, which form one of the principal branches of those which my comrades were preparing to cross, would afford me frequent opportunities for the exercise of my pencil.

When we consider the numerous unsuccessful attempts made to surmount this long barrier, it might be asked, whether the chain of the Blue Mountains, like the Cordilleras that traverse the two Americas, also exhibits summits covered with eternal snow; grand and perpendicular masses of granite; cataracts like that of Niagara; or rivers like the St. Lawrence and the Plata. In presenting to the astonished world the most minute particulars of their adventurous excursions, the courageous travellers who traversed these vast deserts do not seem to me to have candidly pointed out the obstacles that opposed them. They have terrified us with *impetuous* torrents, *impenetrable* walls, precipices that *the eye could not measure*. We now know all that is formi-

dable in these torrents, walls, and precipices; and no person is ignorant, that the fear of wanting food was the chief, or rather the sole cause of the bad success of the first attempts.

How in fact can we imagine, that mountains, the highest summits of which do not exceed 500 or 600 toises, and the sides of which are covered by an active vegetation, are really inaccessible? How can we suppose, that these rapid torrents, the waters of which, almost always small in quantity, are swelled only by heavy storms, are so difficult to cross?....When I read the different accounts of these unsuccessful undertakings hitherto published, I shuddered with terror; and seemed to see Humboldts and Bonplands scaling the frowning brows of the Andes, the unknown summit of Chimborazo, or the terrific Cone of Cotopaxi.

At the commencement of the English settlement in these countries, some convicts, displeased with their loss of liberty, fled into the interior, and attempted to scale the mountains: but, driven back by the natives, and a still more formidable enemy, hunger, they returned to their fetters, and made public the ill-success of their attempts.

At length, in 1789, the Government began to engage seriously in this enterprise; and Lieutenant Dawes was employed to survey the mountains to the west, accompanied by a score of soldiers, who advanced with him only a few miles into the interior of the country.

If we are to believe his account, he met with nothing but cataracts, abrupt rocks, and tremendous precipices. But it should be observed that this expedition, which would have been the first capable of furnishing any satisfactory results, was undertaken without any of those precautions that might have insured its success. It was only furnished with provisions for ten days; and it was pretty certain that no supply could be found in the interior.

After Dawes, Major Tench set out with a considerable escort;

but his excursion was not more successful than the preceding. At length Lieutenant-colonel Paterson, a celebrated Scotch traveller, directed the preparations for an expedition, of which he himself took charge. He set out with a numerous detachment of intrepid Scotchmen, habituated like himself to climb the steeps of their own country; but they had scarcely reached the foot of the mountains by the help of two light boats, in which they proceeded up the river Hawkesbury, when they returned. Let us attend for a moment to what Péron says—

"After having discovered the Grose, which falls into the Hawkesbury above Richmond-hill, the English Colonel continued to advance about ten miles, passing several rapids, one of which had a velocity of more than ten or twelve miles an hour. Soon after the navigation became impracticable: one of the boats was sunk, and the other stove against some trunks of trees, that obstructed the course of the river. The party attempted in vain to continue its course toward the interior of the mountains: the cataracts became more numerous: one of them was not less than 400 feet perpendicular in height: frightful precipices occurred on all sides: one ridge of mountains was no sooner scaled, than others still more barren and more inaccessible appeared; at length they were obliged to determine on their return. From the point which they reached, the English had in front a very high peak, to which the Colonel gave the name of *Harrington*. It was also in this excursion, that they had an opportunity for the first time of communicating with the *Be-Dix-Gal*, a singular people, who live in the forests adjacent to the river Hawkesbury, and differ from the natives of Port Jackson, and those of Botany Bay, in manners, language, way of living, and particularly by an extremely remarkable characteristic of their physical structure; all the individuals of this race having the arms and thighs of an immoderate length in proportion to the rest of the body."

Several other attempts, equally unsuccessful, were made at different periods, when at length the bold physician, who had discovered in a whale-boat the strait that bears his name, undertook to pass the Blue Mountains. Bass failed like his predecessors, and had to experience all the sufferings of the most intense thirst: and mark well, I beg, that here it is a man of tried courage who speaks. The precipices did not stop him, the cataracts he had passed; it was the want of water alone, that put a stop to his progress. "If by chance," said this traveller to M. Péron, "we met with a little moist earth, or a remnant of mud in the hollows of the rocks, we applied our handkerchiefs to the surface, and sucked them with all our power, to extract the little moisture they might still retain."

M. Péron, in his eloquent work, is not always very accurate in the opinions he advances, the facts he quotes, or those of which he denies the existence. For example he says somewhere,* that the natives of the country have not more just ideas of the Blue Mountains, than the Europeans; and he asserts, that they all agree in the impossibility of surmounting this western barrier. But he adds, a few lines after, that their complete ignorance is evinced by their ridiculous assertion of the existence of a large lake in the interior of the country.

Let me not hesitate to say, that M. Péron here speaks only from probabilities by no means to be admitted; since the reasoning by which he endeavours to prove the ignorance of the savages, is completely at variance with what we now know of those remote countries.

In fact, an immense lake does exist in the interior of New Holland; and numerous warlike tribes dwell around it. All the chains of the Blue Mountains have been *scaled*; few *imposing* cataracts have been crossed, few *tremendous* precipices have been

* *Voyage aux Terres Australes*, Tome I, page 395.

surmounted. Obstacles occurred: but as prudent precautions had been taken, to provide every thing that might insure the success of the undertaking, it was accomplished; and Mr. Oxley has solved the grand problem, that had posed so many travellers.

The narrative of his journey, written in a judicious manner, though perhaps a little too minutely, abounds with highly interesting particulars: nothing is forgotten, except perhaps some toils; and the modesty of the author is observable in almost every page. The physical history of the country, its phenomena, almost in every respect similar to those that occur in Cumberland county, the mineralogical part, the natural history, nothing has been omitted in this important undertaking; and the beauty of the work is encreased by the drawings with which Major Taylor, who accompanied Mr. Oxley, has illustrated it.

LETTER CXLV.

Sydney.

MESSRS. Quoy, Gaudichaud, and Pellion, set off for Bathurst, while I proceeded on the Liverpool road toward the river Kinkham. The account of their journey contains particulars sufficiently curious for me to give you an abstract of it; and I eagerly seize the opportunity of making you acquainted with our botanist's mode of observing and relating; anticipating your thanks for the sacrifice I make of my own vanity.

In an expedition like ours, it is impossible for any one individual, however great his zeal, to share in every excursion and in every undertaking, Fatigue acts powerfully in these climates, where the heat is sometimes suffocating; and we often relied on

the zeal and labours of our friends for a knowledge of places, which we were unable to explore ourselves. It was in some measure a barter of information, which, while it strengthened the bonds of friendship between us, also excited our emulation, and doubled our perseverance. I select therefore the narrative of M. Gaudichaud.

"This expedition, which had been long projected, and had formed the subject of many agreeable conversations during our passage from the Sandwich Islands to New Holland; this expedition, which consoled us a little (if it were possible to be consoled) for having traversed the Pacific Ocean without touching at one of those charming islands, such as Otaheite or Tongataboo; was at length determined, on the 27th of October, by our Commander, who obtained every suitable facility for the purpose.

"Sydney-Cove, all round the harbour, and the surrounding country to the distance of a few miles, but more particularly in the vicinity of the sea, exhibits nothing but sand-stone, sand, and in a few places only, sand mixed with thin strata of vegetable mould. Notwithstanding this, the vegation is active, and even vigorous in certain places. This vegetation however, though vivid enough, has upon the whole something melancholy in it, that I cannot define. The trees shoot up with difficulty, and their stunted trunks, as well as the meagreness of their branches, attest the state of continual suffering in which they exist.

"The shrubs, that form two thirds of the wood, belong to the genera *Eucalyptus*, *Casuarina*, *Banksia*, *Exocarpus*, *Embothrium*, and *Mimosa*, almost all of which are plants of the first rank in other places.

"Scarcely had we passed *Brick-Field*, a sort of suburb to Sydney, and reached the first heights that overlook the town, before the country exhibited a very different aspect. The ground, more uniform, though slightly undulating at intervals; the soil,

black and well adapted for cultivation; trees tall and straight; numerous and elegant dwellings, dispersed with taste in the most agreeable situations; a road kept in good repair, with palings on each side; substantial bridges thrown across the rivulets and little creeks, with which the country is intersected; were the objects that fixed our attention as far as Paramatta."

Here my friend Gaudichaud enters into some particulars of the manner in which they were received, and speaks with high praise of the kindness of the Governor, and the obliging politeness of Mrs. Macquarrie. After having obtained from Mr. Field every requisite instruction, they set off under the guidance of Mr. Lawson, who shortly made them dismount, to show them a little pool, the banks of which, dried up and covered with a white incrustation of a saline substance, previously held in solution, indicated a mineral water.

"This water, (continues our botanist,) which trickles down five or six different trenches round a little hill, is insipid or faintly sweetish, clear, and of a slight amber tint. It was then lukewarm: but this, no doubt, was owing to the action of a burning sun during a fine day.

"One of these springs, situate on the north of the hill, has the peculiarity of being brackish in the evening, while in the morning it has an insipid sweetness, like the others near it. This is on Mr. Lawson's estate. It is also the most abundant: and, though it loses part of its water by evaporation, this is compensated in the course of the night.

"The rocks of this pretty little hill, observed both at the base and the summit, were nothing but granite, of which Mr. Quoy collected some specimens.

"This peculiarity of a hill entirely of granite, conical in form, nearly circular, a hundred and fifty, or two hundred feet high, lost as it were on a soil that hitherto had exhibited to us only dif-

ferent modifications of sand-stone, seemed to me a mineralogical phenomenon, sufficiently remarkable to deserve a place here.

"When we reached the top of this little hill, Mr. Lawson made us stop to view a very delightful panorama. In fact, from this point, so happily placed, we see on the west the majestic chain of the Blue Mountains, forming a skirt of verdure, that terminates the horizon by an immense line stretching from north-east to south-west. To the north, and, if I may so say, through the mountains that separate us from them, the eye, after having passed over some valleys, arrives at length at the plains of Windsor, and is lost in their immensity. The south, though not less favoured than the other parts, exhibits nothing very particular; and is much inferior to the east, in which some points on the road to Paramatta, and Paramatta itself, form one of the most beautiful pictures.

"It is easy to conceive, that a small plain, seated round a hill of granite, in a state of decomposition, must exhibit a different soil from that hitherto observed round this place, and must be more or less of an aluminous nature. In fact, the little estate of Mr. Lawson, situate in a fat, moist, and even marshy soil, is so abundant in alumine, that nothing more is necessary, but to form the earth into masses of a proper shape, and burn these, to produce bricks, coarse indeed, but sufficiently substantial for buildings; to which use they are daily applied."

After having paid a due compliment to the qualifications and civilities of Mrs. Lawson, and her handsome daughters, M. Gaudichaud says, that he is engaged in botanical researches, and imparts to us the little accident that happened to M. Pellion; who, on firing at a bird, was thrown from his horse, which ran away through the wood. This misfortune, however, was so far serious, that these gentlemen were obliged to use the same horse alternately, which retarded their progress. The same day, the narra-

tor mentions having seen several reptiles, the largest of which was not more than six feet long, and two or three inches thick. They pursued their way, however, without attacking them; and at length arrived on the banks of the Nepean; not, however, without feeling the weight of some of those pelting showers that fall so frequently in those countries.

"The Nepean is from twenty to twenty-five fathoms broad in some places, and from fifteen to eighteen feet deep. Its current is slow and smooth; but its waters are cool and clear, and have the valuable property of containing a prodigious quantity of good fish, among which are some very large. The lamprey in particular attains there a size never seen, as they say, in any other place.....

"The principal streams that swell the Nepean, are West River, formed itself by five or six others; the most remarkable are Natoe River, Coxe River, and the River of the Valley, or John Jamieson's creek.

"On the other side of the river, still opposite the estate of Mr. Jamieson, is the plain of the environs; a plain as fine and level as that on the right bank, stretching only three or four miles to the south, but to an infinite distance north. This plain, bordered on the west by the first range of the Blue Mountains, which forms an amphitheatre highly magnificent; intersected by several little rivulets, which are formed in all the inequalities of the mountains, and in which there are already establishments belonging to government, pledges of the future prosperity of the settlement, is not yet cleared. But fire and the axe have already begun to extend their ravages over a great part of its surface, and smoothed in a great measure the only difficulty which the ground can oppose to the plough."

While M. Quoy is busied in stuffing birds, and M. Pellion making a drawing of the prospect, M. Gaudichaud pursues with similar zeal his botanical researches; and observes in some parts

of mountains destitute of vegetation, horizontal strata, the sections of which are vertical, whence he concludes them to consist of sand-stone.

"After visiting a small establishment, surrounded by pretty gardens, we advanced toward the plain now clearing by the axe of the woodcutters. Nothing struck me so forcibly as the fall of these numerous giants of the south, composed of an enormous trunk; tall, straight, and supporting numerous branches with divisions still more numerous. They then exhibited nothing but shapeless heaps of ruins, covering the dangerous reptiles that were crawling at their base."

Our travellers soon arrived at a sort of *presidio*, formed of 140 convicts, under the care of a superintendent, who had been condemned to transportation like themselves. I leave you to guess at the severity necessary to be employed toward so many individuals, habituated to crimes, and with whom the first principles of probity and honor have scarcely been tried.

"They showed me an enormous snake, which they had just killed, and several others stuffed, all of them in bad condition, and for the most part without the head. Among the latter, was one eight or nine feet long, and at least three inches in diameter. This species, which was said not to be venomous, has the ventral scales rounded, yellowish, with a black dot in the centre.

"Another, smaller, similar to that I saw a few days ago, which appears never to exceed five or six feet, has the dorsal scales black and hexagonal, and the ventral of a dull red, spotted with black. They said this was the most dangerous species, and its bite almost always fatal.....The nearer you approach the summit of this mountain, which is as it were an advanced post of the principal chain, the more abundant are the products of the vegetable kingdom; but at the same time the more stunted. At length the soil entirely changes, and no longer resembles in

any respect that observed at Paramatta. The fine meadows have given way to a stony soil; the fine plants to melancholy bushes. If a few trees still rise among these shrubs, we see by their knotty stalks, their slender and twisted branches, and their paucity of leaves, that they suffer greatly from the nature of the soil, the wind, and more particularly from the frequent passage of icy clouds.

" What the admirer of the beauties of nature loses in this place with regard to aspect, is compensated by many advantages in respect to the diversity and multiplicity of subjects: never, indeed, was seen a crowd of plants so happily united.

" This peculiarity, however, is not always observable. The road that follows the summit of the hills, exhibits at almost every step changes in the soil and its productions. Accordingly we often meet with the re-appearance of those fine masses of verdure, that are the more admirable here, as the contrast increases their magnificence.

" It was in one of these beautiful spots, on the slope of a hill, that we saw for the first time the aboriginal inhabitants of this land. There were only two: a sick old man, lying on some kangaroo skins, at the side of some burning sticks, and nursed by a young man, of small stature, but well made, and seemingly strong.

". Mr. Lawson knew the old man. He was the sovereign of all that part of the mountain: and Mr. Lawson told us, that of all the savages, he had shown himself the most formidable enemy of the English, of whom he had assassinated a great number, but they had never been able to take him in the fact: however, for a long time he had lived peaceably, and even been of service to the colonists, either by making war on the other savages of the interior, when they approached the Nepean; by giving notice to the English posts of their coming, when

he was not strong enough to encounter them himself; or, lastly, by serving as a guide to the European troops, when any tribes of wandering savages roamed about the country.

"His hut was formed of the flattened bark of a few eucalyptuses folded double. It was three feet high; and its furniture consisted of some kangaroo skins, and two little pieces of wood for kindling a fire, perfectly similar to those used by the inhabitants of Timor.

"Mr. Lawson added, that these two savages certainly had weapons concealed at a little distance, which they used in hunting, but did not show us, from an apprehension, perhaps not unfounded, that we might suppose they would employ them against us.

"We requested the young man to fetch us a calebash of fresh water, which he did immediately; while M. Pellion drew a portrait of the old cannibal. We left them, after having made them a few trifling presents."

Our young friends arrived shortly after at the second military post, twelve or fourteen miles from the river Nepean: and before they reached Coxe River, they saw lying on the ground several hundred large trees, which probably one of the whirlwinds, that sweep these melancholy deserts, had torn up by the roots.

"On the 1st of September, being obliged to halt, in order to wait for our baggage, and to rest our horses, I availed myself of this opportunity to set to rights the plants I had already collected, and to make divers excursions in the vicinity of Coxe River, which is encumbered by large blocks of granite, that have rolled down from the summit of the mountain.

"On the 2d, we quitted the third military post, and, after having crossed Coxe River, reached the heights."

Here our botanist engaged in many interesting and perilous

researches, while M. Quoy also studied the country, and M. Pellion enriched his sketch-book. They crossed together several deep valleys, and some rivulets, over which substantial bridges had been erected; they saw also some precipices, near which rails are placed for the security of travellers.

They forded Campbell River; quitted the beaten paths to penetrate into the mountains; and distinguished, at a circular pond, a prodigious quantity of black swans sporting on the water. They soon climbed the summits that separated them from Bathurst plain; and there at length they saw a kangaroo, the only one that showed itself during this long journey. At length they arrived at Bathurst, the limit of their excursion, exhausted by hunger and fatigue.

"On the 5th of September in the morning we left this place to return to Sydney. I can with difficulty express the regret I felt, at seeing ourselves obliged so speedily to quit a country, where nature shows herself equally grand and beautiful, and where natural history has so rich a mine to be explored."....

I have taken the liberty of retrenching from this narrative a number of particulars, not to keep your attention too long fixed on one object: but I hope I have proved to you, that M. Gaudichaud, while studying nature, is also capable of describing it, and that he thinks nothing of laborious excursions, if he can anticipate any happy result from them.

His two companions, like himself, experienced great fatigue. M. Quoy obtained highly interesting ideas of the country he traversed: and M. Pellion, by the eagerness with which he accepted the task intrusted to him, showed, that his zeal was proof against danger; and on his return we had proofs that his talents were even superior to his zeal.

LETTER CXLVI.

Sydney.

YOU will not find the narrative I am about to give you so interesting as that of my friend; but you know I have engaged to acquaint you with every thing remarkable I see.

The country I had to traverse was still more rich than that visited by the three travellers who went to Bathurst. It is impossible for me to compare its grandeur to any thing that had before met my eyes. The vast forests of Brasil or the Moluccas cannot rival those of New Holland. Destitute of thorns, twining shrubs, and briars, they almost every where exhibit immense plains, carpeted with luxuriant verdure, spangled with flowers of a thousand hues, superbly intermingled, and diffusing a delightful perfume.....Beneath these flowers, however, crawl dangerous reptiles; and woe to the imprudent who treads the woods with incautious feet!

The only point of resemblance that appears to me to exist between this country and that I visited in South America, is the immense number of beautiful birds that people the forests. In that respect Brasil is superior to New Holland. But the country I am now visiting, though destitute of the numerous and lively family of the humming-birds, and of the astonishing variety of large butterflies, equally admirable for their hues and their rapid evolutions, is still sufficiently rich to be satisfied with its lot.

Among the elegant guests that people its fields, the white cockatoo occupies the first place: then come the tit-mice, the finches, and a prodigious assemblage of little parroquets, either wholly green, or green with a few red feathers, the shrill cries of which disturb the reveries of the traveller at every hour of the day

and night. But if the winged inhabitants of these regions bear a great resemblance to those of the Molucca islands and Brasil, we find a still greater in those venomous reptiles that are the continual terror of the inhabitants, whose harvests and whose dwellings they infest. Less monstrous than the formidable amphibiæ that roam about Timor, or the boa, that embraces in its folds the largest trees, the serpents of New South Wales are more numerous and much more dangerous than those of Brasil. The one most to be feared is the black snake, commonly five or six feet in length, the bite of which is so often fatal, that not a year passes without the colony having to deplore the loss of a number of individuals, the victims of its poisonous tooth.

After having travelled a dozen miles in a carriage, my companions betook themselves to botanical researches, while I, following the steps of a native of the country, proceeded towards an opening, where I hoped to find a landscape for my pencil. I cannot describe to you the magic charm I felt in pacing a turf protected from the ardent rays of the sun by the majestic domes of trees that count so many ages. At every step the thought, *I am the first that has trod this ground*, presents itself to the enraptured imagination, and the surrounding dangers are insufficient to divest you of it.

The savage, whose steps I had followed for some instants, soon returned, making signs to me, that he was hungry, and would go to a little hut near us, in search of something to eat. Immediately I ran to my chaise, and took from the seat a loaf of four pounds and part of a fowl, which I hastened to carry to the poor fellow. Scarcely had I advanced a few steps, when I saw him coming toward me, making a sign with his hand, that I should stop and be silent.

Knowing the natural ferocity of the natives of these countries, I apprehended a surprise, and put myself in a state of defence,

after throwing on the ground the provision I had fetched. However, as the savage had laid aside his club and spear, I suffered him to guide me toward a place he pointed out, where he showed me a black snake at least six feet long, stretched on an old trunk of a eucalyptus, with part of its body hidden under the bark that was half stripped off. I invited him to follow me in turn, and allow me to fetch my musket: but he stopped me, took my handkerchief out of my pocket, wrapped it round his hand, and slowly approached the reptile. The watchful snake turned at the sound, and was perhaps going to dart at the savage, when he seized it by the tail, and whirled it round rapidly over his head. Alarmed at his action, and astonished at his courage, I remained motionless; while he, enchanted with his prize, laughed aloud, and played grotesque gambols, without ceasing to whirl round the animal. At length he came to a knotty trunk of a tree, struck the head of the snake against it, and soon showed me the reptile dead on the ground. I gave him to understand that I wished him to make me a present of it, and that I would acknowledge this service: but he acquainted me, that it was only asleep, and that I should oblige him by lending him a knife to dispatch it. I gave him that which I had in my pocket, when he immediately cut off the head of the snake, took the body and tied it round his neck like a cravat; picked up the loaf and piece of fowl I had brought, and still dancing, as if in celebration of his triumph, gradually moved farther off, till at last he vanished with incredible swiftness. I stood with my arms folded like a man deceived for the first time, and remained convinced, that in all parts of the globe nature has implanted in the heart of man that powerful sentiment, which induces him to make himself master of the property of others. I rejoined my friends ashamed, and we arrived at Liverpool a few hours after, still admiring the richness of the country we traversed.



LETTER CXLVII.

Liverpool, (New South Wales.)

THE town of Liverpool at present consists of about thirty houses only, standing together on the high road; a fine hospital on the banks of King George's River; about fifteen scattered buildings at a little distance from it; and a large church, already tolerably ornamented. In the space that separates the hospital from the road is a sort of prison, in which the malefactors of the district are exposed to public view, being fastened by the feet.* Opposite to this is the court of justice; and as sentence is passed there without appeal, the culprit has but a few steps to take before he undergoes his punishment. Petty offences only are within the jurisdiction of this court; the greater criminals are sent to Sydney.

I have seen five causes tried here in half an hour: but then there were no counsellors.

After visiting the hospital, in which we found twenty-seven patients, most of them bitten by snakes, we were invited to a handsome breakfast at the principal surgeon's, a man of considerable merit, who accompanied us to the handsome country-house of Mr. Oxley.

My curiosity led me to ask one of the medical gentlemen, why one of the patients, of a noble countenance, had so obstinately avoided our presence?—'Because he took you for Englishmen.'—'Then he is not an Englishman himself?'—'No: he is an Irishman, and was made prisoner five or six years since. He is a General, and an inveterate enemy of Great Britain. He had already several times passed Kinkham river, to endeavour to live

* A pair of stocks, no doubt. TRANSLATOR.

among the savage tribes that inhabit the forests and mountains in the vicinity: but he was retaken, and is detained prisoner at the hospital. I tremble for his reason. When he is walking in the garden, I almost always hear him pronouncing the words, *Englishmen, tyrants, horror, eternal war.* The other patients avoid him; and, if he meet one in his way, he turns him aside with a motion of his foot, or with one of his looks, the expressiveness of which you must have observed. His name is..... Oh, I forgot that he has desired me not to make it known. I said to him but yesterday, 'Good day, general.—Good day.—How do you do?'—'Very ill: I am getting better..... but Kinkham river is not far off: cure me quickly.'.....

I shall see this Irishman again on my return.

From Liverpool to Mr. Oxley's the appearance of the country is always rich and imposing: it is also much wilder, for houses are only met with at great distances from each other, and the road is barely marked out by a line of large trees, felled by the axe, which form a sort of hedge, and prevent the traveller from going astray. Our chaise, drawn with less rapidity than Mr. Oxley's gig, was considerably behind, when we saw a convict, resting on a staff by the side of a dry trunk of a tree, who held out his hand when we came up to him. My companion stopped, took a piece of money out of his pocket, and threw it to the poor fellow. Just as he was going to pick it up, he heard a slight noise behind him, turned round and immediately felt himself bitten in the middle of the leg. With admirable presence of mind he took off his hair girdle and tied it tight round his leg above the wound, at the same time requesting us to lend him a knife. We threw him a razor, which he took up, and at one stroke cut off half the calf of his leg, and groaning sadly proceeded on his way to Liverpool, leaning on his staff.

What a frightful residence must that be, where such scenes may occur every minute of the day!

Nothing farther interesting occurred, till we reached the country house to which we were going. Some tolerably deep rivulets cross the road in a number of places; and I have no doubt that bridges will soon be erected over them, which are often indispensable to the safety of travellers. Night overtook us on the road, and we had some difficulty in finding the entrance to Mr. Oxley's dwelling.

I arose early in the morning, eager to enjoy the beauties of the country.....What an astonishing spectacle! Instead of those eucalypti, that burden this wild land from space to space, the plants of Europe enrich and embellish the soil. The peach already displayed branches loaded with young fruit; the vine in long festoons crept from tree to tree, and brought its refreshing grapes, even into the master's house; the strawberry, larger and sweeter than in our climates, concealed itself at the foot of luxuriant hornbeams, ornamented with the finest flowers: sometimes, at the turn of a retired walk, the eye perceived an elegant casuarina, placed there no doubt to remind us, that we tread a foreign soil; or rather it resembled an exile, strange and indifferent to every thing around it.

But on quitting these smiling orchards, we traverse with admiration spacious fields of European corn, in which the swift kangaroo more easily escapes the pursuit of the hunter. At the side of these rich corn fields are built substantial barns, capable of resisting the fury of the waters of the Kinkham, half a league distant from them. There are accumulated the riches of the year, which are subsequently despatched to those countries that give in exchange for them tea, spices, and china: there are preserved, sure pledges of the prosperity of the colony, useful productions, ready to repair the disasters of preceding years, or supply the insufficiency of future seasons.

The possessions of Mr. Oxley are already very large; and as

part of the land justly allotted him by government is only beginning to be cleared, his estate will in a short time be one of the most important in the colony. The Kinkham covers it with its waters at least twice a year, but they leave on it a fat slime, that ensures a considerable produce.

The distant landscape does not exhibit the least variety; but those wild hills, overshadowed by a wonderful vegetation, display an imposing spectacle: every little mount appears to the eye like a shapeless mass of verdure; and you would look in vain for a single naked or barren spot, in an horizon of more than four leagues in circumference.

Need I describe to you the friendly and flattering manner in which Mr. Oxley, treats his guests, or mention the polite attentions with which he honoured me personally? No: I prefer leaving him quietly to exercise his kind hospitality to strangers, as I am sure that his modesty would suffer by my just eulogiums.

The day after our arrival, we saw a little caravan of eight savages come down to his estate. One of them had been king of a numerous tribe. He was armed with a little hatchet; and Mr. Oxley, to gratify me with an extraordinary sight, requested him to climb a very straight tree, more than three feet in diameter, promising him a reward, if he reached the top of the large branches in less than five minutes. Immediately the savage drew his hatchet from his girdle; chopped the trunk speedily, so as to make a couple of notches two feet distant from each other, and mounted on them. Standing on the highest, he struck his hatchet into the smooth bark as high as he could reach, then gave a spring, clinging to the handle, raising and keeping himself firm by the folds of his hard skin, and the rough soles of his feet, and went on repeating the same exertion. In my life I had never seen displayed such address and dexterity. He ascended the tree in six minutes, and was not one in coming down.

The other poor wretches around us solicited also the favour of climbing trees still higher; and Mr. Oxley rewarded their readiness by an ample store of provision, with which he filled their kangaroo skins.

LETTER CXLVIII.

Sydney.

I HAVE just made some interesting excursions with a guide accustomed to the dangers and fatigues of these climates. We traversed spacious forests of eucalyptus, peopled by innumerable legions of blue-collared tit-mice, parroquets of all colours, and white cockatoos with yellow crests. In these vast solitudes, trodden only at long intervals by human feet, the cries of a bird, the whistling of a reed, the rustling of a piece of bark half torn off, which thewind is gradually stripping, make a solemn impression on the mind, that involuntarily excites it to meditation and melancholy.

When a man perambulates the secluded windings of the fields in the vicinity of a populous city, he finds an inexpressible charm in the tranquillity that prevails. Here silence produces a contrary effect; and yet noise occasions painful emotions. There are no protectors in these profound and eternal forests. Venomous reptiles crawl in silence amid the bushes, that you tread with rash feet. The trunk of a tree uprooted by wind or lightning, on which you imprudently rest, serves as an asylum for those formidable black snakes, the bite of which is almost always fatal: every step is a snare; at every turning there is danger. In the space of less than a quarter of a league, I counted six reptiles that crossed the little path we were pursuing.



Arago. Ro.

View taken in the interior of new Holland
near the mouth of Liverpool

At length we reached the banks of the Kinkham, which flows in a bed twenty feet deep. A slender streamlet of water found its way with difficulty amid the scattered pieces of rock, which the floods had brought down thus far from the summit of the mountains. I was preparing to cross it, when my guide stopped me, and gave me to understand, that government had prohibited the passage of this natural barrier under severe penalties. He told me also, that the opposite bank was often frequented by savage hordes, led by convicts who had escaped from their fetters; and that they came as far as the neighbouring estates, to levy contributions, and carry off produce and cattle. I would not take upon myself the responsibility of my guide, and consented to his not accompanying me; but I desired him to wait for me, with an assurance that I would be absent only a few hours. He promised me he would; and I set off, after receiving from him instructions for my return.

Kinkham is one of those torrents, whose waters when swelled by thunder-storms, spread desolation through the country. Its ravages extend more than two leagues from its bed, and beat down the strong barriers opposed to its impetuous course. Its inundations, which are really terrifying, may be said to be periodical; and few seasons pass without distant dwellings being swept away or damaged. The most substantial buildings, the tallest plants, covered by its red and turbulent waters, with difficulty resist them. When the swelling commences, the experience acquired by disaster teaches how far its ravages may extend, and the settlements in the vicinity are deserted. When it has attained its utmost height, this ravaging torrent resembles an immense lake, containing a considerable number of floating islands. Some lofty roofs appear amid the vigorous heads of the tallest eucalypti; and if this impetuous inundation have taken but few days to cover so vast a space,

a few days also are sufficient for its peaceable return to its ordinary bed. The country it has quitted is then a truly curious spectacle. On the stout branches of the trees remain suspended garlands of foreign flowers and plants, sometimes forming elegant canopies picturesquely suspended. The waters soon retire more rapidly; and every hour, almost every minute, gives birth to a fresh landscape. To the astonished eyes of the observer it is no longer water that falls, but vegetation that rises as it were by enchantment, and domineers over this vast sea. At length the ground appears; and the impetuous torrent, that seemed as if it must lay it waste, leaves, like the beneficent Nile, a generous mud, that gives it fresh powers, and augments its produce. The next day, the sun diffuses his rays over a new land; the cultivator seeks the place of his ruined hut; and with the fragments of it, scattered among his furrows, erects another, to be destroyed in its turn by the next inundation.

The *Grose*, the *Nepean*, and particularly the *Hawkesbury*, are subject to considerable floods, though less than those of the Kinkham, and have occasioned terrible disasters in the English settlements, ever since the first establishment of this colony: what is most remarkable, and distressing, is, that these inundations are repeated five or six times a year, and that no notice of the swelling occurs, till it is impossible to avoid its ravages. The abundant rains that fall on the Blue Mountains, the waters of which unite in one point, and take one and the same direction, sufficiently explain these repeated phenomena, which seem to make of New Holland a country by itself, a new land, or, as the English justly term it, *the continent without equal.* The imagination would gladly reject the idea, that storms traverse the gloomy deserts of those mountains, beyond which are perhaps civilized nations and flourishing cities, if it could assign other causes for these

rapid floods, that swell the rivers to more than forty feet above their ordinary level. What enormous bodies of water must fall on those vast solitudes! How frightful the situation of those savage tribes that wander over them! How grand and terrific the spectacle of those impetuous cataracts, that pour down amid the dark forests! What a fearful disorder throughout all nature!.....Behold those little streamlets of clear and limpid water, at first almost imperceptible, gradually increase, soon scoop out for themselves a roomy bed, roll down trees and rocks, and spread to a distance ravage and desolation!.... I have suffered myself to run into this digression, not to return hereafter to these extraordinary phenomena of the Southern continent.

Scarcely had I crossed the bed of the Kinkham, when my heart misgave me. Here, I said to myself, nothing lives but villains or savages; here no voice is heard, but the shout of war. The trees, the hills, seemed to me to have an alarming gloom; and nothing but my ardent curiosity could have dragged me into the midst of the forests. I had a gun; yet, notwithstanding my desire of killing some of the beautiful birds, that were flitting among the leafy branches, I was afraid to disturb the silence of this solitude. I advanced mechanically; and if any imminent danger had presented itself to my eyes, I know not whether I should have had sufficient presence of mind to avoid it. If once we become sensible of our weakness, or confess to ourselves our own pusillanimity, no human power can compel us to assume an appearance of firmness. Accordingly, scarcely had I heard the distant roll of the thunder, growling on the mountains, when my terrified imagination depicted to me the torrent overflowing its limits, and detaining me a prisoner amid the deserts. The sound of a few large drops of rain falling on the leaves of the trees sounded already fearfully in my ears, and I returned with hasty strides toward my prudent guide, who had refused to follow me. I then

neglected all the precautions I had taken during my advance; the bushes were trampled under foot; the unsubstantial hillocks, underneath which millions of large ants had fixed their abode, trodden down by my hasty steps: the wind, rustling among the trees sounded to me like the noise of the waves, that were about to stop me. Alarmed, I called to my guide.....The sinister cries of a few birds alone answered my voice; and at length I reached the terrible barrier, already somewhat swelled, but which I had little trouble in crossing.

Arrived on the other bank, I blushed at my foolish fears; and, ashamed of myself, was about to make a second attempt, when a faint noise I heard near me checked my resolve. I listened, and recognized the voice of a woman.

At the entrance of a hut, formed of pieces of bark, connected together by a little clay and turf, I saw a woman sending in two young children, with nothing on them but a check shirt. I approached her with confidence, and requested, in French, some refreshment, and permission to rest myself in her hut. She understood me, no doubt; and, after offering me a rude seat, set before me some excellent peaches and a delicious white loaf. I had scarcely tasted them, when the quick step of some person approaching struck my ear.

A man about forty, with the countenance of a freebooter, entered, and saluted me with a rough *good morning*. I answered with a timid *bon jour*, which he perfectly understood. His eyes were red, his brow covered with sweat, his clothes neat, and his linen very white. 'Ah! you are a Frenchman,' said he, with an accent that bewrayed his country. 'I love France much, and resided there a long time.' 'Certainly, Sir,' answered I, 'France is the land of lands; you live there at less expense than in England; and Paris, in particular offers strangers a variety of pleasures at an easy rate.' 'O yes!' added he; 'Paris for ever. It is an en-

chanting abode. One can steal there with astonishing facility, and get rich in less than a fortnight. That kind of trade was never yours, Sir; and.....Pardon me, pardon me; I had made a considerable fortune in your country, and I went to England to spend it: but one day I attempted to try the same way of gain at home, I was apprehended; and here I am. You see a thief of Amsterdam, of Paris, and of London. Have you any money, Sir?' At this unexpected question I kept silence, and affected a confidence that I was far from possessing. But my thief of London Amsterdam and Paris repeated it in such an audible voice, that I could not avoid an answer; and frankly confessed, that I had about me five or six Spanish dollars. 'So much the better, Sir,' replied he, 'so much the better. As you ought to leave my abode as you entered it, I congratulate myself at having an opportunity of convincing you, that I have renounced my old habits: be perfectly easy therefore, Sir, and rest yourself a little longer; we shall be gone before night, for the storm is increasing in the mountain, and the torrent which is now swelling threatens us with an approaching inundation.'

After taking my host's advice, I wished to present his wife with a couple of dollars in return for what she had offered me: but the thief of Paris London and Amsterdam told me, that he was proud of obliging me without payment, and that he should take it as a favour for me not to press it any more. I requested him, however to allow me to offer something to his pretty children; to which he consented, and I gave them a handsome handkerchief and a knife, that I had bought at Sydney. They held out their little hands, and I kissed them with a warm heart. 'O sir,' said the convict, 'this is a present; it will be lucky to me. Four years more, and I shall see my native land again!'

A big tear trickled down his cheek, and was kissed off by his wife.

Long after I departed, those children, the mother, and above all, the father's tear often recurred to my softened imagination.

Tired of waiting for me, my guide had returned home; and while he was telling his master, that I had probably lost my way in the forests, I entered, and related the particulars of my journey. I was strongly urged not often to repeat such excursions; and I assure you, my friend, I promised it sincerely.

After a fortnight spent in the journey, and in instructive and agreeable excursions, we returned to Sydney by the same road as we came. On my return, I had frequent occasion to admire the rich fleeces of the ewes and rams, feeding in the forests. The wool is superior to the Spanish; and I am told, that in England, cloth manufactured from the wools of Sydney is preferred to that made from any European wool.

When I arrived at Liverpool, I wished to pay my compliments to the Irish General; but, he was shut up in his chamber, and declined my civilities.

In the court of the hospital, I again saw the convict I mentioned to you, who was bitten by a black snake, as he was begging from us. To give you an idea of the activity of the poison of this formidable reptile, I must add here, that, notwithstanding the celerity of the operation which the poor fellow performed on himself, and the promptitude with which the ligature was applied at the moment of the accident, he still suffered great torment, and had frequent fits of phrenzy.

P. S. I heard some days after at Sydney, that he was quite out of danger, and the fact is mentioned as a surprising cure. Adieu!

LETTER CXLIX.

Sydney-Cove.

IT is a grievous thing that the countries on which heaven has shed the greatest benefits should also, by a melancholy compensation, be those which it has peopled with the most noxious animals, and which are often ravaged by the most formidable scourges.

Where is a land more fertile than the Molucca Islands? where a richer vegetation than that which adorns the slopes of their mountains, and reaches down even to the sea-shore? yet underneath those grand masses of verdure, fearful reptiles crawl. Where is a more beautiful sky than that of New Holland? yet this country, so favoured by nature, is subject to frequent atmospheric changes, which are even more fatal to the inhabitants than to their crops and trees.

M. Péron is much astonished that the winds, which, after crossing the Blue Mountains, traverse Cumberland county, are not colder than those which come from the east, that is from the ocean. He calls to the support of his opinion the results of all the meteorological observations on record, down to our own times; and justly concludes, that winds crossing great heights should have a much lower temperature than those that traverse spacious plains. Habituated to the idea he had formed, and which is almost generally true, that the country engaging our attention is *in every respect* different from others, he inquires in vain, why what takes place in other climates does not take place here; and why all the probabilities admitted in natural philosophy, general or particular, should be continually falsified in New Holland.

From his reasoning it might be inferred, that the Blue Mountains, like the Cordilleras, which have nearly the same direction, have table-lands covered with perpetual frost, and frowning summits always crowned with snow.

Nothing, however, is less true. In the first place the Blue Mountains, which are spoken of with a sort of religious awe, are in general only 3 or 400 fathoms above the level of the sea, and the highest summits do not exceed 5 or 600. Now in a latitude of 36° only it is evident, that such an elevation cannot produce any very sensible effect on the temperature of the wind; particularly when before its arrival it has already traversed immense plains, from which it has drawn a portion of the heat imparted to them by a burning sun.

Accordingly the only admissible reason, that in my opinion can explain those extraordinary phenomena, of which Cumberland county is so often a witness and a victim, is the existence of those vast deserts, which characterize almost the whole of New Holland beyond the Blue Mountains.

Nothing in fact is so alarming as the calamitous results of the passage of these North-West winds; "they may be compared," says Collins, "to every thing most formidable of this kind, that Africa can produce." I cannot here resist the desire of transcribing some passages in Péron's voyage, who has himself translated them from Collins.

"The scorching breath of the North and North-West winds destroys every thing exposed to their action. Nothing resists the ardour of this Austral sirocco; in a few minutes it withers the most active vegetation; springs and rivulets are dried up before it; and even animals perish by thousands under its fatal influence. But as effects here cease to be proportionate to their causes, it is to experience alone we must appeal; and in this respect, from the unanimous testimony of the most enlightened

inhabitants of New South Wales, we may rely on the authority of the most valuable historian this country has yet had."*

"In the month of February, 1791," says Collins, "in addition to other works in hand, the surveyor was employed in clearing and deepening the run of water, which supplied the settlement at Sydney; and which, through the long drought, was at this time very low, although still sufficient for the consumption of the place. Fresh water was indeed everywhere very scarce, most of the streams or runs of water about the cove being dried up.

"At Rose Hill, the heat on the 10th and 11th of the month, on which days at Sydney the thermometer stood in the shade at 105°, (32°. 4 of Reaumur) was so excessive, (being much increased by the fire in the adjoining woods,) that immense numbers of the large fox-bat were seen hanging at the boughs of the trees, and dropping into the water, which, by their stench, was rendered unwholesome. They had been observed for some days before regularly taking their flight in the morning from the Northward to the Southward, and returning in the evening. During the excessive heat many dropped dead while on the wing; and it is remarkable, that those which were picked up were chiefly males. In several parts of the harbour, the ground was covered with different sorts of small birds, some dead, and others gasping for water.

"The relief of the detachment at Rose Hill unfortunately took place on one of these sultry days, and the officer having occasion to land in search of water, was compelled to walk several miles before any could be found, the runs which were known being all dry; in his way to and from the boat, he found several birds dropping dead at his feet. The wind was about North-West, and did much injury to the gardens, burning up every thing before it. Those persons whose business compelled them

* The following extracts are not re-translated from the French, but copied from the original work; in doing this, several gross blunders in the French translation have been detected, which it is material to notice, as Mr. Arago's remarks which follow, are principally grounded on these blunders.—TRANSLATOR.

to go into the heated air, declared, that it was impossible to turn the face for five minutes to the quarter from whence the wind blew."—(*Account of New South Wales*, p. 153, 154.)

November, 1791.

"The extreme heat of the weather during the month had not only increased the sick list, but had added one to the number of deaths. On the 4th, a convict attending upon Mr. White, in passing from his house to his kitchen, without any covering upon his head, received a stroke from a ray of the sun, which at the time deprived him of speech and motion, and, in less than four-and-twenty hours, of his life. The thermometer on that day stood at twelve o'clock at 94¾°, (28° 0 Reaumur) and the wind was at N. W.

"By the dry weather which prevailed, our water had been so much affected, beside being lessened by the watering of some of the transports, that a prohibition was laid by the Governor on the watering of the remainder at Sydney, and their boats were directed to go to a convenient place upon the North shore. To remedy this evil, the Governor had employed the stone-mason's gang to cut tanks out of the rock, which would be reservoirs for the water, large enough to supply the settlement for some time."—(Ib. 189.)

December, 1792.

"The weather during the month was very hot; the 5th was a day most excessively sultry. The wind blew strong from the Northward of West; the country, to add to the intense heat of the atmosphere, was everywhere on fire. At Sydney, the grass at the back of the hill on the west side of the cove, having either caught or been set on fire by the natives, the flames, aided by the wind which at that time blew violently, spread and raged with incredible fury. One house was burnt down; several gardens with their fences were destroyed; and the whole face of the hill was on fire, threatening every thatched hut with destruction.

The conflagration was with much difficulty (notwithstanding the exertions of the military) got under, after some time, and prevented from doing any further mischief. At different times during this uncomfortable day distant thunder was heard, the air darkened, and some few large drops of rain fell. The apparent danger from the fires drew all persons out of their houses; and on going into the parching air, it was scarcely possible to breathe; the heat was insupportable; vegetation seemed to suffer much, the leaves of many culinary plants being reduced to a powder. The thermometer in the shade rose above 100° (30°. 2. Reaumur) Some rain falling toward evening, the excessive heat abated."—(*Ib.* 257.)

"The master of the American ship the Hope observed, when about the South cape of this country, that the weather was clear; but after passing the latitude of the Maria Islands, he found it close, hazy, and heated, and had every appearance of thick smoke. About that time we had the same sort of weather here; and the excessive heats which at other times have been experienced in the settlements, have been also noticed at sea when at some distance from the land."—(*Ib.* 255.)

August, 1794.

"On the 25th, the hot land-wind visited us for the first time this season, blowing until evening with much violence, when it was succeeded, as usually happened after so hot a day, by the wind at South."—(*Ib.* 386.)

Well, my friend, what would you have said, if I had related to you the particulars of these truly alarming phenomena? Would you not have charged me with exaggeration, and perhaps afterward required from me some warranty of the truth of the other facts in my narrative? Yet the writer of these accounts was a man of respectability and veracity; he wrote in presence of persons who were witnesses of these disasters; his narrative has been

read throughout Europe and in New Holland; a thousand tongues would have been ready to contradict him, had he advanced a falsehood; and Péron himself, who has translated him, gives him full and entire credit.

For my own part I frankly confess, that I do not place much confidence in it, notwithstanding the character of the relater. What! he doubts whether the trees and shrubs were set on fire by the natives, or by the heat of the atmosphere, though the thermometer never rose higher than 32° of Reaumur! What! the convicts died when they remained exposed to the sun only a few minutes! The leaves were charred! Vegetation was destroyed!.....But at Timor the heat is regularly as great: and one day, when the thermometer was above 31° in the shade, I made an excursion with my friend Guerin of more than eighteen miles, almost always exposed to the fervent action of the sun, without experiencing any of the formidable effects related by Collins. Most of our sailors sent out to kill game, took still longer walks, without experiencing more inconvenience than myself.

You will ask me then, if the account I quote be false: No: I believe it is true; but as it was probably written at the moment when these meteorological phenomena took place, it may be apprehended that the presence of the evil magnified it to the imagination of the relater; and more especially that he wrote from reports not very precise. That springs were dried up, and that birds perished from want of food, or victims to thirst, may easily be conceived; such facts take place sometimes in other countries: but I repeat, I do not believe, that a heat of 28°, 30°, or 32°, can produce such formidable effects in nature; and it is in this that Collins's narrative appears to me an exaggeration.

LETTER CL.

Sydney.

OUGHT I to say any thing to you of feasts, balls, and other parties of pleasure, made on our account? And will not you be astonished, that I, who have occasionally spoken of the English with a freedom so little in their favour, should be now receiving their civilities and attentions?

I can assure you, that the word Englishman is never painful to my ear; and the best proof I can give of my not being actuated by absurd prejudices, is, that I accept with lively gratitude all the friendly offers made me. I have found merchants, who are men of integrity and well informed; soldiers, brave and fond of gaiety; ladies, extremely agreeable and modest; who allow me to join in their sports and amusements: I fly to them eagerly; and I feel here above all places, that he, who is at the distance of the earth's diameter from his native land, is neither Russian, nor Englishman, nor Spaniard, nor Frenchman; here all are Europeans, and all are countrymen.

Certainly the Governor of Diely welcomed us with peculiar kindness; the Governor of Guam loaded us with civilities; and at the Isles of France and Bourbon we were treated as brothers: but no where did we meet with such splendid entertainments as at Sydney; and the captains of the ships emulated the inhabitants of the town, in making us regret a rendezvous that was to be one of the last of our toilsome expedition.

It is pleasing to me to inform you, that not the slightest dispute ever took place, that the frankest urbanity prevailed in all our meetings; and that we departed with the greatest

regret, that we could make no return to such friendly and honourable attentions, but our grateful acknowledgments.

There would be no ingratitude in not naming any of the persons who received us with most kindness, since it would be to enumerate the most respectable persons in the settlement. But after Governor Macquarie, and Messrs. Field, Wylde, Piper, and Bligh, who are the principal civil officers, Messrs. Forbes, Wollstonecraft..... but let me stop, I am running on with a long list of names. If we quit this with regret, at least we enjoy the certainty, that our friendship was felt and appreciated.

P. S.—I say nothing to you of Paramatta, of which I had but a glimpse; or of several other settlements in that part of New Holland, which I did not see, and of which my comrades saw no more than myself; as I am resolved to give you nothing but authentic accounts. But I cannot avoid making one remark here, the justice of which will be acknowledged by all travellers: that is, the English do not sufficiently vary the names they give to the countries they discover; and that the perpetual series of *King George's River*, *King George's Peak*, *King George's Plain*, *Queen Charlotte's Sound*, *Queen Charlotte's Cove*, *Queen Charlotte's Marsh*, infuse much obscurity into their narratives. Yet their country is sufficiently fertile in illustrious names, which they might have affixed to their discoveries.

I will add too, that it is easy to guess from the names given to foreign settlements, and particularly to the harbours, towns, and little settlements, by what nation they were first discovered or settled. In the Marianne Islands are not fort *St. Agatha*, the castle of *St. Raphael*, the *Mater Dolorosa*, the *Queen of Heaven*, the *Guardian Angel*, &c., plainly Spanish? As to ourselves, Cape *Buffon*, *Delambre's* Sound, *Berthallet's* and *Laplace's* Islands, &c., are I believe sufficiently French, and it is

not difficult to guess at us. However, the best nomenclature is that which is most diversified; because, though it loads the memory more, it is that which best prevents mistakes.

Adieu; we sail the day after to-morrow, and for fear of any unforeseen event, I dispatch my letter by a ship which proceeds first to China, and then to Calcutta; so that it is possible I may be with you when it comes to your hands.

LETTER CLI.

Without date or place.

I AM about to communicate to you two letters from Mr. Oxley, to Governor Macquarie, who had employed this learned naval officer* on two journeys of discovery in the interior of New Holland. The style of the narrator is simple, and bears a stamp of truth too uncommon on such occasions. You must not expect to find perpendicular precipices, or frightful cascades: real information has no need of these grand phenomena, to interest us. The narratives of Mr. Oxley prove to a certainty, that those immense mountains, of which enthusiastic writers have dreamed, existed only in their imaginations. You will see that the countries he traversed are in general low, and almost always under water; which, reasoning by analogy, and very admissible probabilities, would lead us to suspect the existence of an inland lake in which these waters unite. Lakes in fact are generally skirted by marshes, similar to those which the English traveller

* Mr. Oxley is a Lieutenant in the Navy, and Surveyor-general of New South Wales.

met with on his route. The work he is about to publish* will certainly be extremely interesting, on account of the ideas it will impart respecting the inland country. The minuteness of his account must not be imputed to him as a fault; such minuteness is injurious to subjects already handled, but on the contrary is of the greatest importance in the narrative of hazardous journeys, where it is requisite, not only to describe the nature of the places visited, but also to point out the obstacles that present themselves. As so much is said in Europe of the Blue Mountains, and the interior of that vast country, Mr. Oxley thinks he can affirm, that at the termination of his second journey, he had only a little way to proceed, to reach that sea, of which he found positive indications in the nature of the country. What then becomes of the hypotheses of M. Péron?

Letter from Mr. Oxley, on his return from his First Expedition, to Governor Macquarie.

Bathurst, August 30, 1817.

"Sir,

"I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Excellency with my arrival at this place last evening, together with the persons comprising the expedition to the westward, which your Excellency was pleased to place under my direction.

"Your Excellency is already informed of my proceedings up to the 30th of April. The limits of a letter will not permit me to enter at large into the occurrences of nineteen weeks; and as I shall have the honour of waiting on your Excellency in a few days, I trust you will in the mean time have the goodness to accept the summary account which I now offer.

"I proceeded down the Lachlan in company with the boats until the 12th of May, the country rapidly descending, until the waters of the river rising to a level

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* Mr. Oxley's work has been since published (in 1820), under the title of "Journals of Two Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales, undertaken by order of the British Government in the years 1817-18." The two letters, the principal parts of which follow, will be found in the Appendix to that work; and are here retained, on account of the references made to them by M. Arago.

with it, and dividing themselves into numerous branches, inundated the land to the west and north-west, and prevented any further progress in that direction, the river itself being lost among the marshes. Up to this point, it had received no accession of waters from either side; but, on the contrary, was constantly dissipating itself in lagoons and swamps.

"The impossibility of proceeding farther in conjunction with the boats being evident, I determined upon mature deliberation to haul them up, and, divesting ourselves of every thing that could possibly be spared, proceed with the horses loaded with the additional provisions from the boats, on such a course towards the coast as would intersect any stream that might arise from the divided waters of the Lachlan.

"In pursuance of this plan, I quitted the river on the 17th of May, taking a south-west course towards Cape Northumberland, as the best adapted to answer my intended purpose. I will not here detail the difficulties and privations we experienced in passing through a barren and desolate country, without any water but such rain as was found remaining in holes and the crevices of rocks. I continued this course until the 9th of June, when, having lost two horses through fatigue and want, and the others being in a deplorable condition, I changed our course to north, along a range of lofty hills running in that direction, as they afforded the only means of procuring water until we should fall in with some stream. On this course I continued until the 23d of June, when we again fell in with a stream, which we had at first some difficulty to recognise as the Lachlan, it being little larger than one of the branches of it where we quitted it on the 17th of May.

"I did not hesitate a moment to pursue the course of this stream; not that the nature of the country, or its own appearance, in any manner indicated that it would become navigable, or even permanent; but I was unwilling that the smallest doubt should remain whether any navigable waters fall westward into the sea, between the limits pointed out in my instructions.

"I continued along the banks of the stream until the 8th of July, it having taken during this period a westerly direction, and passed through a perfectly level country, barren in the extreme, and being evidently at periods entirely under water. To this point the river had been gradually diminishing, and spreading its waters over stagnated lagoons and morasses, without receiving any tributary stream that we knew of, during the whole extent of its course. The banks were not more than three feet high, and the marks of flood on the shrubs and bushes showed that at times it rose between two and three feet higher, causing the whole country to become a marsh, and altogether uninhabitable.

"Farther progress westward, had it been possible, was now useless, as there

was neither hill nor rising ground of any kind within the compass of our view, which was bounded only by the horizon in every quarter, and entirely devoid of timber, unless a few diminutive gum-trees on the very edge of the stream might be so termed. The water in the bed of the lagoon, as it might now be properly denominated, was stagnant, its breadth about twenty feet, and the heads of grass growing in it showed it to be about three feet deep.

"This unlooked-for and truly singular termination of a river, which we had anxiously hoped, and reasonably expected, would have led to a far different conclusion, filled us with the most painful sensations. We were full five hundred miles west of Sydney, and nearly in its latitude; and it had taken us ten weeks of unremitted exertion to proceed so far. The nearest part of the coast about Cape Bernoulli, had it been accessible, was distant above one hundred and eighty miles. We had demonstrated beyond a doubt, that no river could fall into the sea between Cape Otway and Spencer's Gulf, at least none deriving its waters from the eastern coast; and that the country south of the parallel of 34 degress, and west of the meridian 147. 30. E. was uninhabitable, and useless for all the purposes of civilized men.

"It now became my duty to make our remaining resources as extensively useful to the colony as our circumstances would allow; these were much diminished: an accident which happened to one of the boats in the outset of the expedition had deprived us of one-third of our dry provisions, of which we had originally a supply for only eighteen weeks, and we had been consequently for some time living on a reduced ration of two quarts of flour per man, per week. To return to the depôt by the route we had come, would have been as useless as impossible; and, seriously considering the spirit of your Excellency's instructions, I determined, after the most mature deliberation, to take such a route, on our return, as would I hoped comport with your Excellency's views, had our then situation ever been contemplated.

"Returning up the Lachlan, I recommenced the survey of it from the point at which it was made on the 23d of June, intending to continue up its banks until its connexion with the marshes where we quitted it on the 17th of May was satisfactorily established, as also to ascertain if any streams might have escaped our research. The connexion with all the points of the survey previously determined, was completed between the 19th of July and the 3d of August. In the space passed over within that period, the river had divided itself into various branches, and formed three fine lakes, which, with one near the termination of our journey westward, were the only considerable pieces of water we had yet seen; and I now estimated that the river, from the place where it was first made by Mr. Evans, had run a course, including all its windings, of upwards of one thousand two hundred

miles; a length altogether unprecedented, when the single nature of the river is considered, and that its original source constitutes its only supply of water during that extent.

"Crossing at this point, it was my intention to take a north-east course to intersect the country, and if possible to ascertain what had become of the Macquarie River, which it was clear had never joined the Lachlan. This course led us through a country to the full as bad as any we had yet seen, and equally devoid of water, the personal want of which again much distressed us. On the 7th of August the scene began to change, and the country to assume a very different aspect; we were now quitting the neighbourhood of the Lachlan, and had passed to the north-east of the high range of hills, which on this parallel bounds the low country to the north of that river. To the north-west and north the country was high and open, with good forest land; and on the 10th we had the satisfaction of falling in with the first stream running northerly. This renewed our hopes of soon falling in with the Macquarie; and we continued upon the same course, occasionally inclining to the eastward until the 19th, passing through a fine luxuriant country, well watered; crossing in that space of time nine streams, having a northerly course through rich valleys, the country in every direction being moderately high and open, and generally as fine as can be imagined.

"No doubt remained upon our minds that those streams fell into the Macquarie; and to view it before it received such an accession, was our first wish. On the 19th, we were gratified by falling in with a river running through a most beautiful country, and which I should have been well contented to have believed to be the river we were in search of. Accident led us down this stream about a mile, when we were surprised by its junction with a river coming from the south, of such width and magnitude as to dispel all doubts as to this last being the river we had so long anxiously looked for. Limited as our resources were, we could not resist the temptation which this beautiful country afforded us, to remain two days upon the junction of these rivers, for the purpose of examining its vicinity to as great an extent as possible.

"Our examination increased the satisfation we had previously felt; as far as the eye could reach, in every direction, a rich and picturesque country extended, abounding in lime-stone, slate, good timber, and every other requisite which could render an uncultivated country desirable.

"The soil cannot be excelled; whilst a noble river of the first magnitude affords the means of conveying its productions from one part of the country to the other. Where we quitted it, its course was northerly, and we were then north of the parallel of Port Stephens, being in latitude 32°. 32′. 45″. S., and 148°. 52′. E. longitude.

"It appeared to me that the Macquarie had taken a north-north-west course

from Bathurst, and that it must have received immense accessions of water in its course from that place. We viewed it at a period best calculated to form an accurate judgment of its importance, when it was neither swelled by floods beyond its natural and usual height, nor contracted within its proper limits by summer droughts; of its magnitude when it should have received the streams we had crossed, independently of any which it may receive from the east (which, from the boldness and height of the country, I presume must be at least as many as from the south), some idea may be formed when I inform your Excellency, that at this point it exceeded in breadth and apparent depth the Hawkesbury at Windsor, and that many of the reaches were of grander and more extended proportion than the admired one on the Nepean River, from the Warragamba to Emu Plains.

"Resolving to keep as near the river as possible during the remainder of our course to Bathurst, and endeavour to ascertain at least on the west side what waters fall into it, on the 22d we proceeded up the river, and, between the point quitted and Bathurst, crossed the sources of numberless streams all running into the Macquarie; two of them were nearly as large as that river itself is at Bathurst. The country whence all these streams derive their source was mountainous and irregular, and appeared equally so on the east side of the Macquarie.

"This description of country extended to the immediate vicinity of Bathurst; but to the west of those lofty ranges the land was broken into low grassy hills and fine valleys, watered by rivulets rising on the western side of the mountains, which on their eastern side pour their waters directly into the Macquarie. These westerly streams appeared to me to join that which at first sight I had taken for the Macquarie, and, when united, to fall into it at the point on which it was first discovered on the 19th instant. We reached this place last evening, without a single accident having occurred to any one of the party during the whole progress of the expedition; which from this point has encircled within the parallels of 34°. 30′. S., and 32°. S., and between the meridians of 149°. 29′. 30″. E. and 143°. 30′. E. a space of nearly one thousand miles. I shall hasten to lay before your Excellency the journals, charts, and drawings, explanatory of the various occurrences of our diversified route; amply gratified if our exertions should appear to your Excellency commensurate with your expectations, and the ample means which your care and liberality placed at my disposal."

Second Letter from Mr. Oxley, to Governor Macquarie, on his return from his Second Expedition.

Port Stephens, November 1, 1818.

" Sir,

" I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency, that I arrived at this port to-day; and circumstances rendering it necessary that Mr. Evans should proceed to Newcastle, I embrace the opportunity to make to your Excellency a brief report of the route pursued by the western expedition entrusted to my direction.

" My letter, dated the 22d of June last, will have made your Excellency acquainted with the sanguine hopes I entertained, from the appearance of the river, that its termination would be either in interior waters, or coast-wise. When I wrote that letter to your Excellency, I certainly did not anticipate the possibility, that a very few days further travelling would lead us to its termination as an accessible river.

" On the 28th of June, having traced its course without the smallest diminution or addition, about seventy miles farther to the nort-north-west, there being a slight fresh in the river, it overflowed its banks; and although we were at the distance of near three miles from it, the country was so perfectly level that the waters soon spread over the ground on which we were. We had been for some days before travelling over such very low ground, that the people in the boats finding the country flooded, proceeded slowly; a circumstance which enabled me to send them directions to return to the station we had quitted in the morning, where the ground was a little more elevated. This spot being by no means secure, it was arranged that the horses, with the provisions, should return to the last high land we had quitted, a distance of sixteen miles; and as it appeared to me that the body of water in the river was too important to be much affected by the mere overflowing of its waters, I determined to take the large boat, and in her to endeavour to discover their point of discharge.

" On the 2d of July I proceeded in the boat down the river, and in the course of the day went near thirty miles in a north-north-west course, for ten of which there had been, strictly speaking, no land, as the flood made the surrounding country a complete sea: the banks of the river were heavily timbered, and many large spaces within our view, covered with the common reed, were also encircled by large trees. On the 3d. the main channel of the river was much contracted, but very deep, the banks being under water from a foot to eighteen inches; the stream continued for about twenty miles on the same course as yesterday, when we lost sight of land and trees, the channel of the river winding through reeds, among which the water was about three feet deep, the current having the same direction

as the river. It continued in this manner for near four miles more, when, without any previous change in the breadth, depth, and rapidity of the stream, and when I was sanguine in my expectations of soon entering the long-sought-for lake, it all at once eluded our farther pursuit, by spreading at all points from north-west to north-east over the plain of reeds which surrounded us; the river decreasing in depth from upwards of twenty feet to less than five feet, and flowing over a bottom of tenacious blue mud; and the current still running with nearly the same rapidity, as when the water was confined within the banks of the river. This point of junction with interior waters, or where the Macquarie ceased to have the form of a river, is in lat. 30. 45. S., and long. 147. 10. E.

"To assert positively that we were on the margin of the lake, or sea, into which this great body of water is discharged, might reasonably be deemed a conclusion that has nothing but conjecture for its basis; but if an opinion may be hazarded from actual appearances, which our subsequent route tended more strongly to confirm, I feel confident we were in the immediate vicinity of an inland sea, most probably a shoal one, and gradually decreasing, or being filled up by the immense depositions from the waters flowing into it from the higher lands, which, on this singular continent, seem not to extend beyond a few hundred miles from the sea-coast; as westward of these bounding ranges, (which from the observations I have been enabled to make, appear to me to run parallel to the direction of the coast,) there is not a single hill or other eminence discoverable on this apparently boundless space, those isolated points excepted, on which we remained until the 28th of July; the rocks, and stones composing which, are a distinct species from those found on the above ranges.

"I trust your Excellency will believe, that fully impressed with the great importance of the question, as to the interior formation of this great country, I was anxiously solicitous to remove all ground for farther conjecture, by the most careful observations on the nature of the country; which though it was to me a proof that the interior was covered with water, yet I felt it my duty to leave no measure untried which would in any way tend to a direct elucidation of the fact.

"It was physically impracticable to gain the edge of these waters by making a *détour* round the flooded portion of the country on the south-west side of the river, as we proved it to be a barren wet marsh, overrun with a species of polygonum, and not offering a single dry spot to which our course might be directed; and that there was no probability of finding any in that direction, I had a certain knowledge from the observations made during the former expedition. To circle the flooded country to the north-east yet remained to be tried; and when on the 7th of July I returned to the tents, which I found pitched on the high land before mentioned, and from whence we could see mountains at the distance of eighty miles to the eastward, the country between being a perfect level, Mr. Evans was

sent forward to explore the country to the north-east, that being the point on which I purposed to set forward.

"On the 18th of July Mr. Evans returned, having been prevented from continuing on a north-east course beyond two days' journey, by waters running north-easterly through high reeds, and which were most probably those of the Macquarie River; as during his absence it had swelled so considerably as entirely to surround us, coming within a few yards of the tent. Mr. Evans afterwards proceeded more easterly, and, at a distance of fifty miles from the Macquarie River, crossed another much wider but not so deep, running to the north: advancing still more easterly, he went nearly to the base of the mountains seen from the tent, and returning by a more southerly route, found the country somewhat dryer, but not in the least more elevated.

"The discretionary instructions with which your Excellency was pleased to furnish me leaving me at liberty as to the course to be pursued by the expedition on its return to Port Jackson, I determined to attempt making the sea-coast on an easterly course, first proceeding along the base of the high range before-mentioned, which I still indulged hopes might lead me to the margin of these, or any other interior waters which this portion of New South Wales might contain; and embracing a low line of coast on which many small openings remained unexamined, at the same time that the knowledge obtained of the country to be encircled, might materially tend to the advantage of the colony, in the event of any communication with the interior being discovered.

"We quitted this station on the 30th of July, being in latitude 31. 18. S., and longitude 147. 31. E., on our route for the coast; and on the 8th of August arrived at the lofty range of mountains to which our course had been directed. From the highest point of this range we had the most extended prospect. From south by the west to north, it was one vast level, resembling the ocean in extent, but yet without water being discerned, the range of high land extending to the north-east by north, elevated points of which were distinguished upwards of one hundred and twenty miles.

"From this point, in conformity to the resolution I had made on quitting the Macquarie River, I pursued a north-east course; but after encountering numerous difficulties from the country being an entire marsh, interspersed with quicksands, until the 20th of August, and finding I was surrounded by bogs, I was reluctantly compelled to take a more easterly course, having practically proved that the country could not be traversed on any point deviating from the main range of hills which bound the interior; although partial dry portions of level alluvial land extend from their base westerly to a distance which I estimate to exceed one hundred and fifty miles, before it was gradually lost in the waters, which I am clearly con-

vinced cover the interior. The alteration in our course more easterly, soon brought us into a very different description of country, forming a remarkable contrast to that which had so long occupied us. Numerous fine streams, running northerly, watered a rich and beautiful country, through which we passed until the 7th of September, when we crossed the meridian of Sydney, as also the most elevated known land in New South Wales, being then in latitude 31. S. We were afterwards considerably embarrassed and impeded by very lofty mountains. On the 20th of September, we gained the summit of the most elevated mountain in this extensive range, and from it we were gratified with a view of the ocean, at a distance of fifty miles; the country beneath us being formed into an immense triangular valley, the base of which extended along the coast from the Three Brothers on the south, to the high land north of Smoky Cape. We had the farther gratification to find that we were near the source of a large stream running to the sea. On descending the mountain, we followed the course of this river, increased by many accessions, until the 8th of October, when we arrived on the beach near the entrance of the port which received it; having passed over, since the 18th of July, a tract of country near five hundred miles in extent from west to east.

"This inlet is situated in lat. 31. 25. 45. S., and long. 152. 53. 54. E., and had been previously noticed by Captain Flinders; but from the distance at which he was necessarily obliged to keep from the coast, he did not discover that it had a navigable entrance: of course our most anxious attention was directed to this important point; and although the want of a boat rendered the examination as to the depth of water in the channel incomplete, yet there appeared to be at low water at least three fathoms, with a safe though narrow entrance between the sand-rollers on either hand. Having ascertained thus far, and that by its means the fine country on the banks, and in the neighbourhood of the river, might be of future service to the colony, I took the liberty to name it Port Macquarie, in honour of your Excellency, as the original promoter of the expedition.

"On the 12th of October we quitted Port Macquarie, on our course for Sydney; and although no charts can be more accurate in their outline and principal points than those of Captain Flinders, we soon experienced how little the best marine charts can be depended upon, to show all the inlets and openings upon an extensive line of coast. The distance his ship was generally at, from that portion of the coast we had to travel over, did not allow him to perceive openings, which, though doubtless of little consequence to shipping, yet presented the most serious difficulties to travellers by land; and of which, if they had been laid down in the chart, I should have hesitated to have attempted the passage without assistance from the sea-ward: as it is, we are indebted for our preservation,

and that of the horses, to the providential discovery of a small boat on the beach, which the men with the most cheerful alacrity carried upwards of ninety miles on their shoulders, thereby enabling us to overcome obstacles, otherwise insurmountable.

"Until within these few days, I hoped to have had the satisfaction to report the return of the expedition without accident to any individual composing it; but such is the ferocious treachery of the natives along the coast to the northward, that our utmost circumspection could not save us from having one man (William Blake) severely wounded by them; but by the skilful care bestowed upon him by Dr. Harris (who accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, and to whom upon this occasion, and throughout the whole course of it, we are indebted for much valuable assistance) I trust his recovery is no longer doubtful."

You see, my dear Batlle, by this rapid sketch of Mr. Oxley's journey, that a great portion of the territory at a considerable distance from Sydney is now known. You will observe that the marshes were the greatest obstacles which the relater met with in his progress, and that he had no difficulty in getting over all the mountains which he could reach.

I have frequently remarked that in dangerous voyages or journies, a deficiency in the original instructions has often been productive of fatal consequences. In the present case, Governor Macquarie showed equal prudence and reserve; and while he granted certain powers, which were deemed indispensable by the leader of the expedition, he has pointed out its principal objects with a nicety that does him great honour.

"The three grand and principal objects of the present expedition are:—First, to ascertain the real course or general direction of the Lachlan River, and its final termination, and whether it falls into the sea, or into some inland lake. Secondly, if the river falls into the sea, to ascertain the exact place of its embouchure, and whether such place would answer as a safe and good port for shipping; and thirdly, the general face of the country, nature of the soil, woods, and animal and natural productions of the country through which this river passes; carefully examining and noting down each of these particulars, and adding thereto the nature of the climate, and description of such natives or aborigines of the country as you may happen to see, or fall in with, in your progress through it."

Here every thing is positive; and if the Governor has not pointed out the precise road they were to take, it was because it was out of his power to do so, and in that point only the fullest latitude was given to Mr. Oxley.

As that gentleman was then preparing his work for publication, he could not with propriety furnish me with the details which I should have been desirous of knowing; as the first communication of them was due to his own Government. But I learned that, shortly after quitting Bathurst, he met with some natives to whom he gave some provisions, and made some trifling presents; that they appeared to him mild in their dispositions, and were acquainted with several English words and phrases. After having made several days' progress on the river Lachlan, he met with another party of savages, to the number of eight, who appeared not at all alarmed, and with whom they exchanged civilities.

At the end of the preface to his second journey, Mr. Oxley observes,

"So few natives were seen in the interior, that those extensive regions can scarcely be described as inhabited: some scattered families comprise the entire population, and the scanty remarks we were enabled to make satisfied us of the strict identity of this race of human beings with those of the coast. The same method of procuring their food, the same arms and utensils, are common to both. This remarkable similarity in the natives of different tribes extends also to the animal and vegetable productions of the country: the eucalyptus and camarina; the kangaroo and the emu, with their various species, alike inhabit the cold regions of Van Diemen's Land, and the warmer latitudes within the tropics.

"A short description of the most remarkable plants collected during the expedition by Mr. Charles Frazier, the government collector, is added to this Journal: and although the result as to the principal object of the expedition has not been answerable to the expectation which was entertained when it set out, yet when the general knowledge obtained of so considerable a portion of this extensive country is considered, it is hoped that it has not been undertaken and performed in vain; and that the field which it has opened to the colonists will be attended with ultimate benefit both to them and to the parent country."

This is the language of real modesty. As for us, who did not participate in the dangerous expeditions of which we have been speaking, but who attach the fullest credit to every part of the narratives of them which have been published, we must conclude, that the first expeditions into the interior were not undertaken with means sufficient to ensure their success, and that the persons who wrote accounts of them exaggerated the real difficulties, and imagined the most absurd obstacles; and that Governor Macquarie, by his generous attention, and the extensive preparations he made, has not less claims on the gratitude of the public, than Mr. Oxley by his courage and the valuable information he collected.

Adieu, my dear Friend! We are now under weigh.

LETTER CLII.

At Sea, 1820.

HERE I am, my friend; I have now only four or five thousand leagues to sail before I embrace you; I fancy myself already at home; I am transported with joy.

We quitted New Holland, delighted with our rendezvous there. We are now on our way to old Europe, and shall terminate our long campaign with a feeling which I assure you delights me, of leaving friends in every part of the world. Although we have been threatened by savages, and occasionally have run considerable risks, not a drop of blood has been spilt; our prudence and our cheerfulness have smoothed all obstacles, and not a sigh of remorse or regret escapes from our hearts.....

How pleasing to me is the strong gale which blows us on! Already we are further south than New Zealand,—that immense island, where the winter is so cold, yet where the people, how-

ever, only wear a short cloak to protect them against the severity of the seasons. There are still to be found those Anthropophagi whose combats are so murderous; there yet wander savage tribes, who, like the *Paikice*, or the *Mundrucus*, cut off the heads of their vanquished enemies, and prepare them in such a way as to preserve them for years. The same weapons, the same ferocious manners, and almost the same designs on the body and face, are to be found among people situated so far from one another; and if I may believe the reports of voyagers, deities with the same names. Explain, if you can, this wonderful resemblance, particularly as it is found in such different zones: the former inhabit hyperborean regions; the latter, on the contrary, receive the sun's rays perpendicularly on their heads.

A few leagues from Campbell's Island.

Here we are at the point of the globe furthest from Paris; and so near its antipodes, that I may almost say, I am now dancing under the *Pont-Neuf*.

A few days only have elapsed since we left Sydney, and we are now seven hundred leagues distant from it. *Land*, cries the look-out man, land a-head. On consulting the chart, no land however is laid down; and on nearing it, we discover, to our surprise, that it is an ice-berg as high as our masts. These pelagian (sea-born) masses torn from the pole, and driven by impetuous winds into temperate climates, present an imposing sight. The following day we saw two others of smaller dimensions; and on the ensuing days passed close to so many of these floating rocks, that we were obliged to be constantly on the look-out, and found the navigation extremely dangerous.

This morning I am roused from sleep by the joyous cries of the crew, who hail a second time the continent of America. Yet another disagreeable rendezvous; for we know that the cold is very severe at Cape Horn, even in the middle of summer. At

present the weather is fine, we have a fresh breeze, and perhaps may double this formidable point to-day.

You see, my friend, how much I endeavour to gratify your taste and impatience: in one page I carry you over a space of eighteen hundred leagues, in order to give you some interesting details of a very interesting country, which has as yet been little explored. I had no desire to take you with us on this long passage, or to keep your mind continually tacking and veering about with our corvette, as I knew you were not very fond of nautical details, which deaden the interest of the subject, without communicating any thing new. You must have remarked that I have all along been very sparing of these. And for two very good reasons: the first, that I am quite ignorant of the subject; and secondly, the little value attached to such details, now that the science of navigation has arrived to such perfection.

Here we are then, off Cape Horn: the weather is delightful, like a fine spring day in our climates; no haze hangs over the coast; a light breeze drives us slowly along; and we can contemplate, at our ease, the various places which we pass. In general the land is not very high, though white spots, at no great distance, point out in these frozen regions the limits of eternal snow. Pointed summits and rocks of a strange aspect form the fore-grounds of the picture, in which creeks and inlets, which must be protected from every wind, are also indicated. How many tempests have beaten against these bare rocks! how many hurricanes have passed over their dark heads! There is no vegetation on them, except perhaps in some glens where the wind is powerless. The sea is calm to-day; and yet it roars, half in anger, as it were, among the immense masses which have braved its fury for so many ages. Columns of smoke rise in the country, at a considerable distance; we are ignorant if they proceed from volcanoes, or the habitations of man; but as we

are aware that a calm day here is almost always followed by a stormy night, we are prudently keeping at a good distance from the coast.

The night, however, which is now passed, has been very fine; and our most ardent wishes are at present directed to the bay of Good-Success, which probably will not be more fatal to us than it has been to so many other voyagers. An apparently active vegetation covers the sides of the mountains round which we are coasting, and we remark that the most majestic trees are on the eastern side. But the breeze freshens, thick clouds arise, and some of them fly swiftly over our heads; others on the contrary, turning with a whirlwind round the nearest mountains, are pierced by the sharp points which form their summits: the trees, the holes of the rocks, send forth a melancholy sound, and seem to echo in response to the breaking of the foaming billows, rolling and roaring round the ship.

But our course is so swift that we pass in the twinkling of an eye those enormous rocks, from the top of which, fine sheets of water roll down, to be lost in the waves of the ocean. The most remarkable of these water-falls is the one which is nearest to the bay of Good-Success: magnificent, however, as is the prospect, we leave it behind us with pleasure, to enter into the wished-for haven, where we let go our anchor, half a league from the shore. While we feel ourselves at our ease, and every one is preparing what is necessary for an excursion on shore, the active Master, with the lead in his hand, informs the Captain that the vessel is drawing on the rocks. A moment, a single moment of irresolution, had infallibly caused our destruction; but Captain Freycinet acted with promptness and decision. The cable was cut; and, in the hope of recovering our anchor and regaining the anchorage, we tacked about for some time and tried to hold our own. Vain hope! the wind freshened every minute,

the currents carried us away from the bay, and a hurricane was evidently coming on. The sea soon becomes more hollow and tempestuous, the wind whistles among the rigging, the masts crack with a dismal tone; the voice of the commander grows feeble, and can no longer be heard; the waves roll on with violence, and are broken by the squalls which carry them into the air; large drops of rain fall with astonishing rapidity; the clouds now at the zenith are in one instant lost below the horizon; the night grows dark; and if some parts of the atmosphere brighten up, less charged with vapour than the rest, the most violent gusts rush from the openings and press on the ship in peril.....But we are already far from the anchorage, and not ingorant that these seas are very little known. '*Land!*' they cry from the fore part of the ship, '*Land!* close to us.' A sail is spread to give the ship steerage-way, and enable us to avoid the danger. The sail is in ribbons. If it is land, adieu my friend! We are inevitably lost, for the tempest roars at this moment with more violence than ever.

Do you see those enormous masses of agitated water forced over one another with a doleful roar? If they break, it is with a tremendous noise; if they come on without breaking, we rise and fall at the same time. At present I can say, that the ship "va tantôt à la cave, et tantôt au grenier."* We know not which is the most to be dreaded—the wind which makes our masts crack, the sea which threatens to swallow us up, or the rocks towards which we suppose ourselves driving.

The look-out man was deceived; we must certainly have passed the Straits of Lemaire; we are in the open sea, and in our turn defy the anger both of Boreas and Neptune.

These tempests are like great political crises; they only last a short time, but leave behind them an agitation which does not

* "Goes first to the cellar, and then to the garret."

so speedily subside. I awake content and satisfied; the violence of the wind has sensibly abated, we can carry some canvass, and we enter into seas which are known.

We place the ship's head towards the coast of Patagonia;—soon after we change our course to go to the Falkland Islands. On the following day we again steer towards America; and after repeatedly sounding, we tack, to make finally for the Malouine Islands. After the violent shock we have met with, it seems to me that repose will have a double charm for us.

Sea-going being in some measure a war with the elements, we congratulate ourselves on not losing any time in timid indecision, and are carrying as much sail as the wind will allow; to-day therefore we are in sight of land.

A few leagues more and I shall have made the tour of the world. Alas! how many hours must pass, before I see you again! Do I flatter myself by the idea that you share my impatience?

LETTER CLIV.

In sight of the Malouine Islands.

ON the 12th of February 1820, at one clock in the afternoon, we saw the land which had been concealed since the morning under a thick haze. That day, and the 13th, were employed in seeking *French Bay*, well known from M. Bougainville having remained there, and tried in vain to form a small establishment.

The thick fog, which bounded our horizon, allowing us only occasionally to steer by the coast, we kept a good offing, and approached the land only when the weather was clear. On the evening of the 13th, however, the current carried us so near,

that we were afraid it would drive us completely on shore, and that we should be obliged to anchor, to escape shipwreck. A rapid and successful manœuvre of M. Guerin took us out of danger; we made from the land, and kept at a good distance from it, tacking during the whole night.

On the morning of the 14th, the sky being quite clear, we directed our course with a very manageable breeze towards the bay, to which, for three days, all our wishes and sighs had been directed.

How rash and uncertain are all the wishes and projects of men! Here is the point which we so much desired to see, and which we supposed would put an end to all our long fatigues. Alas! on the contrary, it was to be the beginning of our misfortunes. Hitherto Providence had favoured our toilsome voyage with too many advantages. In our presumption we attributed this constant success to our own feeble exertions; a single moment has abased our pride, humiliated our skill, and almost annihilated our resources. Our courage is all that is now left us.

We were going at the rate of about six miles an hour, the top-gallant-masts on end, and the wind a-stern. The sea was smooth, the sky clear and serene; we regarded with attention every part of a coast entirely destitute of verdure, and inhabited only by numerous flocks of birds and marine animals. We were promising ourselves, shortly, very fine sport, from the pursuit of these creatures, little accustomed to the attacks of man, and with them to increase our supplies; our fowling-pieces were polished, our flints in order.———We were off the Cape, which forms the north point of the Bay, a mile and a half from the land, and the ship was sending the waves before her. Suddenly she strikes, and stops. We all look at each other, anticipating a horrible catastrophe. The sailors themselves, in

their expressive language, say to one another, '*We are all going to drink out of the large bowl:*' but terror is not visible on any countenance; and the slight murmuring which takes place at the moment of the event, is soon repressed by the pipe of the courageous boatswain commanding silence.

The people go to work, however, with great activity; the ship turns round on the rock, and gets off; while the indefatigable carpenter, with the sounding-rod in his hand, informs the Captain that she leaks very fast. The pumps are manned; but whether we have carried off a piece of rock in the ship's bottom, which was thus opened, and which our progress has shaken out, or whether the leak increased as we went on from any other cause, I know not, but the four pumps are insufficient to stop the ingress of the terrible element which now threatens to swallow us.

More zeal and cheerfulness, however, are probably never displayed. During twelve consecutive hours, the crew labour with unexampled ardour; and jovial couplets recruit their nearly exhausted strength. Never perhaps in such critical circumstances did the French character show itself to greater advantage.

Can you believe that the men who have braved so many dangers, experienced so many sufferings, and who had to-day a certain prospect of a happy return to their country, have not been one moment discouraged by this unexpected misfortune? Do you hear our lively and not very orthodox strains? Do you listen, as calmly as we, to the doleful noise of the water which is now destroying our provisions and our property? Do you see us sinking gradually into the ocean, yet still observing the singular aspect of the land, and the immense quantity of birds which exist there? The carpenter comes up and announces that our efforts are vain; that we are uselessly wasting our strength, the upper deck being almost under water. A *quodlibet* answers his

sinister prognostic, and gaiety never forsakes our lips. Away! away! sing with us the beautiful verses of the rival of our Pindar:

Il est beau, quand le sort nous plonge dans l'abîme, de paraître le conquérir.*

How many original sallies, how many pleasant *quid-pro-quos* were uttered both on the main and lower decks, whenever the progress of the leak was announced! Pigs swimming amidst floating ammunition-boxes, and caught to be thrown into the large boat which was towing the ship, gave rise to many burlesque stories; while the tales of a thousand shipwrecks, told by the orators of the crew, tended to raise the courage of all. Now also, counting on the same impunity, the sailors describe aloud the various manners in which they had on other similar occasions revenged themselves for the severities of discipline.—An intrepid drunkard boasted of having penetrated to the Lieutenant's cabin, and emptied his bottles before his face, telling him that wine was better than salt water, and, since he must die, he would die by the juice of the grape; another tells of stealing some biscuits, and when asked what he was doing with them, replied, he was hungry, and intends to soak them in the sauce which is preparing; another says that he is accustomed to drowning, and that his present situation has nothing alarming in it; while his neighbour, less acquainted with suffering, asks him for his recipe to still hunger and quench thirst. We hear nothing all around us, I assure you, but jovial couplets; every body is full of courage, and the voice of the crew seems to resound only songs of triumph.

But the hope of stopping the leak is entirely extinguished; we are even afraid the vessel cannot reach the coast, and our thoughts are directed to other resources. At least let the powder

* 'Tis brave, when fate plunges us into the abyss, to appear its conquerors.
Lebrun, Ode on the ship Le Vengeur.

be saved, exclaims one person. It was saved by the astonishing activity of the gunner,* who had been eighteen times before in similar circumstances. Never were more signal services performed, nor greater fatigues encountered; and while he multiplied himself, as it were, to carry succour where the danger was most pressing, it might be supposed from the little importance he seemed to attach to it, that we had nothing to fear from the terrible element, and that such catastrophes were every-day occurrences in his way of life.

You see him at present calm and quiet; so he always showed himself in our men of war, when he directed their batteries against British ships, when enemies of our country. Covered with honourable scars, he has, I assure you, well deserved the place he has filled for many years.

The boatswain, Bonnet, whose activity during our long voyage has not been one instant relaxed, and whose seamanship is equal to his activity; his old comrade M. Fouque, who, as well as himself, has suffered the greatest fatigues; the carpenter and his mate; the master at arms, M. Redon, who acquired his rank by his good conduct on board; M. Tournier, head steersman, who during the whole of the voyage, and particularly off Cape Horn, showed great skill in the management of the ship; and the master caulker, of whom I have already spoken, an active enterprising man, as courageous as he is docile and experienced; emulated each other in zeal and provident care. They were everywhere, and saw every thing; and though they have constantly set an example of the greatest exertion and obedience, they have also predicted from the moment the ship struck, the loss of our poor *Uraine*.

May they be deceived in their dismal conjectures!

* Rolland, of Toulon.

LETTER CLIV.

French Bay, (Malouine Islands.)

WE anchor in the centre of the bay, while a boat commanded by M. Duperrey goes to seek out a proper place to run the corvette on shore. He returns, pilots the ship, and the stream carries her on the beach with an almost imperceptible shock. At first the ship was lying on the sand; by degrees she was forced upon the rocks, and, notwithstanding the assurances which had been given me to the contrary, she fell over on the starboard side, and my cabin was immersed in the water.

With what poignant regret did this occurrence fill my heart! I possessed so many valuable things, which I had acquired after numerous crosses! The collection of shells which I had gathered at every place where we stopped; the different arms of almost every nation on earth; rare birds and curious reptiles; my linen, my books; ten portfolios of sketches and finished drawings; all—all were engulphed. As soon, however, as the water began to enter my cabin, I laid my hand on what was nearest, and fortunately saved several articles on which I set great store. If I had not been indisposed at the time of the shipwreck, the greater part of my property would certainly have been saved; if not in good condition, yet as a remembrance. But alas! two small boxes of curiosities; a few mats; one shoe; and a cloak from New Zealand, which I constantly wore during our stay at the Malouine islands, were all I brought on shore with me.....

The fear of being drowned is now passed; but if we consider the imminent danger we have escaped, we cannot be sufficiently thankful to Providence for the singular good fortune that has attended this catastrophe.

Fixed as it were to the rock, which was the cause of our misfortune, the chances were a thousand to one against us, that we should not be able to get off; and scarcely had we got ourselves clear, when one of the pumps got out of order. You will easily conceive the eagerness shown to repair it. On the other hand, when night set in, the breeze died away, and the strength of the people began to fail. What a prospect!

I must confess, however, that towards midnight, we had some hopes of better fortune, which continued till the next morning. While passing an island situated in the roads, we heard a noise which resembled so much the braying of asses, that we were persuaded some part of the country was inhabited. This agreeable illusion was, however, of very short duration; and when we recognized the voice of the penguin, we resolved to revenge ourselves on these birds for the illusion which they had destroyed.

The vessel was however lying on her side, and it became necessary to take proper measures for landing the few provisions which had been saved. Muskets and ammunition were the principal objects of our solicitude; every one was interested in their preservation; and the greatest care was taken to secure them from the waves, which still rolled violently notwithstanding the calm. Some small tents were erected; but as it had been prudently resolved to keep the biscuit we had saved, as a last resource for the crew, several of the sailors who first got on shore walked along the strand to try and kill some of the birds flying about there.

Labouring under violent pain, from which I had not been free since our departure from Port Jackson, I laid myself on a heap of wet grass; and tried to secure myself from a very cold, close, and fine rain, which began to fall, by wrapping myself up in my cloak. I was just falling asleep, when the cook and two of the sailors came running to tell us they had found, in a small creek

at some distance, a horrible-looking animal as large as our vessel. This, then, we cried, is the land of wonders; let us be thankful for our shipwreck, and march!

Messrs. Dubaud, Adam, and myself, immediately went towards this monster; they were armed with swords and muskets, and I with a large stick. Sure enough, in the little glen which our cook had mentioned, at the side of a small ditch, we found an enormous hippopotamus, stretched out, which, on hearing a noise, turned its head towards us: fearing therefore that it might get into the sea, we approached with great caution till the muskets almost touched it; and my friend Adam was the first to fire: his piece was loaded with two balls, which entered a little above the eye; Dubaud struck it in the head with his bayonet, and I beat it violently with my cudgel on the trunk. We killed it; and, satisfied with our victory, returned to the vessel, out of which the crew were beginning to take the most weighty articles.

But strength is necessary to labour, and to acquire strength nourishment must be taken. The biscuit was to be preserved; and what we had hitherto eaten with a kind of dislike, was henceforth to be our most delicious fare. For seventeen hours the crew had fasted, and our sportsmen had killed nothing but two or three divers, an eagle, and a duck. With such provisions, 101 men would find it difficult to pass the day very jovially; and yet it was of the greatest consequence not to discourage our sailors at the outset.

Under these melancholy circumstances, M. Requin, whose activity was always the same, and whose principal business was to take care of the provisions, desired several sailors to follow him to the hippopotamus which we had killed. They cut off with their swords several large pieces, without troubling themselves to extract the thick fetid oil which ran out of them; and carried them to the cook, who put them into a large pot, and boiled them by the means of a turf fire, the smoke of which certainly did not make the food more palatable.

Perhaps you will think that these greasy slices of the hippopotamus, without salt, vinegar, oil, or bread, were not likely to please us;—indeed you are right, and in spite of our appetite, or rather our great hunger, a few mouthfuls satisfied us.

Oh ye Sybarites, who long for some of the delicious dishes which Beauvilliers or Very serve on their tables; moderate your extravagant desires, and learn to live like savages, while you explore a savage country! Praised be philosophy, my dear Batlle, especially that stern philosophy which teaches us to do without even the common necessaries of life! Possessed of gunpowder, industry, and the example of Robinson Crusoe, I know that people rarely die of hunger, even in a desert: but when the rising sun showed us, the morning after the shipwreck, the bare and rocky mountains which command the country; when our sorrowful eyes could distinguish the barren plains and sand-hills which surrounded us, we felt that we should be obliged to call to our assistance, and reduce to practice, the doctrines of that philosophy of which I have just spoken. If we foresaw a more smiling prospect after all these troubles, hope would cheer us during our sufferings; but what have we before us? The prospect of perishing in a distant country. Tell me, I beg of you, what philosophy can teach us to look forward to such an end with tranquillity?

I have seen men who braved the greatest dangers with the most astonishing courage, and who were almost terrified on returning from their enterprises, at their own boldness and success. Such is at present our situation. Yesterday, whilst the vessel was sinking under our feet, we were singing jovial songs; to-day, we predict nothing but disasters. Disasters, no! I expect no more, though we may meet with obstacles.

The flesh of the hippopotamus is not good, but still it is eatable; and, every thing well considered, let us leap for joy, for the one we have killed is likely to last us nearly a fortnight.

LETTER CLV.

French Bay, (Malouine Islands.)

I KEPT a very circumstantial journal, in which every circumstance was recorded that occurred during our residence on this dreary island. Our occupations were however so little varied, the days so uniform, that on reading it over I met with continual repetitions which would have tired even your friendship.

It was to be expected that in such a sterile country, where exertion alone could provide resources against the most horrible famine, our days would be entirely employed in the chase. Indeed as soon as all hopes of righting the Uranie had been given up, and the worn-out crew had had some rest, they were divided into hunting parties,—and, while some cleared the seashore of ducks and divers, which but for us might have died there of old age, others, inland, waged a constant war against the wild horses and bulls which the Spaniards first brought here.

Unhappy country! we have converted you into a gloomy desert, and your timid inhabitants have nearly all suffered from the sword or the muskets of our starving crew! What a terrible spur is hunger! and where is the man, when exposed to all the horrors of famine, who would feel himself moved by the mournful cries of a beautiful fat goose, whom he is about cruelly to rob of her young? Like those conquered nations who deserted their fields and household-gods to avoid slavery or death, the black divers, the innocent geese, the fat heavy ducks, already began to leave the rushes and meadows that witnessed their first diversions, and carried with them to a kindlier region their sorrow and regrets.....Yes, my friend, after having glutted our cruelty on these poor birds, whose whitened bones manured the places where we had pitched our tents, we were obliged to declare war against

the king of the feathered tribe, whom we had twenty times chased from the field of battle; where the hideous remains of our first victim, already half putrid, were left unburied.

In the morning, when on inquiry we heard from the purser's steward, that we had nothing left perhaps but a duck and some larks, we armed ourselves with our muskets and with courage, and added some eagles and vultures to our stock. If however hunger threatened us more nearly, we carried our ravages into the ranks of the penguins.

Somewhat less than half a league distant from the camp, nearly in the centre of the bay, there is a flat marshy island,* where numerous, slender, and closely pressed rushes grow like immense corn-stalks, towards which we had directed our covetous foresight, should we have been obliged to pass the winter in this dreary spot. The shores of the island are protected by slippery rocks, among which sea-lions† and horses occasionally come to seek refuge from the attacks of the most voracious fishes, or to breathe the pure morning air. On this island thousands of families of penguins, fat with idleness and good living, passed their lives agreeably, and croaked with happiness. On the night of the shipwreck, their hoarse voices informed us of the neighbourhood of this island, and of the resources which it offered.

At present, as there is a dearth in the camp, we are going to this island, armed with cudgels, shovels, and boat-hooks, to seek for victims, and to shed blood.

If the place into which we thus mean to carry hostilities had a more level surface, if we were not afraid of sinking up to the loins in deep and muddy holes, and especially if the booty we expect were more to our taste, even the fatigues of this campaign might have charms; but, alas! of all the animals which have hitherto fallen under our blows, the penguin is the most

* Called the Isle of Penguins.

† I believe a variety of the *phoca*, or seal.

noxious, the toughest, and the most oily, and hunger alone can force us to attack it with so much eagerness.

We arrive; our arms are ready; two, four, six, twelve penguins seated in battle array look at us with such a stupid air, that at the moment of beginning our murderous attack, a smile is on our lips, and joy is in our heart. These poor things know not that they will find no mercy, and that their weakness will not disarm us. We surround this sort of advanced guard; and while they turn their silly faces from one side to the other, we attack them in the rear, and two or three enemies fall under every blow. Resisting however the award of fate, they rise again, fill the air with their lamentable cries, fall anew, try to reach their holes, and at last expire, without knowing either the nature of their crime or the cause of their death.

The sick, the aged, or perhaps the most prudent members of this commonwealth, however, carefully concealed in their winding abodes, distinctly hear the wailings of their vanquished brethren; but yielding to their melancholy forebodings, they hide themselves and refuse to give any assistance. We pursue them into their last refuge, and with our long pikes examine the surface. The heroes of Penguin Island receive the deep thrusts without the slightest groan, firm, and bearing the pain like the Spartan child, who without a sigh allowed a little fox which he had stolen to gnaw his entrails; others, on the contrary, timid and susceptible, betray themselves by their cries, and thus give the signal for their own destruction. Every time we land at the island, it loses more than a hundred of its inhabitants; and it is to be feared, that, if new supplies do not arrive, we shall soon find nothing but a desert.

The habits and customs of these birds are very singular; and if our situation improves, I foresee that we shall frequently amuse ourselves with repeating here some of those burlesque scenes,

which at present appear painful and melancholy. In fact, our shipmates expect us at the camp; and the miserable food which we bring them is devoured by people worn out with fatigue, and who are perhaps condemned soon to be deprived even of this weak resource.*

LETTER CLVI.

French Bay, (Malouine Islands.)

BOUGAINVILLE vainly attempted to form an establishment in this Archipelago. The nature of the soil, which consists of layers of turf, formed by an accumulation of plants in ponds of fresh water, rendered it unfit for the growth of the larger plants, which had been brought here from Cape Horn and the coast of Patagonia. Several gramineous plants shoot up through the turf, and amongst the brambles; and we have found here and there some strawberries of a delicious flavour. But there is one delightful fruit, rather plentifully scattered over this island. It is about the size of a cherry-stone, grows on a species of grass, is slightly coloured, and gives out a pleasant smell. During the first days of our residence here, we occupied ourselves very much in gathering it; but as an individual could only collect four or five handfulls in a day, you will be sensible that it could not supply us with much nourishment. Our Purser, always on the watch for whatever might be useful to the crew, endeavoured to make wine of it, and he fortunately succeeded.

* The penguins live only three or four months on shore, the rest of the year they live at sea; and a few days before our departure from the island, not one was to be seen.

The stalk and leaves of the plant make an agreeable tea, which we should have enjoyed very much, if we had had sugar.

I have told you of our hunting the penguins; and to me these excursions appeared an amusement. Although we had more trouble to get at the seals, we soon accomplished this object; and I cannot now tell you the number of them we slaughtered.

The most difficult species of hunting, though at the same time undoubtedly the most useful to the colony, was hunting horses; which, toward the end of our stay, had become so wild, that probably this resource would soon have failed. On this occasion I ought prodigally to bestow the epithets of courageous, patient, and indefatigable, on the gunner, of whom I have already spoken, and on a sailor of the name of Ories, who had been a convict, and escaped from Port Jackson. No men ever performed more valuable services, and never could so much have been expected from two individuals. At a considerable distance in the interior, across lakes and ponds, they frequently killed two or three of these noble animals; then returning to the camp for assistance, they again set out without taking the least rest. I do not exaggerate when I say, that they alone supplied the crew with subsistence.—I hasten to a creek not far off; an enormous whale is just stranded between two rocks, while two little ones are swimming about and seem trying to set the large one again afloat. It is beating the waves violently with its tail, and we are in hopes of capturing it. We have fired at least fifty musket balls at its head; but it does not appear to feel them. One of our bravest sailors, however, Barthe, of Bourdeaux, provides himself with an axe, gets over one of the rocks close to the whale, climbs on its back, and there makes a large hole, in which he buries a graplin, previously fastened to the shore by a strong rope. In vain the monster blows immense columns of water into the air, in vain we call aloud to Barthe to return; he

finishes his bold undertaking, and comes on shore amidst shouts of applause.

The tide flows, and the whale, in spite of its sufferings, in spite of the rope which we had fastened to a rock, breaks away and escapes.....Some hours later it returns and dies, at a short distance from the spot where it was first stranded.

But our resources are diminishing, and we look to the futnre almost with despair. M. Duperrey, whose courageous conduct can only be faintly delineated by my praise, has proposed to the Captain to lay a deck over the boat, and to embark in her for the purpose of going in search of assistance. The proposal is agreed to, and the carpenters begin the work. They are industrious and experienced, and we can confide in the solidity of their labours, and the zeal with which they will bring them to a termination. Berard and four sailors are to accompany my friend; we earnestly wish this voyage may be useful to us all, and that these modern Argonauts may fully succeed in their courageous enterprise.

I shall give them letters for you; will they reach you?

Adieu, my dear Batlle.

LETTER CLVII.

French Bay, (Malouine Islands.)

[AS this letter is entirely occupied with eulogiums on the principal officers, for their conduct during the voyage, which, however well merited, afford no interest to the English reader; the Translator has thought proper to omit it. He feels the less hesitation in doing so, as, in the Report prefixed, a proper tribute of acknowledgement will be found paid to the respective merits of each.]

LETTER CLVIII.

French Bay, (Malouine Islands.)

WE have been so much occupied hitherto with the necessary care of providing for our subsistence, that we have paid little attention to the objects of curiosity and other effects, which were saved from the wreck. Three horses have been killed to-day, at a short distance from the camp, and the pieces are already placed in store; and as no one can go on board the corvette, which is gradually filling with sand, rolled in with great violence by the high seas, we are all displaying our wealth, or rather deploring our losses. The camp has the appearance of a bazaar; exchanges are made, and business carried on in a true commercial spirit. One gives a shirt for some shells; another offers a wooden idol for a segar; a third exchanges a seal-skin for a morsel of soap. We have a regular fair.

Of all the valuable things which I had collected, I have hardly saved as many as fill two smal boxes.

I had two embalmed Zealanders' heads, which I have saved, as well as the weapons and cloaks used by these people:* and I also found in these two boxes, the following shells which I brought from New Guinea:

* These curiosities were stolen from me at Rio Janeiro, by a Spaniard of the name of Cogoi. Our Consul had not sufficient influence to get them restored to me; but the Prime Minister, Thomas Antonio, generously caused me to be paid the sum which had been given for them to the thief. The King ordered this reimbursement, and the Princess Royal herself was good enough to apprize me of it some days before it took place.

A *bulla*, which may be placed at the head of shells of this species, for the elegance of its form and the regularity of its rays.

A *strombus*, very remarkable for the beautiful colour of its mouth, and its analogy with a fossil *strombe*, found in Italy.

A *nassa*, which from being surrounded by a considerable number of tubercles, may be placed in the first rank for singularity.

Two *buccini*, of singular beauty, one of which has a rose-coloured mouth.

Three specimens of *oliva*, from Timor, one of which merits particular attention, from the beauty of its colours.

Two specimens of *cypraea*, from the Mariannes; one of which is of a beautiful white, very extraordinary on account of its round form, and resembles a hail-stone. The other is of a beautiful black colour.

A *mactra*, which has an opening at one side, and ought to be regarded as a new species. This shell was not attached to any thing, and the animal it contained was alive; which shows that this opening must not be attributed to accident.*

Proud of still possessing these valuable specimens, I was beginning to put them carefully away, when a voice, which, notwithstanding its roughness, we took for that of an angel, cried out, '*A sail! a sail! at the entrance of the roads*'.....

* I have heard at Paris, that a rich Englishman possesses one exactly similar, for which he gave a hundred guineas.

There are also some other valuable specimens, of which it would be tedious to give any further details here; but which amateurs can examine at the house of my friend, M. Duclos, who has done me the honour to accept them.

M. Duclos possesses perhaps the largest and most beautiful collection, in this branch of natural history, which exists in Europe. The specimens are systematically classed; and the card on which each shell is placed, bears not only its name, but also that of every author who has described it.

Instantly, every thing was bundled together as chance directed. The sick get up with difficulty; the wounded drag themselves forward on their trembling limbs; some run to the shore, others clamber up the sand-hills, in the neighbourhood of the camp. A flag is hoisted on the top of a staff, while the most active among us run to find the Captain, who, having been rather unwell for some days, had gone to take a short walk. He comes;—a gun is loaded, and fired—how feeble is the report! a second, well wadded and rammed home, is fired, and we hope we shall be heard.

A boat however is launched in an instant, a small quantity of provision is thrown on board, and some of the most robust sailors, under the command of M. Fabré, jump in, spread all the sails, and also ply the oars. We have no fear that any exertion will be spared; and, even though the vessel should be far at sea, we are sure that M. Fabré will not return while any hope remains.

The vessel disappears.....Oh! why did we not hoist a flag at the entrance of the harbour? Why was not a staff erected there?.....Let us have no useless regrets; the liberating vessel again appears, and our boat is on the point of reaching her. They are close to each other; our hearts beat, and our eyes are strained following their motions.....The stranger shortens sail—Fabré is on board, we are saved.....Oh, God! we thank thee!

How busy we are making conjecture before she comes in.—how slowly she approaches.....At length we can speak to the people on board.

She is a schooner belonging to an American Captain of the name of Horn, who is at a neighbouring island with a ship of from four to five hundred tons, employed in the seal fishery. The person in charge of the schooner, who has given us this information, can enter into no engagements with us; but he has requested the Captain to send an officer with him, who may make an

arrangement with his commander. M. Dubaud is appointed; and however troublesome and fatiguing the voyage promises to be, he receives the order with joy, and departs. Written instructions have been given to him; he speaks English well, and is very intelligent; he is to plead the cause of misfortune, and he will undoubtedly succeed.

Hunting will now be an amusement for us; we shall no longer hoard our powder; we are rich; a vessel is there, and we shall not have to tremble for the fate of our friends, who were to have undertaken the perilous voyage in the boat.

Share our delight, my friend; we are almost mad with joy. We are going on the rocks to look for oysters, which are filled unfortunately with too many pearls; and we relinquish the disagreeable preparations we had commenced, for passing the winter in this frightful place. A few days more and we shall bid it adieu.....

For six days we have now expected Dubaud, and he comes not! Should he also have been shipwrecked! If..... A sail appears at the entrance of the harbour; our long boat hastens to enquire the news: it is not the vessel we are expecting; but another. Shattered by storms off Cape Horn, and having sprung a leak which it was necessary to stop, she has been obliged to put back, and to seek refuge at the Malouine Islands. The Captain is amiable in his manners; his passengers esteem themselves happy to have met with us; our artificers are sent on board, and their damages are repaired; as soon as our friend Dubaud returns, we shall leave this.

The undefinable sentiment which leads us to regret a country where we have experienced so many sufferings, is very strange. We are affected at the sight of the poor Uranie lying on the rocks; we are about to leave the fragments of our vessel, scattered about on the shore; to quit those fine geese, which we reduced to widowhood; those ducks, divers, seals, and even those penguins, which we have

treated so cruelly; we leave all these, if not with pain, at least with sorrow. But let us quickly console ourselves; we are to return to our parents, our families, our friends, and our country.

Dubaud is just returned; he has performed the service on which he was sent, with intelligence and courage; but has made a troublesome voyage to no purpose. We pay Captain Horn his expenses; and we embark on board the American vessel. She is to carry us to Monte-Video. At first we were much pleased with the Captain; at present he has forfeited our friendship and esteem: he takes advantages of our disasters; we purchase his vessel of him; she is now our own.

April 27th. The wind is favourable, we get under weigh, and pass near to the fatal rock, which we salute: after remaining two months and a half in this desert country, we are on our way to Monte-Video.....

We are now in the Plata, and experiencing the terrible gusts of that wind, called here *Pampero*, from its blowing from the *Pampas*, immense plains in the neighbourhood of Buenos-Ayres. For two days we beat about in this river, which is nearly as broad as the greater part of our rivers are long; and at last we discover the low land, and the high peak close to Monte-Video, on which a regular fort has been built. We see the steeples of the town not far from us; count the vessels in the roads; we shake each other by the hand, at seeing our country's flag waving from some masts; and at length, at six o'clock in the evening, we anchor near them, rejoicing in our present happiness, and at the recollection of our past sufferings.

LETTER CLIX.

Mounte-Video.

HOW much are we at our ease! how much does the prospect which we enjoy delight and animate us! on what a pleasant contrast do our thoughts dwell! Lately, in the midst of a frightful solitude, a prey to the anguish of a doubtful futurity; tormented by the recollection of so many fruitless efforts, of such persevering zeal, being terminated by so melancholy a disaster, we dared not venture to hope for so speedy a return, nor for such an early recompense.....

At present every thing smiles on us. We speak of our country to hearts which understand us; and we receive information from all parts which fills us with pride. A constitution established; troubles appeased; errors forgotten; the banished recalled; the wicked given up to public vengeance; the veil of delusion torn; gothic prejudices abolished; every thing gives us confidence, and beckons us to hasten to our ennobled native country. After so long and painful an absence, a new life seems to dawn on us.

You see that although we are yet nearly three thousand leagues from home, we receive news from it with facility; and you must also see that truth makes its way across the ocean, and reaches the most distant countries.

We have landed; and in the visits which we have made to General Lecor, the Governor of the city, and to the Admiral, the Chief of the province, we have learnt with certainty, that we shall be received with pleasure.

General Brayer whose valour and noble sentiments are known

both in Europe and America, is here; he regrets his country, ... but that country will recall him.*

The city is small, but very clean; the streets are all straight as a line, and run North and South, and East and West. A great solemnity summons the believers to church; and we are going there. What a noise! What bustle! All the women carry fans, which they wave in a thousand different ways with elegant coquetry. I am told that this is their mode of making assignations with their lovers; and that these evolutions and slight thrusts are replies to *billets-doux*. Their appearance justifies the ardour of the young men, for it is difficult to find a collection of prettier women.

Commerce is at a stand at Monte-Video; and several French ship-owners, lately arrived, have been obliged to sell even their vessels to pay the expense of the voyage, and the demands of the custom-house.

Our stay will be short; and though eager for repose, we shall set out with pleasure, because we are drawing nearer our country.

No place can be more melancholy than the environs of the city. Hardly a tree is to be seen in a plain of more than six leagues in diameter. A vessel is to sail to-morrow for London; I close my letter therefore, and address it to you. Adieu.

LETTER CLX.

Monte-Video.

YOU must have often read astonishing accounts of the wonderful journies which have been performed in the deserts of Arabia, or among the savage tribes of Africa, by men who were flying from slavery or death. Here such accounts do not appear in

* General Brayer is now in Paris.

the least extraordinary. The natives of these countries, whom we know by the name of Guanches, frequently brave as imminent dangers, and perform journies fully as miraculous with the greatest success.

With nothing but his own experience for a guide, an intrepid Guanche, mounted on a horse which he has broke-in himself, enters on these immense plains, as chance may direct. He is soon at a distance, and thick forests are before him; he penetrates into them, traverses them in every direction; and at a given time, he comes forth at the precise spot which has been indicated. What has he to dread? he has his *laço;* what should he fear? two sharp knives are concealed in his boots; with his heavy country cloak, called *poncho*, and his huge broad-brimmed hat, he defies the elements. Is he hungry? his instinct guides him to places where nutritious roots and wild berries afford him the means of gratifying it. Is he thirsty? he gives a well-known signal to his horse, which instantly sets off in a gallop, and carries him to some distant spring. Should an enemy appear, he is soon conquered. Two Guanches have been known, *after appointing a place of rendezvous, at a hundred leagues' distance, in the interior of a forest, to the east or west of the point of departure*, to set out, the one from Brasil, the other from Monte-Video, and to meet at the place agreed on, with no other guide but the sun.

And yet these forests, my dear Batlle, are the forests of America, the forests of Brasil. It is impossible for a man to traverse them, without making a thousand deviations from his direct route;* ponds, marshes, entangled brush-wood are serious ob-

* At the public exhibition of pictures this year, I have seen an etching of a virgin forest of Brasil, drawn by the Count de Clarac, which gives a most accurate notion of the country: it required all his talent to sketch this scenery with so much fidelity.

stacles, which it is extremely difficult to surmount; and hitherto only some Paulistas, who resemble the Guanches in their dress and manner of life, have ventured like them into these vast deserts, which are rendered still more formidable by the serpents and wild beasts which inhabit them.

You would perhaps suppose, my friend, that these wonderful men possess a warlike physiognomy, and athletic figures; but you would be much deceived. There is nothing about them which indicates strength or courage. Their legs have become crooked by being so much on horseback; their bodies are lean, but muscular; their arms and their breasts are covered with hair; their complexions are tawny; and the expression of countenance is nearly the same in all. They are sensible to cold, but expose themselves to the greatest heats without appearing to feel any inconvenience. They do not like towns, and they avoid their fellow creatures. The desert is their abode; and the wilder it is, the more it satisfies their love of independence. A *rancho** is their only place of repose, the earth is their bed, and the carcase of a horse or an ox their pillow; they fall asleep without ever quitting their hold of the formidable *laço*; it is their weapon, their existence; without his *laço* a Guanche, however bold, is only a man; with it, he is a supernatural being.†

* A thatched hut.

† All the historians who have described the conquest of this country by the Spaniards, agree in saying, that the Guanches, as they passed close to the Spanish entrenchments at full gallop, carried off the sentinels with their *laços*. Now that I have seen these people, I can fully credit this fact.

LETTER CLXI.

HITHERTO I have only spoken of the Guanches, to make you acquainted with their sobriety, their address, and their instinct; I must now inform you of the courage, and *gentle* occupations of these extraordinary men.

The deserts which they inhabit are infested by wild beasts, among which the tiger holds the first place. The most formidable enemy of the tiger is a Guanche, who with his *laço* never fails to overcome him.

From his youth the Guanche is nursed in ideas of independence and activity. The exercise which he loves best is riding; and he piques himself on his skill in breaking in his steed. The plains through which he wanders feed an immense quantity of horses and wild mules. Along with the favourite weapon, fathers give their sons lessons of skill and intrepidity. Mounted on their well-trained coursers, they dart on a troop of wild horses, the *laço* is thrown, and one is caught; the others gallop off, and the captive, full of impatience, turns to recover his liberty, which is lost for ever. The Guanche is already dismounted; whirls another *laço* round him, which serves to strengthen the first, and throws it with skill round the legs of the captive, who falls, and must bear his conqueror. Without stirrups or bridle, merely with spurs and words of command, the Guanche masters the impatient animal, which paws the ground, and darts away like a flash of lightning. He soon stops; indignant at his burthen, he prances and rolls in the dust, and the Guanche rolls along with him. Deceived in his expectation, he gets up fiercely, darts off again, and feels the merciless



Tiger hunt by the Cossacks.

spur, till he is quite furious. He stops again, and looks round for some danger, to terrify his adversary; he hastens to it, traverses rocks, clears precipices, and swims the streams. At length, worn out with fatigue, he falls and submits to the bridle. But it is not enough that he becomes obedient, and transports his master from one country to another: he must also brave the same dangers with him, and second him in his boldest attacks.

Almost every animal takes to flight at the mere sight of a tiger; and his appearance has something in it peculiarly terrific for the horse. Yet is this animal here brought to look his foe in the face, and not to run off till a certain signal is given.

The Guanche sets out without the smallest supply of provisions; immense barren plains are before him, which only produce a few stalks, that serve for the nourishment of cattle. When the Guanche is hungry, he seeks after, and soon finds, innumerable herds of wild horses; he catches one of these animals, throws him down, cuts off a piece of his flesh with a knife, and restores him to liberty. He quenches his thirst at a spring; and then begins his chase after wild beasts. He calls aloud for them, and spurs on his horse towards the monster he intends for a victim. The hoarse roar of the tiger is heard,—there he stands, and a terrible combat begins. It is not force, but skill, which conquers. The Guanche whirls his *laço;* he speaks, he calls aloud, he is ready for his enemy. His terrible enemy, with his belly almost touching the ground, is astonished to see any being awaiting his approach, and provoking him; his eyes roll furiously, he opens his vast jaws still red with the blood of his last victim; and, indignant at finding *an opponent*, he seeks with his eye for the place on which he means to spring. The Guanche is all the time tranquil, firm, and prudent, governing his astonished, but obedient courser with his feet; he makes him

retreat without turning his face from the tiger, who follows him step by step, watching for a false movement. The Guanche knows this; he makes his horse rear; the tiger darts forward and is caught; the horse springs away on his hind legs with all his power, dragging the ferocious beast after him. The Guanche turns round at times; and if his *laço* has caught only the neck, he flings a second, which binds the legs: he is now the conqueror. He dismounts, arms himself with the two knives from his boots,* and his victim expires. Having finished his day's work, he returns to Monte-Video; sells the skin of the animal he has killed; caresses his horse, and hastens to seek new dangers.

You may easily suppose, however skilful these astonishing people may be, that the irregular springs of such an enemy as the tiger may often enable him to escape the *laço*, and compel the Guanche to engage in another species of combat more dangerous than the former. In such cases the horse plays the principal part, though the man makes the attack. When it happens that the *laço* has missed, which I can assure you is very seldom, the Guanche arms himself with his two knives, and defends himself very courageously. The horse sees the danger of his master, and in place of galloping off, presents his chest to the enemy. He knows that if he turns away, he will have no defender. His blood flows, but his courage never for one minute fails; he knows also that his master will not forsake him. If the tiger, exhausted by fatigue, allows the horseman a single moment's respite, it is all over with him; the *laço*, which is always ready at the saddle-bow, is again laid hold of; and for a Guanche twice to miss his aim, is almost unexampled.

* The boots of a Guanche are made of the skin of a horse's leg, turned inside out. His toes, never covered by this skin, are always free; and he fixes only his great toe in the little stirrups he uses. The spurs are enormously large.

How much trouble and pains must have been taken to accustom the horse to this extraordinary work? How many dangers does the man expose himself to, who ventures for the first time on such a combat with an untried horse?

The mode of living, the courage, and the activity of the Guanches must appear fabulous to those who are unacquainted with these people; and even those who have lived with them have some difficulty in crediting it. I know not why, but the presence of one of these men excites in me a species of veneration, which I can scarcely define. I have made an excursion with one of the most intrepid hunters of this country; we found nothing but wild mules, of which he frequently asked me to point out one for him to catch; and though I always chose the smallest, concealed in the middle of the herd, he never once missed his aim.

This Guanche was four feet eleven inches high; and his lean countenance, all skin and bone, had scarcely any expression, except when he was agitated by some violent passion; and in that state, I saw him once kill his horse, on account of being beat by a youth fourteen years old, at a game which is very frequent among this people.

Going out of Monte-Video, by the gate which leads to the burial-place, you meet with a barren spot, intersected by crooked and rising paths, which lead to a sort of suburb, about a league and a half from the town. A few days ago, I saw assembled there several Guanches, and among them the one with whom I had made some excursions. They were practising some difficult games, which I will endeavour to describe to you.

A Spanish doubloon is placed on a small heap, about a foot and a half high. The parties to the game, mounted on swift steeds, without saddles, are obliged, passing at full gallop, to pick up the piece of gold, without throwing down the tile on

which it is laid. There were only two out of a dozen persons, who carried away the doubloon several times without even moving the little tile. The youngest of these two was the most skilful, and gained a large sum of money. The Guanche of whom I have told you, indignant at being beat by a youth, began to be angry with his conqueror, who seemed to insult him by his coolness and malignant smile; he first turned his rage against himself; then he reproached his horse, which in a moment afterwards he stabbed dead with his knife.

The game in which they next engaged, is still more wonderful, and particularly terrific from its dangers. I shall describe it.

A Guanche mounted, but without bridle or stirrups, sets off at full gallop in a straight dry road. Another Guanche is placed in the road, provided with a cord, eight or nine feet long, at each end of which there is an iron ball; when the horseman is at the height of his speed, this cord is thrown about the legs of his horse, which gets entangled, and is thrown down with violence. The dexterity of the horseman is shown by his lighting on his feet, at a short distance from the head of the fallen animal. The prize is adjudged to him who has not used his hands to support himself.

To find amusement in such games, it is necessary, as it appears to me, to have a heart of iron; for, as a mere spectator, I could not look at them without extreme terror. In this game, the Guanche who killed his horse was victorious, and the youth who carried away the first prize from him, also disputed the second several times.

This youngster, I am told, has already frequently fought with large tigers, and been successful; and though his father has bequeathed him considerable wealth, he delights only in the deserts, in dangerous excursions, and in encountering wild beasts.

The cord and balls which I have described, are also employed with advantage against the tygers; and some Guanches even prefer them to the *laço*.

We sail to morrow, and though delighted to have seen this country, we shall leave it without regret. . . . . .

We have had a very bad passage to Rio Janeiro; we lost our bowsprit, and arrived in the harbour in a truly deplorable condition.

Adieu my friend; though I began this letter at Monte-Video, it will be sent from hence, and I shall arrive a few days after it; to what happiness do I look forward!

LETTER CLXII.

Rio Janeiro.

THIS is quite a new country, my dear Batlle. It is no longer the Brasil of 1817, but of 1820, which I find in America. All the people who crowd the streets of the city are Brasilians; the cultivators who seek wealth from its soil are also Brasilians; the generous soldiers too who already encounter fatigue, and prepare themselves for battle, and who blush to be under the command of an Englishman, are all Brasilians. Did they foresee their independence; or are they not the same people? . . . . .

I have some friends at Rio, let us hasten to enquire of them. Oh! How richly does a country like this deserve the wishes which are breathed for its prosperity.

Where is the King?—At Saint Christopher.—What is he doing?—He is surrounded by great men, to whose voice he listens; he studies their characters, and places those who have the best claim to his confidence at the head of affairs; he wishes,

and is anxious to see his subjects happy. What do they on their part require? A constitution?—If he promises to give one, he will know how to support it.

Where is the Prince Royal?—With his father. His noble heart is forming great projects; his active mind finds reasons to support them; his young brother listens to his councils.—He already knows that the King's son should know something more than that he is the son of a King.

Where is the Princess Leopoldine?—In her apartments. She studies the nature of the country; orders distant excursions; collects rare plants, minerals, and animals; she enriches her father's cabinet; and with her zeal, and the charms she finds in such researches, she has inspired the ladies around her with a similar taste, and with a love for natural history.

The King's other daughters are no longer children, and in the happiness of their father they see the happiness of the people he governs.

In all the countries of the globe, the provinces imitate the capital, and the manners of the capital are formed by those of the court. You may judge, therefore of the difference which may be observed between the Brasilians of the present day, and those of 1817! It seems almost impossible, that three years should have effected so remarkable a change.

The new buildings are in rather a noble style of architecture, and in good taste. A French architect, M. Grandjean, has built a magnificent exchange, and a large amphitheatre in Saint Anne' Square, where bull fights are frequently exhibited; but I have observed, that in general the Portuguese differ in this respect from the Spaniards, and are not much attached to this sort of amusement, which is always purchased by the death of two or three gladiators.

I am not disposed to say any thing more to you of the con-



Arago Sc.

The little Tijuka,
This cascade belongs to M.r Taunay.

vents; the same disorder, the same idleness, and in the principal ones the same scandalous scenes still continue.

I am going to visit the Messieurs Taunay, at their handsome estate near the beautiful water-fall of Tijuka. The taste for the arts, they tell me, unfortunately is hardly yet known at Rio; and their pictures and statues are not appreciated there; so much the worse for the Brasilians!

Adieu my friend; remember in reading this letter, that you will do well to prepare for my reception; for, thanks to the great activity of our officers, who are hastening the repairs of the vessel, we shall leave this in a few days. I already salute you in imagination.

LETTER CLXIII.

In sight of Cherbourg.

DID I deceive you, when I said a short time ago, that I should soon arrive, that I was already there? Oh! yes, it is indeed my own country—Ah! it is impossible not to recognize it by the emotion which I experience. A thousand different feelings violently agitate my heart. An anxious mother breathes the most ardent wishes for my return; a beloved brother awaits my arrival with impatience; a whole family open their arms; generous friends run in crowds to the shore;—Alas! It is possible, that I have no longer a mother, a brother, a family, or friends!

The sea runs high, no person on board knows the coast, and we are obliged to fire alarm guns. To be shipwrecked in sight of port is a horrible thing; but as we have escaped much greater dangers than those around us, I cannot believe that Providence has reserved us for so terrible a fate.—We are approaching a

chasse-marée which is to pilot us to Cherbourg.—We are anchoring close to the town.—I go on shore.—I tread my adored native soil.—Land of the Arts!—My beloved country.—All hail!

LETTER CLXIV.

Cherbourg.

WHAT shall I say to you of Cherbourg? I found here only well educated men; women full of grace and modesty, and young men very amiable, and full of gaiety. Perhaps I have not seen every thing, but at least, I have seen all that I have mentioned.

What happiness!—I have heard here news of all my family, of my dearest friends. I have not a single loss to regret.—My sufferings are amply repaid.

Appendix, No. I.

VOCABULARIES

OF

SOME OF THE PEOPLE WE VISITED.

IT appears to me that vocabularies of some of the people, whether half civilized or perfectly savage, whom we visited, will be of some utility in a work like the present. The voyager who visits distant regions, has, it cannot be denied, a very great deal of trouble to inspire with confidence, men who are but too ready to attack, when they think themselves the stronger; but who, more generally, hasten to take flight, if they suppose themselves the weaker party. I have frequently remarked, that the most certain means of taming or reconciling them, was to mix in their games, share in their exercises, and conform, in some degree to their mode of living. Whenever I repeated a single grimace, or imitated a single movement they had made, they became more anxious to please me; they crowded around me, and exhibited other motions and new grimaces. Above all things they delighted in teaching us their language, which is so difficult to represent by our tones; and many times we saw them spring with joy, or smile archly, as we pronounced or murdered one of their words or phrases. Good-humour seldom causes misfortunes; and MM. Gaimard, Gaudichaud, Berard, and I, at our return from our adventurous excursions, after satisfying our curiosity, always felt surprised at our good fortune. Whenever we desired any thing which the savages opposed, in place of menacing them with our anger, or seducing them by promises, which they are rarely disposed to believe, we pretended not to be very much grieved at their refusal; we danced or ate with them, and very soon, as if we belonged to their family, all our wishes were

gratified. By these means, we were enabled to collect some curious details at *Ombay;* and to enter à village, the inhabitants of which have perhaps devoured some hundreds of Europeans.....But these advantages, though considerable for voyagers, are trifling, in comparison with those which the botanist, the zoologist, or the entomologist, may derive from a knowledge of the language of the savages. A tree, a plant, a fish, an animal, every thing in short is an object of inquiry, particularly wherever nature has not before been examined; and that nothing may escape the scrutinizing glance, and scientific observations of the inquirer, he is often obliged to have recourse to those, who know from experience, what he desires to learn. But communication by gestures is difficult and uncertain, while a single word informs the savage of what you want; and you are thus enabled to gather details, and communicate them to your countrymen.

The French orthography is preserved in these vocabularies. There are, however, some sounds in the languages of the savages, which our (the French) alphabet does not precisely give; and to signify them, I have used those letters which seem most nearly to give a correct idea of them. The vocabularies of the English navigators are so very imperfect, that even with their help, we often found it impossible to make ourselves understood. This probably arises from the different manner of pronunciation which exists in the two nations. Owhyhee, Woahoo, and Mowhee, for example, thus written by the English, are to be pronounced here as in England, *Ohahi, Houahou*, and *Mohoui*. Every difficulty of this kind is avoided in these vocabularies; and the only means of people making themselves understood, is to pronounce all the letters as here written.*

I cannot finish this article without informing the public, that I am indebted for nearly all the words here given, to the patience, zeal, and care of my friend, M. Gaimard. We made nearly the same excursions, and I can appreciate better than any other person, the trouble he took to obtain these fortunate results. At the same time his inexhaustible cheerfulness, the kindness of his heart, and the great variety of his information, made him a most agreeable and useful companion.

* The Translator has retained these Vocabularies as the author has given them; the words must consequently be spoken conformably to the French pronunciation.

NEW HOLLAND.

ON the western coast of New Holland, we had so little communication with the fifteen or eighteen Savages, who shewed themselves, that we were unable, notwithstanding the signs of goodwill, by which we endeavoured to re-assure them, to learn any more than this one word:

Go away	Ayerkadé

OMBAY,

Four leagues from the North Point at Timor.

Nose	Imouni
Eyes	Inirko
Brow or Head	Imocila
Mouth	Ibirka
Teeth	Vessi
Chin	Irakata
Hair	Inibatalaga
Comb	Dakara
Ear	Iverlaka
Neck	Tameni
Necklace	Poupou
Breast	Tercod
Belly	Tékapana
Posteriors	Tissoukou
Sexual parts of a female	Glessi
Bosom	Ami
Shoulders	Iklessimé
Arm	Ibarana
Fore-arm	Itana
Hand	Ouïné
Finger	Tétenkilëi
Thumb	Setenkoubassi
Fore-finger	Assidelaï
Middle-finger	Léri
Ring-finger	Guémala
Little-finger	Attenkilessé
Thigh	Itêna
Leg	Iraka
Calf of the leg	Ipakana
Knee	Icicibouka
Foot	Makalata
Great toe	Vakoubassi
Second toe	Léri
Third toe	Assidélaï
Fourth toe	Guémala
Little toe	Vakilessé
Tail	Imbilataka
Hair-ribbon	Preki
Bracelet	Bankoulou
Kreese belt	Kaboulou
Ring put on the lower part of their legs	Léla
Kreese	Péda
Musket	Kéta
Bow	Mossa
Bow-string	Gagapé
Arrow	Dota
Arrow-head	Pina
Flower worn in their hair, or at their ear	Satantoun
Handkerchief	Linsou
Crow	Adola
Shield	Banou
Name of the river where we watered	Ira
Name of the village which we visited	Bitoka
Name of the village not visited, near the former	Madama
Name of the Rajah of Bitoka	Sicman
Sacred	Pamali
Poultry	Ayan
Knife	Pisso

N. B.—The names of the numbers are similar to those at Timor.

NATIVES OF GUÉBÉ.

Head	Kouto & Koutor
Brow	Kaliour
Eye-brows	Bilinghi & Bilbilinghi
Eye	Tam & Tad
Eyes	Tadji
Eye-lids	Touana & Kaplour
Eye-lashes	Tad Kaplour
Nose	Kasseignor
Mouth	Kapiour
Lips	Kapioudjaïs
Teeth	Kapioudji
Tongue	Mamalo
Chin	Alod-Galor.
Cheek	Affoffo
Ear	Kassigna
Beard	Djangout
Mustachoes	Kassohouné
Hair	Kalignouné
Neck	Kokor
Breast	Kacnor & Katnor
Dugs or paps	Soussé
Milk	Soussé
Belly	Siahora
Navel	Figilo
Stomach	Naor
Back	Moulor
Posteriors	Pipor
Sexual parts of woman	Fid
Mount of Venus	Fobioït
Copulation	Ohi-Ohi
Shoulder	Vialor
Arm	Kamer
Elbow	Kapchouor
Hand	Fadlor
Finger	Kakahor
Thumb	Kakahor-Pial
Gold	Plaran
Butt, Cask	Pipa
Little finger	Kakahor-Kali
Nail	Kassiébor
Thigh	Kapiar & Kaffiar
Leg	Pichor
Knee	Kaillar Toublor
Foot	Ilihahor
Heel	Kaplouor
Toe	Kahom
Skin	Kinot
Pulse	Houté
Man	Gnat & Sgniat
Woman	Piné & Mapina
Cannibal	Kron
Young	Mandjiaman
Old	Bukali
Blind of an Eye	Babaïap
Blind	Takapali
Leprosy	Matal
Rheum	Ohïe
Wound	Jabat
Small Pox	Pare
Hat	Sarahou & Chapéou
Handkerchief	Touhala
Pantaloons	Chanac
Tunic	Chinsoun
Shell-necklace	Babila
Pearls	Moustika
Knife	Sout
Chair	Trapessa
Ring	Aliali
Mat	Dab
Needle	Liaïné
Cord	Gouminalada
Pin	Balou
Pin's-head	Koutom
Rudder	Béguéné
Fire	Ap
Iron	Bessi
Smoke	Mass
Paddle, or Oar	Poné
Sea	Tassi
Fresh water	Aër omissi
Canoe	Arouéré
Knife for splitting coa-coa-nuts	Soubéré

Silver	Salaka
Rupee	Kikitoné
Table	Méza
Mirror	Mistigué
Razor	Soutsakatal
Saw	Gargadi
Bench	Banko
Funnel	Sanaka
Spoon	Saoul and Gahoul
Gilt button	Kaki
Napkin	Amout
Wooden idols	Héfi
Wooden-comb	Assi
Good day, (salutation)	Tabéa
To smoke	Sorop
To eat	Tanané
To make water	Pami
To awake a person	Peguigne
Sun	Astouol
Dog	Kobbli
Opossum	Doh
Bird	Mani
Beak	Kapiou
Eye	Inéta
Head	Kouto
Wing	Balmo
Claw or foot	Kalahou
Talon or nails	Kassiébahou
Tail	Sepigo
Feather	Plouko
Caruncle of a species of Turtle-Dove	Kognio
Bird's-egg	Mané
Black hen's egg	Bléviné lesso
Nest	Penou
Cracticus	Oukouakou
Sparrow-hawk with white belly	Ouapinébat
Turtle-Dove with a black caruncle	Ouapiné
Sea-Swallow	Sapané
Crow	Samalahï
King-fisher	Salba
Calao of Waigooee	Massouahou & Baro
Another Calao	Massouahou
Black Ara, or trumpet parrot	Mani Falkoumé
Timor parroquet	Saklik
Cockatoo	Akia
Papoo parrot	Ambilio
Great parrot of New Guinea	Alian-Ha
Three coloured lory	Lori
Small black hen	Blériné
Rawack pigeon	Bioutiné
Tufted pigeon of Banda	Manébi
Plover	Sikiakel
Curlieu*	Sikiakel
White crab-eater of Boni	Siahou
Brown noddy	Mani Galegalet
Small Rawack swallow	Bleffé
Small whitish grey bird	Kalabissan
Small whitish grey bird of Pisang	Kalibassan
Tortoise	Féhéléi
Turtle	Bégué bégué
Large lizard of Rawack	Besté
Small lizard with ringed tail	Sesseffé
Gecko, species of lizard	Kassidiof
Serpent	Baï
Fish	Hin and Hiné
Squalus catulus, or shark	Kaffagaï
Torpedo	Famé

* The natives of Guébé assert, contrary to all probability, that Plovers and Curlieus, are the same birds, only differing as to age; the former being according to them, the old bird, and the latter the young.

Balistes, with large black spots	Soume
Nautilus	Guig
Muscle	Ampouloumé
Cone, of which bracelets are made	Bilibili
Leda's egg	Boul
Amphinome	Niefi
Crab	Kaf
Crab with reddish spots	Kaf-Bali
Crab variegated with yellow	Kaf-Kabéi
Gecarcinus, or land crab	Ka-Hou
Brown crab without spots	Kaf-Boussé
Pagurus, or craw-fish	Kaougané
Scyllarus, or sea-grasshopper	Kalioul
Angoustes	Besséou
Spider	Plaou
Black weevil	Nanipa
Horn beetle	Kava-Ouahoa
Grasshopper	Kassipiaou
Cricket	Cinianel
Libellula	Socmohoua
Butterfly	Calabib
Black caterpillar	Goyop
Mosquito	Nini
Asteria ophiura	Tchiléoï
Sea-egg	Baoussan
Sea-egg, granulated	Tata
Sea-egg, with circles	Tassikapiou
Sea-blubber	Moko
Nutmeg	Sémékao & Alankao
Second coat	Boun-Ha & Bouga
First coat	Alagan
Pomegranate	Dalima
Fruit of the red Jambos	Gog
Poisonous fruit of a shrub of the genus Ximenia, and called *Pistache* by our sailors	Fofolahoui
Tacca	Oueïémé
Gourd	Bactil
Maize, or Indian corn	Cassella
Tobacco	Tabaco (as the Portuguese)
Banana	Pisang
Fucus	Rohémé
Sago	Of and Jof
Cane, reed	Kabo
Allspice	Baltian
Mushroom	Essiné
Good sort of apple the fruit of a tree of the genus Cynometra	Imouï
Staircase	Loïné
No	Né
Fish-scale	Hounaf
To dance	Densar
Madam	Gnogna
Enough	Ura
Segar	Nomhou
Grandson	Tchoutchou
Island of Rawack	Rahouck, or perhaps Rahoucki
Pisang (or Banana Island)	Poulo-Pisang
Fresh water	Sahoury
Wooden cross for twisting thread	Kaïouhahé
I do not know	Trada-Kao
I have some	Bagnia
Candle	Liliné
Wax	Malamé
Gun-powder	Ouba & Passané
One	Pissa
Two	Pilou
Three	Pittoul

Four	Piffat
Five	Pilimé
Six	Pounoum
Seven	Piffit
Eight	Poual
Nine	Pissiou
Ten	Otcha
Eleven	Outinesa
Twelve	Outinélou
Thirteen	Outinetoul
Twenty	Affalou & Talankia
Twenty-one	Affalou Talampissa
Twenty-two	Affali Talampilou
Thirty	Affatoul & Laxa
Thirty-one	Laxa pissa
Thirty-two	Laxa pilou
Forty	Affat
Fifty	Affalimé
Sixty	Affounoum
Seventy	Affatit
Eighty	Affaoual
Ninety	Affassiou
Hundred	Outinetcha
Two hundred	Outinelou
Thousand	Chalansa
Two thousand	Chalanlou
Three thousand	Chalantoul
Four thousand	Chalanfat
Five thousand	Chalounlimé
Six thousand	Chalannoum
Seven thousand	Chalanfit
Eight thousand	Chalanoual
Nine thousand	Chalanssiou

ALIFOOROOS,

Or Natives of Waigooe.

Head	Kagala
Hair	Sénoumébouran
Nose	Soun
Eye-lashes	Inekarneï
Eyes	Jadjiémouri
Beard	Gangapouni
Tooth	Oualini
Cheek	Gangafoni
Lips	Ganganini
Chin	Gambapi
Gristle	Shyroïde Kadjiahouni
Nape of the neck	Kadjiekouni
Shoulder	Poupouni
Arm	Kapiani
Bracelet of Indian reed	Houali
Fore-arm	Konkaboni
Hand	Konkafaleni
Thumb	Kontidal
Fore-finger	Konkantili
Middle-finger	Kouantipoulo
Ring-finger	Kouantiripali
Little-finger	Kouantilminki
Dugs or paps	Mansou
Breast or chest	Ignegarini
Pit of the stomach	Iovampini
Belly	Sgnani
Navel	Assilini
Back	Kouaneténi
Buttock	Séni
Posteriors	Sénédokaouri
Thigh	Affoloni
Knee	Konkapoki
Leg	Konkanfaï
Calf of the leg	Barmor
Foot	Kourgnaï
Heel	Konkabiouli
Knuckle	Kolabeni
Great toe	Kouantilul
Second toe	Kouantibipali
Third toe	Kouantipoulo
Fourth toe	Kouantibipali
Little toe	Kouantilminki
Skin	Rip

PAPOOS.

Head	Vrouri
Brow	Anderé & Andané
Eye-brows	Bilbiliné
Eye	Tadeni & Grarour
Eye-lids	Karnéou and Neïn-kamor
Eye-lashes	Kabour
Nostril	Inécénonipokir
Mouth	Soidon
Lips	Clanii and Sfadone
Tooth	Nacoèré
Tongue	Ramaré
Cheek	Fofer & Gaïafoé
Ear	Kananié, Kananik and Kanik
Hole in the ear, for ear-rings	Kniki-Nekir
Beard	Ourevoure & Oure-boure
Mustachoes	Ourebourou & Oure-boure
Whiskers	Souroumbourahéné
Hair	Sonébrahéné
Neck	Sassouri&Satoukéoré
Breast	Andersi
Nipples	Sous and Soussou
Bosom of a female	Soussou Bassar
Milk	Sous-dourou
Belly	Snéouar
Navel	Snépouéné
Stomach	Sansinedi
Back	Kokroussena
Posteriors	Kodoné
Sexual parts of woman	Fidon
Copulation	Koffroné
Arm	Braminé
Hand	Konef
Finger	Urampiné
Nail	Urampiné-baï
Thigh	Oïzop
Knee	Onépouer
Leg	Oïzof
Foot	Oïbahémé
Heel	Oékouraé
Sole of the foot	Oévahémé
Toe	Oépiné
Blood	Riki
Man	Snone, Sénokakou and Arané
Wild-man	Senosoup
Woman	Biéné
Lady, or woman of superior condition	Ancérandia & Per-ampoua bassar
Pregnant woman	Snonaréba
A Papou	Papoua
Ear-rings	Kouménéta
Bracelet made of a shell	Séméfar & Saméfar
Common bracelet	Kabraï
Bracelet of bamboo plaited and coloured	Romandac & Loulou Loulouï
Necklace	Brambroné and Bari-anboné
Comb	Asix
Pearl	Moustikan & Mous-tika
Ring	Aoumis&Kapanague
Sort of amulet, made of wood, hair, shell, &c.	Arion, Nonandébène
Garment	Sansoun
Button	Cati
Pantaloons	Sansoun Souga
Handkerchief	Touara
Linen	Caïon
Hat	Saraou and Tiapéro
Waistcoat	Sansou Drabakènè
Girdle of the bark of the fig-tree	Marè
Shoe	Sopatou and Soïop
Stocking	Caous
Bow	Mariaï & Mariaïa
Bow-string	Cabraï

Arrow	Ekoï, Eïkoï & Cohi
Sword	Inoï
Musket	Snapan
Pistol	Poëstik
Cannon	Padaïe
Drum of the Papoos	Sandip
Fish-gig, or forks of two or three prongs	Collo-ho & Manoura
Hatchet	Mouécané
Knife	Inoï, Ainoé & Inoé
Scissors	Inéï boutoun
Saw	Gargadi
Spoon	Rovezausec
Goblet	Parascoeï
Bottle	Maé & Néguï
Mirror	Fanimê & Faninê
Chair	Calapessa
China bowl	Bènê & Béhènê
Bag of pandanus	Camê
Small bag made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, which the Papoos hang on their left shoulders	Kapané
Bamboo to carry water	Padarène
Candle	Mala, Malam, & Massam
Feather	Mambour
Mat	Iaër and Iar
Coffee-pot	Guénessa
Phial	Farascaï
Key	Koutine
Small pox	Para
Wound	Kankoun
Leprosy	Babarai
Burn	Paré
Proa	Ouaï
Ring-bolts of the corvette	Garmomé
Paddle	Taborefs
Rope	Rivé
Fishing-line	Karaferé
Brass-wire to which the fish-hook is attached	Kassénouar
Wedge for splitting wood	Assosser
Sewing-needle	Ouarious, Marious
Eye of the needle	Pouéné
Point of the needle	Réri
Pin	Kanivar
Flag	Barbar, & Sagarati
Characters, letters, writing	Fas
House	Rouma
Stair-case	Kaouèke
Friend	Bati
To eat	Dan and Ianï
To drink	Kiné
To sleep	Ténef,Kokive&Kénef
To die	Ténef
To mount	Kabéré
To go away	Koubram
To hoist	Vassio
To lead	Vakiou
To swim	Dasse
To paddle	Vorosco
To laugh	Combrivé
To dance	Kokévé
To sing	Dicé
To wait	Vassifari
To feel	Nas
To smoke	Adéné tabaco
To do	Assiéné
To light a fire	Assiène afor
Sea	Sorèné
Rain	Méker
Sun	Rias
Lightning	Samar & Nauki
Thunder	Kadadou
Cloud	Rep Meker
Tomb	Rouma Papo Vemar
The dead	Vemar
Blow of the fist	Konkouroui&Katoub

Kick	Rossopoumi
Box of the ear	Mouni
How do you do?	Navié Rapeï
Very well	Vié Rapeï
Come here	Gnamaniné & Kamaricini
Hour	Lefo
Day	Ari
Sound, noise	Poun
Gold	Blaouéné
Silver	Likitone
Fire	Afor, for & foro
Water	Ouar
Fresh water	Kokiné
Vegetable earth	Iéné Sarop
Sand	Iéné
Man of rank	Snombéba
Madam	Ra-hinéserénédia
I thank you	Aravaïri
Enough	Rovarapé
Several	Iboën
Pretty, handsome, good	Narié
Bad, evil	Tarada & Trada
Great	Rebah
Lame	Guéna douef
I will not	Béciva
No	Marisimba & Nama
Yes*	Issia
Segar	Ou-hi
Me	Aïa
Thee	A-ou
Nail	Pakou
Fish-scale	Mis
Ape, monkey	Rouk
Bat	Rabout
Dog	Nofam and Nofané
Bitch	Nofam-biéné
Opossum	Rambane

* From Bengal to the Sandwich Islands, almost all the tribes, or people, inspire and lift up the head in pronouncing *yes*, while in Europe, people bow the head.

Hog	Baine
Buffaloe	Kobo
Sparrow-hawk	Man
Sparrow-hawk, with white belly	Man-oupo
Cracticus	Mankahok & Mangaouki
Crow	Manbobek
Bird of Paradise	Maëfor&Bourou-kati
King-fisher	Mankinétrous
Calao of Waigooe	Mandahouéné
Black Ara, trumpet parrot	Sakiéné
Timor parroquet	Manésouba
White cockatoo	Manbéaher
Three-coloured lory	Magniourou & Maniauri
Cock	Mazaukéhéné
Fowl	Mazaukéhéné-biéné
Small black fowl	Mankério
Tufted headed pigeon of Banda	Manbrouk
Tuft of this pigeon	Cun-héi
Dove with black caruncle	Manroua
Turtle-Dove	Ampahéné
Turtle-Dove, with purple coloured head	Manobo
Plover	Mangrènegrène
Grey curlieu	Manciviéné & Ansibiné
Ardea Malaciensis, or Crab-eater	Manoubène
Bird	Bourou
Egg	Bolor and Samoure
Foot, claw	Guénor & Bramime
Wing	Boure
Tail	Pourai
Tortoise	Manguiné
Turtle	Ouané and Oa-éo
Large lizard of Rawack	Kalabet

Small lizard	Mantikti
Fish	Iné and Iéné
Nautilus	Korokorbéï and Kokorbaï
Cone	Sagahouli
Testace bivalve	Katobéï
Testace bivalve, of the middle size	Sarir
Cane, testace bivalve	Siambéba & Kolam
The inhabitant of this shell	Katob
Leda's egg	Orbéï-Orbéï
Univalve shell	Orbéï-Koïan
Pagurus	Kaïnoux
Millipedes	Obané
Weevil	Mourémoure
Grasshopper	Ampaéné
Cricket	Rédegni
Ant	Mancara
Butterfly	Apop and Albéoat
Sea-egg	Serrégatine
Sea-blubber	Pinamé
Tobacco	Tabaco
Sponge	Iène
Indian fig-tree*	Nounou
Gourd	Tabou, Laboui and Bactil
Papay	Kapaïe
	Emi-ohi
Nutmeg	Masséfo and Nastor
Garlick	Mouremoure
Ginger	Bava
French-beans	Ravesané
Rush	Avrou
Cocoa	Soul
Young cocoa	Sarai
Cocoa-nut stone†	Sarai Kamoure

* Girdles are made here of the bark of the Indian fig-tree.

† Small elliptical stones are sometimes found n the milk of the cocoa-nut; of which I have brought home several.

Rice	Penoëré
Onion	Jas
Casuarina	Bava
A species of apple, the fruit of a tree of the genus *cynometra*	Iar
Pine-apple	Imoui
Sugar	Raïnassi
Bamboo	Goula
One	Ambober
Two	Saï and Ossa
Three	Douï and Serou
Four	Kior, Kiorré and Kiorro
Five	Fiak and Tiak
Six	Rimé
Seven	Onémé
Eight	Fik and Sik
Nine	Ouar
Ten	Siou and Sioné
Eleven	Saméfour
Twelve	Saméfour Sécéro ser
Thirteen	Saméfour Sécéro Sourrou
Twenty	Saméfour Sécéro Kior
	Saméfour di Sourrou
Hundred	Ountime and Saméfour-Ousimé

THE CHAMORRES,

Or Inhabitants of the Marianne Islands.

Head	Oolou
Hair of the head	Gapoun-Oulou
Brow	Ha-i
Eye-brows	Babali
Eye	Mata

Eye-lashes	Poulou chalam lam
Eye-lids	Chalam lam
Hair	Poulou
Nose	Goui-iné
Nostril	Madoulou Gouï-iné
Mouth	Pachoud
Tooth	Nifiné
Grinding-tooth	Akakam
Tongue	Oula
Lip	Aman
Upper-lip	Aman houlou
Lower lip	Aman papa
Chin	Achaï
Ear	Talan-ha
Neck	Agaga
Throat	Famagniou-ann
Nape of the neck	Toun-ho
Breast	Ha-ouf
Belly	Touyan
Navel	Apouya
Back	Tatalou
Back-bone	Tolan-Talou
Shoulder	Apaga
Arm	Hious
Elbow	Toumoun canaï
Hand	Canaï
Bone	Tolan
Bone of the arm	Tolan hious
Thumb	Tamagas
Fore-finger, middle, and ring-finger	Talanchou
Little-finger	Calanké
Posterior, buttocks	Poudous
Thigh	Chachaga
Knee	Tamoun-adiné
Leg	Adiné
Stick	Tou-oun
Mirror	Lamlam,
Calf of the leg	Mamanan-ha
Tibia	Sadnou houd
Foot	Adiné-i
Ancles	Acoula
Great toe	Tamagas adiné
Little toe	Kalanké
Union of the sexes	Ouma-ha-as
Palm of the hand	Ataf
Soles of the feet	Foffougai
Foot mark	Fégay
Hat	Touhoun
Leather sandal	Doga
Chain formerly worn round the neck	Gouini
Chamorre knife	Daman
Fine	Goisi
Stone	Achou
Flint	Gagoud
Egg	Chada
Fowl	Manoug
Proas	Sagman
Sea	Tassi
High-water	Matiné an
Water	Hanoum
Cocoa	Nidjiou
Cocoa-nut water	Chougou nidjio
Cocoa-nut wine	Touha
Father	Tata
Mother	Nana
Man	Laé
Wood	Hadjiou
Straight	Tounas
Nail	Papakis
Lightning	Lamlam
Thunder	Houlou
The body of a man	Tataoutaou
Double	Gui-hiné
Opening	Madoulou
Umbilical cord	Acag
Break the back bone	Houloug tatalognia
Cabin, hut, house	Gouma
Wrestling	Afoulu
To do a person an ill office, to calumniate	Cagouas
To tip the wink to a woman	Acheg-hi

Road	Chalan
To look	Atan
To express comprehension	Atan segouït
To point with the finger	Tanchou
Rat	Chiaca
Crow	Aga
King-fisher	Si-hig
Tinian-fowl	Sasségniat
Sultan-fowl	Poulalat
Turtle-dove with a purple coloured head	Totot
Grey turtle-dove with a brown collar	Gaga
Plover	Doulili
Grey curlew	Calalan
Slate coloured crab-eater	Chouchoukou
Stone curlew, black and white	Doulili
Greyish-heron	Cacag
Pelican	Padjiajia
Blackbird (Turdus pacificus)	Sali
White tufted crab-eater	Chouchoukou-apaca
Tropical swallow	Tiounié
A species of nightingale	Gapio
Duck	Gahanga
Red wood-pecker	Eguigui
Flat billed fly-catcher	Nossa
Fan-tailed fly-catcher	Sotine
Balistes niger	Satta
Tetrodon Meleager	Mangaou
Yellow coloured Labrus with a curved back	Bou-ha
Lizard	Elitei
Bat	Fani-hi
Lamprey	Acman
Acanthurus chirurgus	Magnia-a-apaca
——— minor	Magnia ac Atoulqua
Holocentrus	Chalag
Rose-coloured fish, good eating	Achiné-Choun
Brilliant Labrus	Tan hissoun
Black Chetodon	Fomo
Chetodon, with yellow streaks	Doddou
Syngnathus hippocampus	Pippoupou
Ostracion	Dangloun
Shrimp	Ouan
Sole	Tampat
Piscis geographicus	Sesdjioun
Crab covered with moss	Panglaou achou
Crab with a fin	Panglaou anitti
Cancer geographicus	Panglaou lagnia
Echinus	Laous
Chama gigas	Ima
Spondylus	Tiguimé
Cypræa	Chéguei
Variegated Cone	Aléliné
Bivalve, fluted shell	Pagan
Fishing-net	Tchi-Choulou
Sparrow-hawk	Tchalaga
Saw	Lagoua
Shadow	An-Nininé
Sluggard	La-Houn
Fathom	Hious
Half-a-fathom	Echoun-Hious
Half-a-yard	Tamoan
Span	Infantiffi
Armful	Asna Dinidouq
Handful	Inakioun
Pace, or yard	Inagoua
Two armfuls	Ougoua dinidouq.

NOS.	FOR PERSONS.	FOR DOLLARS, &c.	FOR FATHOMS.
1	Acha	Assidjieï-Achidjiéï	Tak-Achoun
2	Ougoua	Ougouïdjiéï	Tak-Ougouan
3	Toulou	Torgouïdjiéï	Tak-Touloun
4	Fadfad	Farfatéï	Tak-Fatoun
5	Lima	Limitjiéï	Tak-Liman
6	Gounoum	Godmïtjiéï	Tak-Gounoum
7	Fiti	Fetgouidjïéï	Tak-Fitoun
8	Gonalou	Guadgouidjiéï	Tak-Gonaloun
9	Sigoua	Segouidjiéï	Tak-Sigouan
10	Manoud	Manoteï	Tak-Manoud.
11	Manoud Nagouaï Acha	Manoteï Nagoui Achidjiéï	
12	——————— Toulou	——————— Igouitjiéï	
13	——————— Fadfad	——————— Torgouitjiéï	
20	Ougoua Nafoulou	Ougouitjiéï Nafoulou	
30	Toulou Nafoulou	Torgouitjiéï Nafoulou	
40	Fadfad Nafoulou	Farfatéï Nafoulou	
50	Lima Nafoulou	Limitjiéï Nafoulou	
60	Gounoum Nafoulou	Godmitjiéï Nafoulou	
70	Fiti Nafoulou	Fetgouitjiéï Nafoulou	
80	Gouhalou Nafoulou	Gouadgouitjiéï Nafoulou	
90	Sigoua Nafoulou	Sigouitjiéï Nafoulou,	
100	Gatous	Gatous	
200	Ougoua Nagoutous	Ougouitjiéï Nagatous	
1,000	Chalan, and Manoud Nafoulou	Chalan or Achalan	
10,000	Manoud Achalan	Manotéï Achalan	
100,000	Gatous Achalan	Gatous Achalan	

The names in the first column are employed to enumerate persons; those of the second to monies, dollars, cocoa-nuts, melons, &c. and those of the third for fathoms. The third does not go beyond ten.

Remarks on the Possessive Pronouns.

Mine is *hou; thine mou; his gna; our ta; their igna,* if absent persons, and *midjiou,* if persons present are spoken of. It will be supposed from our giving these details, that they were communicated to us by some person who was perfectly acquainted with the Chamorre language. They were collected by my friend M. Gaimard, from Don Luis de Torres, to whom we are also indebted for the following vocabulary, and several interesting notes on this archipelago.

CAROLINE ISLANDS.

Head	Ronnies; Roumaï; Simoié
Hair	Alomméï; Alérou-mèï; Timoé
Brow	Man-hoï
Eye-brows	Fatou; Fatel; Fatuel; Fati
Eyes	Metail; Métaï; Messaï
Eye-lashes	Caporal; Métal; Capoloul; Né météï
Eye-lids	Palapoul ne métal
Upper eye-lid	Aoutol ne métal
Lower eye-lid	Assépoicépoil ne métal
Nose	Poiti; Poitiné; Poitil, Podi
Nostril	Poélé poiti; Pouel poitiné; Poilé poitil; Assémalibodi
Mouth	E-Houaï
Tooth	Ni; Gni; Ni-i
Incisor tooth	Gniloméï; Gniloé. (m. gni)
Small-grinder	Iliponéguiélouéï; Nili
Large-grinder	Pouralonéï; Pouraléonel
Tongue	Lonéï; Lonel; Laonel; Loel
Lip	Tilonéï; Tilonel; Tiliaonal; Alisséou
Cheek	Tépal; Aïssapal; Aoussépaï
Chin	Etéï; Atel; Jatél; Até
Beard	Alouzaï; Alissel
Ear	Taliné-hé; Taliné-han; Taliné-hal
Lobe of the ear	Robalolon-héï; iolal; iolal taliné-hal
Passage of the ear	Pitalan-héï; Pouï taliné-hal
Neck	Falouï; Faloné; ourongaï
Wind-pipe	Ouroun-héï
Nape of the neck	Longouroun-héï; Longoulonhouel; Longoul-houéï
Breast	Loupaï; Ouponal; Ouponéï; Oiti
Belly	Fégai; Oubouoï
Navel	Pouzé; Poujé; Pougoi-ie
Back	Ta-houri; Tagouri
Back-bone	Routa-houri; Loutagouri; Sulta-gouri
Collar-bone	Lépan; Alégouï; Lupal-ale-bouéï
Shoulder-blade	Evaraï; Avaraï; Efaraï
Shoulder	Evaraï; Avaraï; Efaraï
Arm	Rapélépéï; Chapélépéï; Lapilépéï
Fore-arm	Marélépéï; Mérélépéï; Mélalipéï
Elbow	Rapélépélépéï; Apélépélépéï
Bone	Rouloupéï
Hand	Galéïma; Praméma; Pralémal; Pélalipéï
Fist	Cattel; Comoureu; Comoural
Finger	Attilipaï
Thumb	Catouléppéné; Catoulépal
Fore-finger	Catourap
Middle-finger	Catoulou

Ring-finger	Catousséponck
Little-finger	Catondéguid
Hip, haunch	Onïlaï
Posteriors	* Lonetti
Buttock	* Pourouéï ; Pourouel ; Palipaliaonati
Thigh	* Rapélépréï ; Rapélépéréï ; Oufoï
Knee	Pongonéï ; Pongoné
Leg	Braléparéï
Ancle	Courouboul ; Courouboulpèré
Heel	Capélépélépréi
Calf of the leg	Salalépréï ; Sagalépréï ; Lessalipérai
Foot	Paraparépréï ; Paraparalédéréï ; Péra-péral
Great toe	Catoulépérepréï ; Catoutèpélpréï
Second-toe	Catonglérépréï ; Catourouguilpréï
Third-toe	Catonlongue.
Fourth-toe	Catousséponégue
Fifth-toe	Catourougue ; Catouruk
Toe	Attilipéraï
Copulation	Sirik ; Féï
Palm of the hand	Prékéméï
Sole of the feet	Fallépréï ; Fanipéraï
Breast	Toussagaï ; Ti
Bosom of a female	Rabout, Faifféné ; Oi-iti
Nail	Coub ; Cui
Skin	Ponaï
Blood	Atchaponé
Man	Mal ; Marr ; Mérer
Woman	Rabout ; Faifie
Married woman	Aou-taguel
Unmarried woman	Lipper
Father	Témal
Mother	Cillé
Son	La-hub ; La-hal
Daughter	Magaïany
Grandfather	Touvéï
Grandmother	Faiffel-touvéï
Grandson	Fa-ham
Granddaughter	Filragol
Dead man	Emiss
Infant	Sari ; Tarimar ; Oligat
Little child	Sarikid
Baby	Sarikitikit
Pregnant woman	Oébobo
Old man	Amaré ; Touffé
Curly hair	Chimorur
Smooth straight hair	Larimourac
End of the bosom, waist	Maror
Pulse	Miméracal
Sweat	Mouïamouï
Anthropophagi	Mouho
Excrement	Pag-ha
Lumbar region	Lougoulougoul
Maniac of the Carolinians	Copalaï ; Copaléï ; Capaléï ; Apalé
Knife	Tapétap ; Sarre
Knife-blade	Tougoutougoul
Knife-band	Kellémel ; Coumaru
Small basket of Pandanus	Rougoud ; Séou
Hammock	Huloul
Square fishing-net	Hou
Cocoa-nut cup	Pauré
Fire-steel	Calellers
Piece of wood for preserving fire	Capett
Sack or bag	Saro
Mortar	Ialéf
Pestle	Tontaïou
Strainer	Moïtaru
Cauldron	Ra-hona
Wooden spoon	Oulémi
Salt	Tamourillaou ; Tamaurillaou

Calebash	Cahouvara
Cake made of maize	Longoumélimari
Rope	Tali ; Améi
Sling	Cahouled ; Amarépoi
Hat	Péring ; Parouéï ; Paroun ; Parounhéï
Fish-hook	Queu
Bag made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree	Poutaou
Hair ring, worn by the Carolinians round the bottom of the leg	Rimm
Tattooing	Mak
Mantle, cloak	Aonis
Adze	Puarang
Musket	Pak
Mat	Quiégui
Stuff	Teur
Bow and arrow	Ettanck
Elephantiasis	Péremmats
Leprosy	Kilissapo-o
Wound	Clo-o
Scar	Eqoilas
White spots on the skin	Roanig
Medicine	Taré
Doctor, physician	Rogui
To drink	Tchali
To eat	Moun-ho
Water	Rall ; Ralou ; Ralu
Sea	Tasti ; Amoroue
Sea-water	Ralou ciété
Something to drink ?	Ouloumi ?
Something to eat ?	Moun-ho ?
Give me some cocoa-nuts ?	Cassitou-rola ?
Light me a fire ?	Hassilou-yaff ?
To speak	Capet ; Fagatié
To speak a great deal	Egaméléï-capet
To weep	Tan-hé ; sing ; Naolocar
Tear	Soméné
To whistle	Cacahour
To sing	Pouarécou ; Paroug
To shut the eyes	Masseurou
To spit	Coutouvi ; Atouc
To walk	Rik
To jump	Sioutak
To take short steps	Ouati-Ouati
To prick	Saru
To cut	Fela
Wait for me	Ouati-Ouati
Let us go	Faraé
To rise from one's seat	Caouloc-Oulaïet
Seated	Battodéou ; Faizabal
Laid down	Houlloc ; Azouc
In bed and asleep	Houlloc, emassouroug
To get out of bed	Roumetac
To blow the nose	Moussouri ; Malibodi
Secretion from the nose	Rallé poitel
To suffer	Etoumaï
To bark	Iarri
Come	Pouïtoc ; Etto
Come all	Pouitoc pouïtoe élagoumi elagoumi elagoumi
To strike with a hammer	Sougou
To search for stones	Egarapou
To put in the pocket	Loupouagali
To take out of the pocket	Callicahol
Coat pocket	Pouïel
To put on one's hat	Paroung
To take off one's hat	Oitilik
Put on your hat	Paroun-hac couté hapouers
How do you do ?	Coupou Toumaï ha ?
Very well	Emoimag
Very ill	Etamag
And you ?	E Faou ?
Well, thank God	Emoïmag e fâlak
God	Jaloussou
Where are you going ?	Goupalaï agnel ?
I am going to Guam	Farak macoutac

I am going to the mountain	Ipoualag, houlou houlou-houl
I am going to the fields	Farak macoutac
What are you doing at present?	Houlag hellon hol?
I am taking a walk	Honégaon
Adieu	Couzamel
Yes	Tchim; Tchine; Oi; O; N-hu lamoib
No	Essor; Echoar; Elaourou; Elipougaïche
What is the name of that?	Efaïtoum
To yawn	Maladel; Ma ou aladel
To sleep	Maourou; Matourou
To row, or paddle	Fatib
To steer to the larboard-side	Athia
To steer to starboard	Fa-an
To dive	Toulonc
To sneeze	Mossi
To vomit	Mouss
To scratch one's self	Garigari
To rub one's self	Tarei
To pinch a person	Poi-igue
To strike with the fist	Touk
To strike with the flat of the hand	Peuli
To bite	Coue
To chew	Lulu
To break wind	Oula
To cough	Naou
To belch	Mouss
To shake hands	Iroïtional
To pull by the hair	Lourop
To pull out the hair	Amalucoume
To shoot one's self	Inirache
To rub one's eyes at waking	Diganlea
To go out of her course (naval term)	Oréor
To threaten any one	Laoualouor
To make haste	Cahé-cahé-cahé
To be sick	Ezamoïg-sornéas
To tack	Gache
I have seen	Iroëri
Dance of the Carolinians	Nimorapout, Poirouk
Dance with sticks	Lialénini
A kiss	Moungo
A box of the ear	Onboup
A blow with the fist	Tongoua
A kick	Vadi
A stab with a dagger	Réï
A Nobleman, or Chief	Tamor
House	Imme; Emou
Bamboo	Poi-hi; Pa-hi
Plank	Pap
Wood	Paffi
Faggot	Coli
Leaf of a tree	Euzo
Door	Tiélaouk
Window	Songalok
Ladder	Catami
——— first step	Ital
——— middle step	Faliou
——— last step	Iatté
Iron	Paran; Loulou
Deals of bamboo	Pappa
Roof	Fatefat-iassou
Tile	Emezoaou
Projection of the roof, Pent-house	Aguitaguid
Large chest	Por
Small chest	Chap
Tree	Pelagoulue
Green tree	Laouru
A dead tree	Eppoit
Bread-fruit tree	Vaivai
Cocoa-nut tree	Roau

Cocoa-nut	Tohoho; Ro; Cho-o
Water of the cocoa-nut	Ral-ro; Raninu
Wine of the cocoa-nut	Gari
Cocoa-nut shell	Maribirip
Covering of the cocoa-nut	Péïon
Piece of cocoa-nut	Péïtrok
Almond of the cocoa-nut	Numacés
Banana	Onich
Ripe Banana	Ouiss
Unripe Banana	Ourillo
Orange	Courougourou
Solamim	Toujoun
Rind of the orange	Kilile
Orange kernels, or pips	Faune
Federico	Falétaouru
Small fruit for dying scarlet	Dualépou
Inner part of this fruit	Aoutel
Fowl	Moa; Maluk; Baluk
Egg	Tagoullou
Cock	Malégoumal; Acabouasse
Crowing of the cock	Coc-co
Flesh	Fétougoul
Beak	Répoua lemalek
Wing	Irapaou
Feet or claw	Perel
Flying-fish	Magar
Shark	Prio
Gecko, species of lizard	Lipéïpaé
King-fisher	Oua-onbouèche
Louse	Couai
Bullock	Ama
Noddy	Amaa
Stone	Fahou; Fahuk
Fern	Amaré
Bread-fruit tree	Vairaie
Bread-fruit	Aréparépa
Ditto, another species	Méïas
Trunk	Trocou-Pélagoullu
Branch	Pélagoulilei
Fruit	Ta-hoisté
Land, earth	Mérolo
Burying-place	Mata
Road	Ialé
Tobacco	Capourocco
Fish	Igg
Town	Oualo
Now	Ralei
To-morrow	La-hi; La-hu; Na-hu
Sun	Alet; Yal
Moon	Méram: Aligouleng; Maramé
Star	Fuhu; Fiez; Igatoroche
Firmament	Lan-hé
Cloud	Saronné; Ieng; Ien gué; Maniling
Rain	Oroo, oroo; Oro, oro, courrou
Wind	Ian-hé; Inao
Stony body	Fadaoula
Rain-bow	Rassimé
Thunder	Patche
Lightning	Vérouére
Venus, (bivalve shell)	Pélie
Large murex (shell)	Saoué
Tridacne	Tcho (m. *cho*)
Madrepone	Fahu
Bat	Poé
Prayer to lay a storm	Farsali
Helmet (shell)	Mouhihel
A wen	Bibi
High island	Iarelong
Very high island	Iarélong-méas
Low island	Mallic
The middle part, the middle	Elabepag
To blow in a marex to make a noise	Abonon sa oui
Yes, Sir	Ia samol

Straw-hat of the Carolinians	Péring
Part of this hat which comes under the chin	Aliparung
Fair wind, wind abaft	Ianguior
Wind abeam	Atouor
Close to the wind	Atouglafan
Wind a-head	Faignié as
Wind a stern	Iocounap
Wind on the quarter	Oloumé
Sun-rise	Réné; Nissol
Sun-set	Lebonoui; Pouni
Sun in the zenith	Réné
Sun at the horizon	Eouel Dials
North	Maïban
South	Mayour
East	Mataraé
West	Mélissor
Sweet Basil	Ouaran (or sweet scent)
How much	Filao?
Night	Poum
How many nights	Fita Pouni?
Piece of iron like a spatula, to take out the inside of the cocoa nut	Poua-ci-gari
Wooden handle to which this iron is fixed	Poulapéigari
Wooden roller to make pastry	Féïraparak
To roll paste	Iga-iga
A Roll	Ura
What is warm	Issapouers
Warm from the fire	Issapouers elierf
Cotton	Iss
Bad smell	Emars
Vareuse	Cozel; Caousel
Candle	Poulesse; Poulis
Rosary	Poulou; Pou
Tail	Fetti Chamoil
Paddle	Fatel
Robe-gown	Capill
Women's-stays	Couzel
Red	Ero
White	Epourapors
Black	Erotal-ho
Large, high, elevated	Etalaï; Elalaï
Small, low	Emouroumors; Morémoré
Cistern	Ou-haou
Mark of the foot on the sand	Laouloc
Rolling of a ship	Marigueron
High-sea, waves	Lolapalap; Coromolimoin

The names of the constellations, and of the different pieces of which the Carolinian proas consist were given to me by M. Berard.

The polar star	Oulehouel
The great bear	Ouléga
Stars in the shoulder of the little bear	Mainap
The goat	Malegnédi
The lyre	Meul
The swan	Cheppi
The dolphin	Cheppi
The crown	Ceuta
The eagle	Mulap
Arcturus	Aromaï
Castor and Pollux	Taïninian
The Raven	Charapel
Aldebaran	Oul
Orion, Rigel, and all the surrounding stars	Taragariel
The three kings	Eliel
Sirius	Touloulou
Pruscion	Mall
Spica Virginis	Toumour

Antares	Toumour
Tail of the Scorpion	Mouïel
The southern cross	Toaboub; Poupu
Venus	Fuzel; Furale
Jupiter	Opicur

I am indebted to Major Don Luis de Torres for the following names relative to the division of the year among the Carolinians.

Year	Fahalip
Month	Maram
Night	Poum
One night or twenty-four hours (they count by nights)	Sépoum

The year of the Carolinians is divided into ten months of which the following are the names.

Tungur	Hefang
Mol	
Mahelap	
Sota	
La	
Cucu	Rag
Halimatu	
Margar	
Hiolihol	
Mal	

The first five months, signified by the collective name, *hefang*, comprise the bad season of the Caroline Islands. *Rag* is applied to the other five months.

Each month is composed of thirty days, named as follows: Sigauru; Helin; Mesaline; Mesor; Mesafur; Mesaguar; Mevetien; Hemetal; Xuapon; Hiaropugu; Hepai; Holapue; Hal; Lamao; Hemar; Hiohur; Letu; Guiley; Jalaguolo; Sopars; Hefelag; Huhosolang; Roralihefelag; Sopar; Himemuhil; Guiley; Homalo; Romalifal; Hiorofù; Heseng; Herraff.

The Archipelago of the Carolines is named in the language of the country, Lamoursine, Lamouxine, and Ipalaou. A Carolinian, whom I saw at Agagna, made me acquainted with different islands, which he thus named: Saouk, Souk or Poulou Souk; Tamatam; Pouellap; Rong; Houlahoul; Pisserar; Filaluk; Poulonat; Jalé; Satahouan; Pik; Pignélo; Faïaou; Oliméraou; Lamourtroke; Pouk; Féléit; Ouralu and Ouralouk; Tahouas and Talouas; Elatt; Selat; Ouletann; Caré; Nemoï; Cahutac and Tahutae; Falépi; Ifelouk and Iféluk; Séraï-lap; Jasté; Séralap and Felalap; Païaou or Paliaou; Raourouk; Seriap; Féraluous or Felalus; Moutougoussou; Tagaïla; Jalare-Caraïd; Nissegai; Eramlap or Eranelap; Eroupek or Auroupik; Faïs; Mogoumog; Essouroug or Iossoro; Namo; Soune or Sone; Sagalaï; Lamo; Serahoul; Iappé; Moloug; Cahenane or Cahéni-hané; Palloul or Palleu; Péliou or Péliliou; Recapessan; Aïoupoucoul; Récamaï; Arapokel or Arapoket; Erougoulmalapay or Rougoumalépaï; Argoune, Argol or Argoub; Crélaou; Nargoumaï; Atalendran or Ataléné-hané; Neïhouan; Aran-harell or Aran Harrett; Iaou rou; Rékériou; Aléhal; Sigal; Soutaminé; Eïcane; Ahoucaho; Poul; Merier; Soun-rouné; Catougoupouï; Fahoupouï; Loume; Polap; Pelepiel; Montougouléï; Cassinlon; Lull; Luc; Lamolépi; Opané; Poual; Eal; Alamarau.

Numerals.

One	Iot; Hiot
Two	Ru
Three	Iel; Ieli; Iol; Hiel
Four	Fan; Fel; Fang
Five	Limmé; Libé; Nimmé; Lim
Six	Hob

Seven	Fiz; Fus; Fis
Eight	Ouab; Ouané; Ouhane; Hual
Nine	Ti-hou; Li-hu
Ten	Sek; Secke; Seg
Eleven	Seg-Macèou; Seg-Macéo
Twelve	Seg-maroua-au; Seg-Maru
Thirteen	Seg-méhalou; Seg-masalu
Fourteen	Seg-méfa-ou; Seg-méfohu
Fifteen	Seg-malimou; Seg-malimu
Sixteen	Seg-mahoutoau; Seg-mahulu
Seventeen	Seg-mafissou; Seg-mafisu
Eighteen	Seg-mahoualou; Seg-mahualu
Nineteen	Seg-matouoau; Seg-matihu
Twenty	Ruèk; Mentérucké
Thirty	Serik; Selik; Elig
Forty	Fa-hik
Fifty	Limèk; Néméké
Sixty	Holik; Oulik; Oulèk
Seventy	Fizik
Eighty	Onalik
Ninety	Ti-houéké
One hundred	Siapogou; Siapougou
Two hundred	Rouapougou
Three hundred	Ielepougou; Elepougou; Sélépougou
Four hundred	Fapougou
Five hundred	Limmapougou; Nimmapougou
Six hundred	Houlapougou
Seven hundred	Fizipougou
Eight hundred	Onalépougou
Nine hundred	Tonapougou
One thousand	Sanresse; Canresse; Zellé
Two thousand	Ruanressé
Three thousand	Iélinéressé; Elinréssé; Sélineressé
Four thousand	Fanressé
Five thousand	Limanresse; Némaaressé
Six thousand	Holounressé
Seven thousand	Fizinressé
Eight thousand	Oualinéressé
Nine thousand	Tiounressé
Ten thousand	Selle; Sel
One hundred thousand	Roual

Names of the different pieces of which a proa of the Marianne Islands is built, and of all the things which form part of her outfit.

First piece of the bottom made of a single piece of wood	Poulolona
Second piece	Papelona
Symmetrical projecting pieces, forming the bow and stern	Méchaliba
First plank of the topsides	Palébalissia
Second plank, which confines the two supporters of the outrigger	Eléguécha
Cross piece to support the lower end of the yard	Malua
Another cross piece in which the helm is fixed	Fadélouboubou
First bench or thwart	Tiouatib
Second bench or thwart	Milim
Third bench or thwart	Chadagnio
Large plank, sometimes of a single piece	Péraf

Plank which makes the pump-room	Apung
Pump-room	Folap
Bench or thwart	Maraguaï
Supporters of ditto	Olibon
Knee of ditto	Laganu
Cross piece for fastening the sheet	Oualimel
Out-rigger	Tincunaï; Tinemai; Tamc
Supporters of the out-rigger and float	Quia
Float, Lee-board	Cho-cho; Tam
Hook-fork of the float	Cam
Cross pieces of the hooks	Ouegeou
Cross piece or beam of the out-rigger	Métarévan
Upper part of the netting or cage	Aïmel
Opening of the cage	Jépel
Two supporters of ditto	Choua
Cross pieces of the supporters	Oualian
Helm	Fadélouboubou
Hand-scoop	Ammat
Oar	Fadjéal; Fatin
Proa or boat	Oïa
Mast	Ahu or Aug
Shroud-stay fixed to the float	Humalap
Shrouds to windward	Cheldéguel
Shrouds or rigging to leeward	Taniguéché
Sail	Ua; Na; Ona
Halyards, outhauler	Chéale; Ourur
Ropes	Amaï
Sheet	Moël
Brails	Chealliserac
Small stays when the wind is abaft	Ror-ho
Boom	Limm
Yard	Chédé
Seams by which the pieces are connected	Firaï
Oakum caulked on the seams	Pouer
The two large nettings or railings placed on each side of the proa	Couma or Aïmel
Mats of cocoa tree leaves to cover ditto	Atterac

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Head	Po-ho
Forehead	La-hé
Eye	Maka
Eye-brow	Kouamaka
Eye-lashes	Ririi
Eye-lid	Onoe, or Onoï
Nose	Iou
Nostril	Ouka iou
Mouth	Oua-ha
Lips	Léréeh or Lérich
Tooth	Niou or Niohou
Incisors	Niou riri
Grinder	Niou noui or koui
Tongue	Arérou
Neck	Paparéna
Ear	Péïahouh
Beard	Oumi-oumih
Chin	Aouhé or Aou-aï
Neck	Aï, Pouhahior, or Nihou
Breast	Oumouma or Oumaouma
Belly	Opou or Obou
Navel	Pico or picou
Breast	Oua-hiou
Shoulder	Poivi or Pouaré
Collarbone	Iviréï
Shoulderblade	Oé-oé
Backbone	Ibikoumo
Back	Kioua or Kouamo
Lumbar region	Kikara
Posteriors	Papakouré

Private parts of a female	Koé
Sexual connection	Pané-Pané or Aï
Arm	Rima-Rima
Armpit	Poë-hé
Elbow-joint, bend of the arm	Aï Rima
Fist	Akarima
Back of the hand	Kouarima
Palm of the hand	Pohorima
Thumb	Rima Nouhi
Fore-finger	Mekipoï
Middle-finger	Piréhou
Ring-finger	Piri
Little finger	Limeïki
Nail	Maïo-hou
Thigh	Ouha
Knee	Kouri
Leg	Ouha-Ouhaï
Calf of the leg	Orou-Orou
Foot	Kapouaï-oua-ouaï
Instep	Okoua-oua-ouaï
Sole of the foot	Poho-oua-ouaï
Ankle	Poupou-oua-ouaï
Heel	Kasué-kaué-ouaoua
Toe	Riké-riké
Great-toe	Oua-oua-nouï
Second-toe	Mana-mana-nouï
Third-toe	Manéa nouï
Fourth-toe	Manéa nouï
Fifth-toe	Mané éhï
Elbow	Koué-Koué
Name of the present King	Ouriou-Riou, or Riouriou
King	Erinouhi
Calebash	Aïpou
Hat	Paparé
Fish-hook	Pah
Chalk	Poumah
Fruit of a *cactus*	Papipi
Canoe	Kenou
Cerithium, shell of which bracelets are made	Toua-O, or Pipèpi
String by which it is fixed to the wrist	Roré
Ring	Créahouaré
Female apparel	Roré
What is the name of that?	Ouaïtaï nou
Sea-egg with points	Aoukéouké
Banana	Manana or Maïa
Ranina serrata (crustac)	Oura
Large Vice, (shell)	Pou. The animal Io-Pou
Cypraea	Pouléou or Réou
Bivalve ridgy shell	Ohourépi
Sphinx	Oé-aï
Gecko, species of lizard	Moho
Myrmeleon	Pinaou
Ichneumon	Tanacapa
Bulimus, univalve shell	Poupou
Bird	Manou
Sea-egg	Ouana
Snipe	Koréa
Brown crab with some white points	Ahamah
Sea-blubber	Corérévas
Balistes	Aounouï
Patella	Obibi
A new Polypus, with tubes pierced at the end	Rimou
Small black sea-egg (echinus atratus)	Adodoué
Palinurus, (crustac.)	Ouré, or Oura
Brown crab	Erépi
Large spider	Aparana
Red crab	Erékouma
Black crab	Erépi
Xakerlat	Erérou
Sparrow, with yellow head	O-Ou
Bird of the Hymantopus species, with a long greyish bill	Coréa Ouriri
Small yellowish wood-pecker	Rouhi
Gnat-catcher, spotted black and white, brown back	Erépéïo

Brown Albatross	Ha-a
Water-hen	Araï
Libellula	Pinahou
Dolium, univalve shell	Pou
Owl	Pouéhou
Brilliant sphinx	Oura-Loua
Grasshopper	Ou nihi
Cypraea	Kakiki
Small coral	Papaï
Goat	Tao
Duck	Toroa
Syngnathus	Nounou
Fistularia tabaccaria (fish)	Inaréa noucoeiri
Balistes	Maï-ii
Blackish labrus	Maré
Naso, with a white border	Kara
Small silver fish	Néhou
Elegant *labrus*, with a red stripe, bordered with violet on each side; reddish candal fin	Orouma Mahaouveta
Labrus, with white spots	Opouré
Reddish labrus	A-ourou-ourou
Large fish of Owhyhee	Oboué
Balistes niger	Aounounouhi
Yellow chetodon	Raou-ahou
Chetodon, with black vertical stripes	Mamamoh
Piece of wood to light the fire	Aourac
Piece of wood to rub with	Aourima
Thread which serves as tow	Aoupéna
Leaves of the tree, from whose root ava is made	Taouti
Rainbow	Anouénoué
Labrus, with a blackish dorsal fin	Irou
A fish, with a flat head	Oural
Chetodon, with yellow and black stripes	Titii
Paper mulberry	Ouahouké
Tobacco	Paka
Papay-tree	Papaïé
Fern palm-tree	Toaurou
Large tree, with yellow blossoms	Koahou
Double canoe	Ioa
Cross pieces, arched, which unite the double canoes	Oïa
Straight cross pieces	Eaou
Cocoa-nut tree	Néhou or Nihou
A kind of fruit which tastes like rancid or rotten nuts	Coucouï
Vases made of calebashes	Ebou
Small cord	Orona
Hair	Oo
Tail	Akié
Sugar cane	To or Tohou
Sea-weed	Mahou
Fine straw which covers the cabins	Piri
Powder-box	Aré-Taméhaméha
Girdle	Maro
Necklace made of the fruit of the Pandanus	Léhi-hala
Musical instrument made of the calebash	Ipou-o-kio-kio
Spitting box	Ipoutou-laré
Ground taro	Poé
Places where hogs, bananas, &c. are consecrated	Oïaou or Atoua
Crown of yellow feathers	Mamo
Beak	Nocou
Tongue of a bird	Oua-ha
Wing	Pékékéou
Foot or claw	Vavai

Tail	Poupoua
Belly	Opouhou
Breast	Ouma-ouma
Float	Véri-Véri
Curved pieces, which sustain the float abaft	Aouno
Transom, large knee, or piece of wood which terminates each extremity of the canoe	Atéa
Benches for the rowers	Touno
Paddle	Touno-toé; eoé
Mast	Ohou
Sail	Péa
Calebash to bail out water	Ebou
Plank where the rowers sits	Pépéïahou
Principal part of the canoe	Toa
Cord which fastens the pieces of the canoe	Aa
Bread-fruit tree	Oulou
Tomato or love-apple	Eeiah
Melon	Poa
Any present	Macana
No I won't	Ahoré
Maize	Tourina
A liquor for rubbing the hair	Paroro
Waist-cloth of a woman	Païtouïtouï
Helmet of a warrior from the Sandwich Islands	Ié
Fan	Péaï, or Léourou, or Mahourou
Piece of wood with which they beat the bark of the paper mulberry to make cloth	Eié
Wood on which it is beat	Ek-Koua
Grape	Makaou
Covered calebash	Okéou inaï
Stone hammer	Poachou or Poatu
Fire	Aï
Purslain	Agounigouni
Bow	Toaïé
Arrow	Poua
Arrow-head	Mamané
Great spear	Mamané
Pointed stick like a spindle, used at a game	Ouléi, Toaïé
Mat	Mouhéna
Bench	Noo
Trunk	Paou
Square bottle	Lapalapa
Round bottle	Omoré
White chrystal decanter	Omoré anéané
Cup	Ti-ia anéané
Year	Makaïlé
Month	Ma aïna, or Taïro
First day of the month	Co
Good: it is well: it is good	Meïtéï
Woman	Ouaïné
Good-day; I love you well	Aloa or Aro-ha
To-morrow	Abobo
Tattooing	Cacaou or Tataou

Numerals.

One	Ahaï or Ataï
Two	Aroua
Three	Acorou
Four	A-ha
Five	Arima
Six	Aono
Seven	Aïkou or Aïtou
Eight	A-ouarou
Nine	Aïva
Ten	Oumi
Eleven	Oumi Koumou Makaï
Twelve	Oumi Koumou Maroua
Thirteen	Oumi Koumou Macorou, &c.
Twenty	Kanaroua
Thirty	Kanakorona
Forty	Kanaa
Fifty	Aroua Kanaa
Sixty	Aono Kanaa
Seventy	Aïkou Kanaa
Eighty	A-Ouarou Kanaa
Ninety	Aïva Kanaa

By this little vocabulary, it will be seen, that the language of the Sandwich islanders is principally formed of compound words; but it is as well to observe that nearly all the words are terminated by a slight aspiration, which I might have represented by an *h*; and that all the inhabitants of this archipelago change at their pleasure *k* into *t*, or *t* into *k*; as well as the *r* into *l*, and the *l* into *r*; I observed that all the songs which they recited were spoken slower than their other discourse.

Appendix, No. II.

LIST OF THE OFFICERS, comprising the Staff of the URANIE, on the Day of her Departure from Toulon, the 17th of September, 1817.

NAMES.	RANK.	OBSERVATIONS.
Freycinet	Captain	
Lamarche	First Lieutenant	
Labiche	Second Lieutenant	Died at Sea, 9th of January, 1819.
Duperrey	Ensign	
Laborde	Ditto	Died at Sea, 23rd of February, 1818.
Requin	Purser	
Quoy	Surgeon	
Abbé de Quelen	Chaplain	
Arago	Draftsman	
Gabert	Secretary	
Fabré	Midshipmen	
Guerin		
Railliard		
Bérard		
Pellion		
Ferrand		
Dubaud		
Prat-Bernon	Ditto	Died at Sea, 7th of October, 1817.
Gaimard	Assistant Surgeon	
Gaudichaud	Apothecary	
Total 20		

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS AND CREW.

Designation of Classes.	Embarked at Toulon.	Embarked at the different rendezvous.	Total.	LOSSES.				On board when the Physicienne was laid up at Havre.
				Dead.	Landed.	Deserted.	Total.	
Officers (Staff)	20	0	20	3	2	0	5	15
Petty Officers	7	0	7	0	2	0	2	5
Warrant Officers	24	11	35	1	12	10	23	12
Sailors, First Class	15	25	40	3	14	16	33	7
Ditto, Second Class	13	8	21	0	5	12	17	4
Ditto, Third Class	17	11	28	2	7	9	18	10
Volunteers	6	13	19	0	3	6	9	10
Boys	2	2	4	0	0	3	3	1
Marines	6	5	11	1	4	6	11	0
Supernumeraries	8	1	9	1	3	0	4	5
Servants	7	4	11	0	3	4	7	4
Passengers	0	10	10	0	10	0	10	0
	125	90	215	11	65	66	142	73

Appendix, No. III.

I HAVE abstained from speaking of matters of Science throughout my narrative, as it belongs more properly to Captain Freycinet, (who will acquit himself of the task much better than I can do) to inform the public of the methods he took to obtain his results. But it has occurred to me that two pages of tables, in which are indicated the highest and lowest points of elevation and depression of the Barometer, Thermometer and Hygrometer, would be interesting, as they will show on what countries of the globe the sun sheds his greatest influence, and such as are subject to the most singular meteorological phenomena. A single glance at the following table will be of use, without wearying the attention.

NAMES OF PLACES *At which the Observations were taken.*	THERMOMETER IN THE AIR.							
	GREATEST ELEVATION.				GREATEST DEPRESSION.			
	DAY.		NIGHT.		DAY.		NIGHT.	
	Hours.	Degrees.	Hours.	Degrees.	Hours.	Degrees.	Hours.	Degrees.
SANTA CRUZ, (TENERIFFE.)	6	24	8	23	6	21	12	19,7
	6	21,2	8	21,8	12	19,7	6	22
	8	22	2	24,5	2	21,5	10	21
RIO JANEIRO, (BRASIL.)	8	27,5	12	30,5	8	24,2	4	24,2
	8	22,8	10	26,6	2	21,5	4	23,5
	6	23,5	10	23	4	21,0	4	23
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE	12	21,5	8	18,5	6	14,2	2	15
	12	30,5	2	19,6	6	17	12	18
	12	21,5	10	18,4	6	14,8	4	15
ISLE OF FRANCE	12	30,5	12	27,3	6	23	4	26
	12	27	8	26,9	4	26	4	25
	12	29	8	28	6	24,5	4	25,5
ISLE OF BOURBON	10	23,8	2	23,6	8	18	12	17,4
	2	19,8	4	17,2	6	17	4	17
	2	20	2	18,1	4	17	2	16,7
SHARK'S BAY	2	18	12	16,8	6	15,2	2	16
	2	22,6	8	19,5	8	17,5	12	17,5
	12	19,8	12	16,5	8	16,8	2	15
COUPANG, (ISLAND OF TIMOR.)	2	29,9	8	27,3	6	25,5	4	27,2
	2	30	8	28	8	27,5	4	27
	2	31,5	12	29,1	6	25	2	25
RAWACK, (NEW GUINEA.)	4	29	8	28	6	25	12	25
	2	30,5	8	27,5	6	26,5	2	26
	12	28,9	8	27,5	6	26	4	25
GUAM, (MARIANNE ISLANDS.)	2	28	2	26	6	26	12	25
	11	29,5	11	26,9	6	26,8	2	24,5
	1	30,5	9	27,7	6	25,8	2	25
MOWHEE.—OWHYHEE.—WOAHOO, (SANDWICH ISLANDS)	1	29,5	4	26,9	6	24,2	8	22
	7	29	9	26	6	25	11	24
	3	28	8	25,5	6	25	12	22,8
SIDNEY, (NEW SOUTH WALES.)	10	22	12	19,4	6	19,3	3	18,5
	10	23	8	21,5	6	20,5	1	20
	1	25	7	21,5	6	20,3	12	19,8
CAPE HORN	12	9,9	8	8	6	7,2	11	7,2
	1	12	10	9,5	7	7,2	2	6,0
	9	11,3	6	9	5	8,0	11	7,0
PORT LOUIS, (MALOUINE ISLANDS.)	12	13	9	11,5	7	9,2	5	9
	12	14	10	12,5	6	10	4	8,7
	2	14,8	11	11,5	9	9,1	5	7,4
AT 57° 59′, AND 57° SOUTH LATITUDE.	11	6	8	5,0	7	1,8	4	2,2
	12	7	8	6,0	6	5,7	12	5,0

GREATE

DAY.

Hours.	Degrees.
12	28,
12	28,
6	28,
2	29
12	28
6	28,
12	28,
12	28,
12	28
10	28,
4	28,
6	28,
8	774
8	770
8	771
8	762
2	762
10	765,
10	761
12	763
12	759
6	759
6	759
10	758,
10	760
2	764
4	769
10	764
12	763
10	765
8	764,
10	765
8	762
12	743
6	727,
12	725
6	753,
6	753
7	754
8	729,
8	727



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