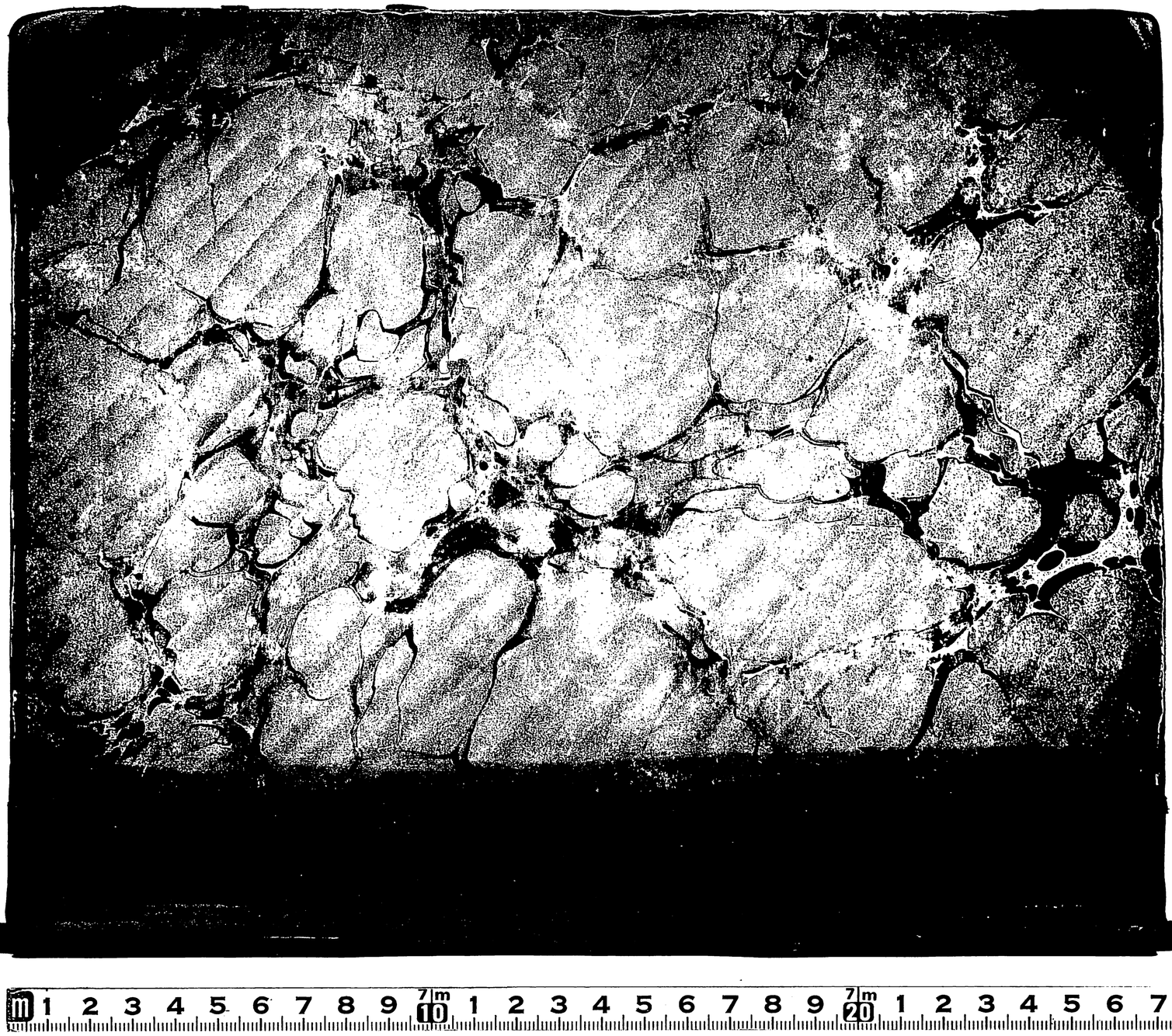

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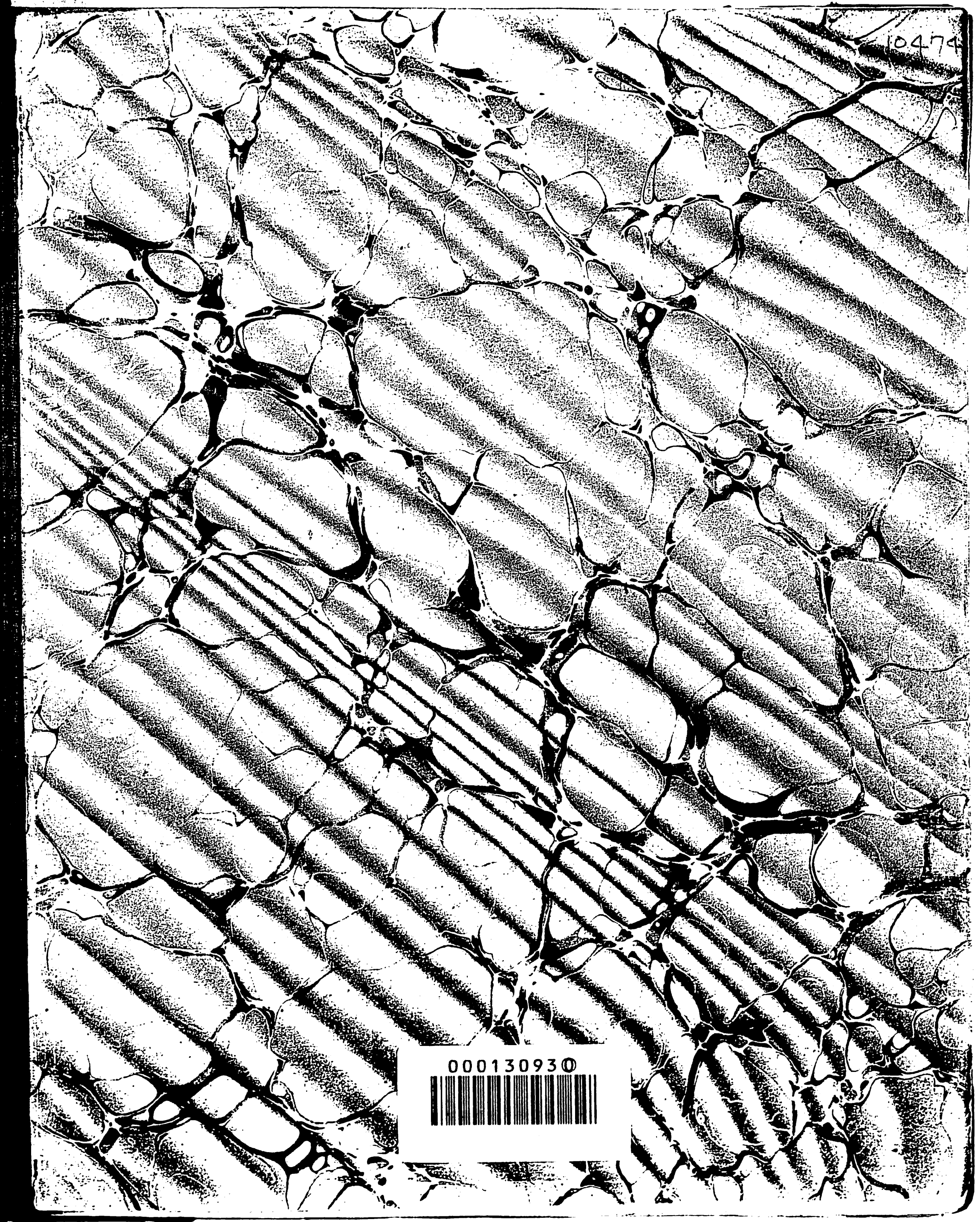

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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

IN

VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD,

DURING

THE YEARS 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, AND 1807.

BY

G. H. VON LANGSDORFF,

AULIC COUNSELLOR TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,
CONSUL-GENERAL AT THE BRAZILS, KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF ST. ANNE, AND MEMBER OF
VARIOUS ACADEMIES AND LEARNED SOCIETIES.

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DEDICATION.

TO

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY ALEXANDER THE FIRST.

MOST GRACIOUS EMPEROR,

THE first Voyage of the Russians round the World is one of the most remarkable events in the annals of your Imperial Majesty's glorious reign, and every contribution towards a more enlarged knowledge of this great undertaking may reasonably expect to excite the interest of all civilized nations.

The observations which I had the opportunity of collecting, as the fortunate companion of the first Russian circumnavigator, have the most complete claim to attention conferred upon them by the per-

mission given me to place at the head of them the very illustrious name of your Imperial Majesty, and to publish, in conjunction with my feeble efforts, this new instance of your gracious condescension.

May it please your Imperial Majesty to accept this offering as a trifling token of unbounded gratitude and veneration, and of the sincerity with which I shall remain till death,

Most gracious Emperor,

Your Imperial Majesty's

Truly devoted

And obedient servant and subject,

G. H. VON LANGSDORFF.

INTRODUCTION.

It may perhaps by many people be considered as presumptuous in me to lay before the public my observations during our very interesting voyage round the world, when they are already in possession of an account of this expedition from the hands of its illustrious chief himself. I have only to answer, that my principal excuse for the present undertaking is, that my attention as a physician and naturalist was necessarily directed to different objects from those by which he was principally occupied. Besides, as I quitted the expedition at Kamschatka in the year 1805, and consequently in the farther progress of my travels took a very different course from that pursued by Captain Krusenstern, as I visited the Aleutian Isles and the north-west coast of America, and at length returned over land through Siberia to the Russian capital, all this part of my work will be wholly distinct from any thing which appears in his.

Every observer has his own particular point of view, in which he contemplates and judges new objects; his own sphere, within which he endeavours to bring whatever excites his curiosity; many things may therefore be noticed in my work which were

passed over by Captain Krusenstern, and of others descriptions may perhaps be given different from what are to be found in his universally esteemed and excellent work.

It could never be my intention to compile a nautical account of our expedition, to concern myself with the plan of the voyage and the political and commercial views connected with it, or to enter into details concerning the appointment of the officers and fitting out the ships. All these things are so amply treated by our chief, that any thing said by me must be wholly superfluous. My endeavours have, therefore, been directed to describing the objects which more particularly interested me, such as the manners and customs of the different nations we visited, their modes of living, and the productions of the countries, combining with them a historical sketch of our route. I have wished, in short, to compile a popular narrative, such as I may reasonably hope will be in many respects new, and in all acceptable to the learned world. How far these objects may be obtained remains for the public voice to determine.

A strict adherence to truth ought not to be merely a matter of preference; it ought to be considered as a sacred duty by every traveller who undertakes to give the history of his adventures to the world. Nor has he any occasion to have recourse to poetical flourishes, or the detail of marvels, embellished by a lively imagination, to render his work interesting; he is daily presented with so many things really remarkable, and highly worthy of attention, that his only difficulty is to restrain himself so far in relating mere facts, that his work may not exceed all reasonable bounds.

As I do not think that scientific descriptions of plants, animals, and other objects of Natural History, belong to a book which has a view to general purposes, and is intended for readers of all descriptions, I have separated them from the body of the work, and intend publishing them, subsequently, distinct from the rest. I have, however, made a sort of beginning with the botanical part, since the knowledge of plants is in these days the branch of Natural History which interests the most universally. Essays towards the knowledge of insects, fish, birds, &c. shall follow by degrees, as time and means will permit.

To make travelling useful, a particular strength and turn of mind is requisite, which can only be acquired by beginning to travel early in life. It was my good fortune to have prepared myself by several minor journies for the great one which I at length undertook. After I had obtained the degree of Doctor in Medicine and Surgery, at Gottingen, in 1797, I accompanied Prince Christian of Waldeck to Lisbon, who went thither as General of the Portuguese army.

Even in my early years I had been much fascinated with the study of Natural History: Blumenbach's Lessons decided my attachment to this science, and Portugal opened a wide field to satisfy my desire of knowledge. My occupation of Surgeon did not interfere with my inclination to this favourite branch of study; and I received from the Prince, who was himself a man of learning, and a friend to science and knowledge, all possible support and encouragement. In the spring of 1798, I accompanied him on a military tour through several provinces

of Portugal; but alas! he did not long survive it: he died the following year of a dropsy in the chest, which had come on after the loss of his arm!

By the advice of the then Portuguese minister, Louis Pinto de Souza Coutinho, I determined rather to commence practice as a physician in the fine climate, and among the social circle of amiable and polished men, whom I found in Lisbon, than to return back to my own country. I soon acquired so extensive an acquaintance in many German, English, and Portuguese houses, and was honoured by them with so much confidence in my professional capacity, that I had very little time left to devote to my favourite studies, and examine the many new and unknown productions of nature with which I was presented. This induced me to accept the offer of being appointed Surgeon-Major to the English auxiliary troops then resident in Portugal, that is to say, the regiment of Castries; because, having a sufficient salary, I could devote my leisure hours entirely to my favourite pursuit. I accompanied this body in the campaign of 1801 against the Spaniards; but as we were dismissed in the following year, at the conclusion of the peace of Amiens, and sent over to England, I availed myself of this opportunity to visit London and Paris, on my return into Germany in 1803.

In the meantime I had sent my collection of Natural History, which was tolerably ample, from Lisbon by Hamburgh to Gottingen, having the intention, when settled at the latter place, to prepare an account of my travels in Portugal for the press.

The friendship shewn me by the first naturalists of France, Messrs. Hauy, Olivier, Bosc d'Antique, Latreille, Geoffroy, Brognart, and Dumeril, and the honours conferred upon me nearly about the same time by the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh, in naming me their correspondent—all these things gave me so much encouragement, that an ardent wish was excited in my bosom, on my return to Gottingen, to undertake some great journey, entirely with a view to extending my knowledge of Natural History. A more favourable opportunity for this purpose than accompanying the first Russian circumnavigator could never have been presented to me.

As Correspondent of the Academy, I thought myself to a considerable degree justified in requesting their support for the advancement of my project, and I therefore by letter made known my wishes to that body. But although the Counsellor of State and Knight Von Krafft; and the Collegial Counsellor and Knight Von Adelung, both did all in their power to support my application, I received a letter at Gottingen, on the eighteenth of August, 1803, regretting that my wishes had not been sooner known, as the time would not now permit their being complied with. The two ships, the Nadeschda and Neva, I was informed, were to sail with the first fair wind, and were not to stop for above a week at Copenhagen. Dr. Tilesius was, besides, already appointed Naturalist to the Expedition, which he was expected to join at Elsinore, and I should probably not like to undertake a journey thither upon an uncertainty, and at my own expence: nothing satisfactory, therefore, could be promised me with regard to my request.

I was not, however, the less eager in my wishes, and was determined not to abandon my project till convinced of the impossibility of its being executed. My resolution was immediately taken, and without loss of time I set out the very same day. On the twenty-first of August, in the morning, I arrived at Lubeck, and found at Travemunde a ship ready to sail for Copenhagen, in which I embarked. We weighed anchor in the night between the twenty-second and twenty-third, and having a favourable wind, reached the Danish capital early in the morning of the twenty-fourth.

I went immediately to the Hotel of the Sieur Rau, where, to my infinite satisfaction and delight, I found most of the officers belonging to the Russian expedition had taken up their quarters. This circumstance inspired me with new courage, as it seemed a happy omen; and the result did not deceive my expectations. I entreated so earnestly of the Chamberlain Von Resanoff, who was going with the expedition in quality of Ambassador to Japan, to be received as a sharer in the voyage, that at length, as my petition was supported by the excellent Captain Von Krusenstern, the proper chief of the expedition, I had the happiness of finding it granted.

To this amiable man, and scientific navigator, whose well-known services are far above my praise, I must therefore be permitted here publicly to make my grateful acknowledgments, confessing that I am principally indebted to his friendship and support for all the gratification I received in the travels I am about to record.

Not less thanks are due to my friend and travelling companion, Counsellor Tilesius, who unites to the most extensive scientific knowledge exquisite taste in the fine arts, for the many sketches with which he has already favoured me, and for the many more promised by him to enrich and embellish the Second Part of my Travels. To him, and not to the draughtsman of the expedition, we are indebted for the historical plates in the Atlas to Captain Krusenstern's work. He has, besides, in his possession a large collection of sketches of objects of Natural History, which he purposes by degrees to complete, and present to the public.

In what concerns the geography of Japan, and the language of the inhabitants of Tschoka, I have availed myself very much of the valuable observations of Counsellor Julius Von Klaproth. This learned friend and colleague was so obliging as to furnish me with several interesting notices which he had collected from Japanese maps and geographical works. To the goodness of that ingenious artist, the Sieur Alexander Orloffsky, I am indebted for the portrait of the Frenchman Jean Baptiste Cabri, and some other engravings. To all and each of these excellent men I beg thus publicly to return my grateful thanks for their kindness and friendly assistance.

G. H. VON LANGSDORFF.

St. Petersburgh,
June, 1811.

ERRATA.

Page 86, line 21, for $18^{l}\ 45^{ll}$ read $18^{o}\ 45^{l}$.
100, —— 5, dele the period.
116, —— 14, for *Alautian* read *Aleutian*.
117, —— 4, dele *so much*.
150, —— 2, from the bottom, for *occasions* read *occasion*.
192. —— 3, dele the semicolon.
291, —— 3, from the bottom, after *salt* add a comma.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

Plate I.

The Frontispiece.---Portrait of the Author.

Plate II.—Page 35.

A Brazilian Air.

Plate III.—Page 63.

Interior of a House in Brazil.

Two females are employed in separating the seeds from the cotton with a very imperfect machine: one of them is sitting on a low stool after the manner of the country. Behind her is a water jar, and two Cuja with tubes for sucking up liquids. Near the door is a kind of net, which I found extremely useful in catching butterflies; and close by is a bow, from which not arrows, but balls, are discharged. Near the window against the wall hangs a fan.

Plate IV.—Page 88.

View of the Island of Nukahiwa.

In the fore-ground is a canoe of these islanders. The dark naked rocks, with the fine waterfalls, give this landscape a character peculiar to itself. The plate is engraved from a drawing made by Mr. Orloffsky, after a sketch by Counsellor Tilesius.

Plate V.—Page 97.

Portrait of Jean Baptiste Cabri, a Frenchman, found on the Island of Nukahiwa, and there become half savage. He is represented as a Slinger.

At our departure from Nukahiwa, Cabri was by accident obliged to leave the island. He was afterwards left by us at Kamschatka, whence he travelled over land to St. Peters-

burg. The extraordinary fate of this man, and the novel appearance of his tattooed body, attracted the attention of every one. Both at Moscow and at St. Petersburg he exhibited upon the stage the dances of the savages, and was considered by all the great people of the country as a real curiosity. Although he has by degrees become reconciled to European customs, he still thinks with delight of the men whom he formerly killed and exchanged for swine, or perhaps eat. His dexterity in swimming, in which he is scarcely excelled by the natives of Nukahiwa themselves, has procured him the appointment of teacher of swimming to the corps of marine cadets at Cronstadt, where he now lives. He has almost forgotten the language of Nukahiwa, and made an incredibly rapid progress in the recovery of his native tongue. The story of his marriage with a princess of Nukahiwa, and the detail of his exploits on that island, are now so intermixed with the new ideas he has acquired in Europe, that any one who heard him relate them would be disposed to think himself listening to a second Munchausen.

This plate is from a drawing made and presented to me by that excellent artist and amiable man Mr. Orloffsky.

Plate VI.—Page 117.

An Inhabitant of the Island of Nukahiwa.

This and the following plate are intended principally to illustrate the observations in the text upon the subject of tattooing. They are both engraved from designs made upon the spot, that the most accurate idea possible might be given of so singular an art. The portrait here delineated is of a man about thirty years of age, a period at which the figures formed by the punctures appear the most distinctly. In later years, one figure is made over another, till the whole becomes confused, and the body assumes a Negro-like appearance, as may be observed in the stripe across the belly. This man holds a fan in one hand, and in the other a sort of club, the upper extremity of which is ornamented with the hair of a slaughtered enemy.

Plate VII.—Page 119.

Back View of a younger Inhabitant of Nukahiwa, not yet completely tattooed.

In one hand he carries, as a proof of his bravery, the skull of an enemy he has killed, and in the other a javelin or lance. In some places the principal figures are only sketched out, in others they are completed. At the back of the head may be perceived, as in all these islanders, two glands, which, as far as I know, have never been observed by any

European, or by any anatomist. The head here, as in the preceding figure, is shaved, with the exception of a small spot above each ear, where the long hair is tied up in such a manner as nearly to resemble horns.

Plate VIII.—Page 122.

Representation of several of the Principal Figures used in tattooing, some of them of their natural Size.

Every figure has its distinctive name, and most of them are appropriated to a particular part of the body.

Figures 1 and 2 are called *Kake*, and belong to the inside of the arm and the ribs. The principal figure always remains the same; the accessary ones are, however, often changed.

Figures 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, are called *Enata*, that is to say, *men*. These figures are, perhaps, principally made when an enemy has been killed or eaten. Figures 5 and 13, by the assistance of a little imagination, may be made into men with their arms stretched out: at the lower end some side lines only are required, with a little squaring at the sides, to conceive a man standing upon his legs.

Figures 6, 7, are called *Niho-piata*, or shark's teeth. *Niho* is a tooth: the shark is properly *Mono*, and they should therefore, it seems, rather be called *Niho-mono;* but perhaps *Piata* is a particular species of shark, the teeth of which are the best for the instruments made by the islanders as substitutes for knives and saws. These simple figures, as well as the following, No. 8, are put sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, merely to fill up a space, and are varied in many different ways.

Figure 8. *Tewehine-nau.* This is a sign of wishing to be beloved. I would gladly know whether it ever happened that a young Nukahiwan had himself tattooed all over in this way from inclination for a young woman: sentimental love is surely unknown to these people.

Figure 9. *Matta-Comoë.—Matta*, the eye. As this figure seems to represent a man's head, and is often combined with the *Enata*, I presume that both may be a favourite distinction of a hero. They are punctured principally upon the breast, thighs, and back, as may be seen in Plates 5 and 6.

Figures 10, 11. *Kake-opogo.* Marks which go directly over the eye, or upon the arms, thighs, and breast. They are commonly made upon occasion of a great banquet or slaughter of swine.

Figure 15. *Tumu-ima.* This figure belongs to the back of the hand, with trifling variations: the beauty of it depends very much upon the taste and dexterity of the artist.

Figure 16. *Ehonu*, a tortoise. This is introduced as an ornament between the principal figures. For the same purpose lizards and other animals are sometimes tattooed; which, however, furnish no proof of these people having made a great progress in the art of drawing.

Figure 17. I could not learn any name for this figure: it is only to be seen in the inside of the arm, and upon the thighs.

Figure 18. The hand of Queen Katanuah.

Figures 19, 20, 21. Ornaments, concerning the names or meaning of which I could never obtain any satisfactory explanation.

The names of several other figures, which may be observed in plates 5 and 6, and which I have thought it superfluous here to particularize, are, *Wibu*, a ring or bracelet. *Matta-toï-toï*, a mark over the eye, as may be seen in the portrait of Cabri: this he received at a feast of swine's flesh. *Umahoka*, a breast shield. *Tuaheu* and *Kehu*, broad stripes over the breast, shoulders, arms, and belly: this is a very common sign of one of the banqueting societies. *Matta-moë*, a broad stripe from the nose over the eye to the ear.

Plate IX.—Page 126.

View of an inhabited Valley at Nukahiwa.

In the fore-ground to the left is a tabooed cocoa-nut tree staked round, to the stem of which cocoa-nuts are fastened from top to bottom; they are disposed of in this way as a provision for a popular festival. On the next tree is an islander, climbing like an ape, with his feet pressed against the stem; he is going to gather the nuts. The representation of the houses constructed upon platforms is intended to illustrate what is said upon the subject in the page to which the plate refers. Near the left-hand house is a covered pit, which serves as a store-house for *popoï*, or fermented bread-fruit.

Plate X.—Page 127.

Inside of a Hut at Nukahiwa.

A tattooer is seen seated, and exercising his art. A tabooed person is entering the door, bringing a swine's head as a present to the artist.

Plate XI.—Page 166.

Song of the Natives of Nukahiwa.

Plate XII.—Page 233.

A Landscape seen from the Harbour of Nangasaki.

We lay at anchor at a little distance from this charming creek, with a beautiful village upon its shore. Sheltered on all sides, it served as an asylum to a great many boats and little vessels in high winds, and often afforded us the view of many pleasing objects. In the fore-ground is one of the barges of our guard of honour belonging to the Prince of Fisi. The nearest hill behind this barge is called Lembon.

Plate XIII.— Page 247.

A Japanese Fortress.

The fortress here represented was not far from a temple on the left point of land near the entrance of the inner harbour at Nangasaki. In the fore-ground is a pleasure boat with ladies, come out of curiosity to see the Russian ship.

Plate XIV.—Page 305.

Landing of the Ambassador at Nangasaki on the Day of Audience, and Procession to the Governor's House.

In the fore-ground is the barge of the Prince of Fisi, surrounded by several vessels of honour. Behind it are the stairs of Ochatto. Over the houses in the open place adjoining to them are the hangings of the Prince of Fisi. Directly opposite to the stairs is the civil guard, before which are various insignia of honour: on both sides are a number of large lanterns. To the left, at a distance in the perspective, are stairs which lead to the upper town, hung with the Imperial hangings, because the house to the right and the stairs are Crown buildings.

The order of the procession was as follows. First came forty persons of different ranks, among whom were several Banjos, each with an attendant. Next came six of the Imperial soldiers, carrying long staves in their hands instead of muskets. These were followed by the *Norimon* or chair, in which the ambassador was carried by four persons. Immediately behind him marched a Russian soldier, carrying the Imperial Russian standard; then the five cavaliers of the embassy on foot, accompanied by a great number of civil magistrates and interpreters. After them came a guard of sixteen or twenty soldiers, carrying staves instead of muskets, with an officer on horseback: a multitude of inferior officers, interpreters, &c. closed the procession. A shower of rain had fallen just before, and for this reason many persons are carrying umbrellas.

Plate XV.—Page 282.

The Habitation of the Ambassador at Megasaki.

To the left, in the fore-ground, is a part of the warehouses for the presents. A water-carrier just appears from behind them: he is coming into the court through the door on the land side. To his left are the apartments of some of the officers, and next to them the kitchen. In the centre are the ambassador's apartments, with the Russian guard of honour in attendance at the principal entrance; and to the right is the door of the court towards the water: near that begins the high inclosure of bamboo-canes. In the court are a party of Japanese officers with their attendants. To the right are three people in conversation: in the middle is a person saluting some Japanese gentlemen, bowing his body, and placing the palms of his hands on his knees, according to the custom of the country. On the left-hand side stand some *Great Men;* behind one is a soldier carrying an ensign of honour. A common servant is sitting humbly behind his master, holding in his hand a pair of his master's straw shoes.

The greatest part of this plate is sketched by Major Von Friderici, to whom I am greatly indebted for permission to have an engraving from it.

Plate XVI.—Page 316.

Japanese in various Costumes.

The man before the house door to the right is occupied in separating rice from the husks, for which purpose he makes use of a large wooden block, hollow within, which is almost filled with rice. In the centre of the hollow are a number of rings of equal sizes, fastened the one to the other, to the same heighth with the rice. The man strikes with a large heavy wooden hammer in the space made by the rings, and at every stroke several of the grains of rice fall into the space. The second figure is a woman with her child, in the manner that children are carried by the poorer classes: she has in her hair several long large pins as ornaments. The next is a Japanese lady with her fan; her head-dress is not unlike an ancient French one; her hair is stiffened with pomatum, and she has several gold and silver pins besides flowers stuck into it. Behind her is a servant, who carries the child of a rich person upon his shoulder. Children generally have their heads shaved, and commonly wear a long red garment, or one ornamented with a great many flowers. The red is considered as very wholesome for children. Next follows a poor labourer, who, instead of an umbrella, has a large straw hat to shelter him from the rain, with a sort of straw mantle, which is an effectual defence against the weather. He has, like all the Japanese, his pouch for tobacco, and tobacco-pipe hanging at his girdle. Lastly, is a mechanic, or citizen, in his winter dress. He has a cloth over his head to preserve it from the cold: his pocket-book hangs over the girdle to his under garment, as is the fashion of the country: his fan, tobacco pouch and pipe, and ink-horn, are tucked into his girdle.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Copenhagen to England.—Stay at Falmouth.—Voyage to Teneriffe.—Description of that Island and of the Peak.—Voyage to Brazil. . . . . . Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Stay at Santa Catharina.—The Town of Nossa Senhora do Desterro.—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants.—Dance of the Negro Slaves.—Excursion to the Main Land.—Arts, Knowledge, and Public Institutions.—Manufactory of Train Oil.—Natural History.—Medical Observations. 31

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Brazil.—Voyage round Cape Horn.—Easter Island.—Arrival at Nukahiwa, one of the Washington Islands.—Impressions made at the first Sight of the Island.—Visit from the Natives 77

CHAPTER IV.

Account of the Englishman Roberts, and the Frenchman Cabri.—Cursory View of the Group called Washington's Islands.—Description of the Island of Nukahiwa.—Its Situation, Climate, Productions, and Population.—Particulars relative to the Inhabitants 96

CHAPTER V.

Tattooing.—The Manner in which it is performed.—The Houses tabooed during the Time.—Clothing of the Islanders.—Their Food.—The Bread Fruit.—Their Dwellings 116

CHAPTER VI.

On the social Institutions among the People of Washington's Islands.—The Chiefs, or Kings.—The Religion and Laws.—Recapitulation of Objects tabooed, and of the Occasions on which they become so 130

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the Manners and Customs of the People of Nukahiwa.—Their Anthropophagism.—Their Wars.—Marriages.—Births.—Funeral Ceremonies.—Magic.—Circumcision.—Dancing Festivals.—Music.—Running on Stilts.—Swimming.—Ornaments.—Household Utensils.—Playthings.—Canoes.—Miscellaneous Observations 139

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Nukahiwa.—Arrival at Owhyhee.—Remarks upon that Island.—Reunion with the Neva.—Voyage to Kamschatka.—Arrival and Stay there 178

CHAPTER IX.

Voyage to Japan.—Introduction to the Embassy thither.—Departure from Kamschatka.—Occurrences during the Voyage.—Festival of the Coronation.—Frightful Hurricane.—Arrival at Japan 203

CHAPTER X.

Stay at Japan.—Occurrences in the Road before the Harbour of Nangasaki.—Anchoring-Place before the Papen Mountain.—Change of the Anchoring-Place.—Occurrences there from the Eighth to the Seventeenth of October 223

CHAPTER XI.

Road behind the Papen Mountain.—Occurrences there from the Seventeenth of October to the Ninth of November.—Anchoring-Place before the Imperial Guard House, and Negociations there.—Departure from the Anchoring-Place, and Entrance into Megasaki 248

CHAPTER XII.

Stay at Megasaki.—Description of the Habitation there.—Permission given for the Ship to be carried into the Harbour.—One of the Japanese attempts to cut his Throat.—A Balloon sent up, and the Alarm occasioned by it.—Illness of the Ambassador 282

CHAPTER XIII.

Recapitulation of what had passed at Nangasaki.—The Arrival of the GREAT MAN *from Jedo announced to the Ambassador.—Discussions concerning the Manner in which the Ambassador was to be received.—His first Audience of Ceremony.—His second Audience for Business.—His third Audience to take Leave* 299

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Japan.—Voyage from thence to Kamschatka.—Cape and Straits of Sangaar.—Description of the West and North-West Coasts of Matmai, or Jesso.—Stay in Aniwa Bay.—Description of the same, with the South-East Coast of Sachalin, or Tschoka.—Departure from Tschoka, and Arrival in the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul . . . 317

Vocabulary of the Language of Nukahiwa 349

Specimens of the Languages spoken among different Tribes of the Ainu; those who inhabit the southern Part of Kamschatka, the Kurile Islands, the northern Coast of Jesso, the southern Part of Tschoka, and the north-east Point of Tschoka 359

PART I.

VOYAGE FROM COPENHAGEN

TO

BRAZIL, THE SOUTH SEA, KAMSCHATKA,

AND

JAPAN,

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Copenhagen to England.—Stay at Falmouth.—Voyage to Teneriffe.—Description of that Island, and of the Peak.—Voyage to Brazil.

ALTHOUGH our anchor was weighed at Copenhagen on the eighth of September, 1803, we were still obliged, on account of contrary winds, to delay our departure for some days, and could not leave Elsinore till the fifteenth. In the night between the eighteenth and nineteenth a violent storm arose, which occasioned great sickness among those of our passengers who were unused to the sea; of this number were the cavaliers belonging to the ambassador's train. The ship rolled terribly, and it was impossible to think of having any thing cooked in the kitchen. The roaring of the wind, the raging of the sea, the hurrying to and fro among the sailors, the elbowing, the jostling, the crying out, altogether furnished a scene entirely new to most of our company. In the evening of the nineteenth, the attention of every body was

particularly attracted by an uncommonly fine *aurora-borealis*. From the horizon in the north-north-west streams of light rose like pillars of fire, wearing sometimes a deeper, sometimes a paler appearance: ascending quite to the zenith like demi-arches, they gradually grew paler and paler, till they were at length entirely lost in the atmosphere.

The weather continued very variable, sometimes stormy, sometimes calm, sometimes fair, sometimes rainy, till early in the morning of the twenty-eighth, when we arrived off Falmouth. Here our commander, Captain Von Krusenstern, determined to stop, in order to take in an additional stock of provisions, and to furnish himself with some instruments and other things of which he stood in need. This port, which stands upon the south-western promontory of England, has an exceedingly good harbour: it is defended on one side by a castle, and on the other by a small fort. With regard to the situation and anchorage, it is considered as one of the best ports in England. The town is small and insignificant. All the packets for Portugal, and for the East and West Indies, sail from hence. This constant intercourse of packets sailing and returning, in conjunction with the fisheries, form the principal support of the place. Though the town lies at the distance of nearly three hundred miles from the capital, it contains excellent shops of every kind.

Falmouth is in the county of Cornwall; a district which, on account of its dry, desert, and unfruitful aspect, makes a very different appearance from all other parts of England. But the county has, notwithstanding, its hidden treasures, in the abun-

dance of mines buried beneath the surface, furnishing excellent tin and copper, some silver, and mineral coal. The mineralogist may indeed find here some invaluable rarities: copper-earth strongly impregnated with arsenic, *stannum ligneum*, and pyrites of tin. The mines that yield the best next to those of Falmouth are the copper mines of Redruth. A few miles from Falmouth is a small village called Manacha, which has its name from mechanite or titanian-sand. To get the mineral pure, great pains must be taken to wash it well from the sand*. The shafts and course of the mines about Penzance and other places in Cornwall are among the most remarkable upon the globe, some of them lying at a great depth, and being worked underneath the sea itself.

The sea-coast abounds with crabs, oysters, and various kinds of fish. The fish-market is always plentifully supplied: among others that I saw during my stay, were the *raia batis*, or skate; *raia rubus gmel*, the ray; *esox belone*, the sea pike; *mullus barbatus*, the red mullet; *muræna conger*, the conger eel; and several sorts of *labrus*, *perca*, and *pleuronectes*. *Squali*, or dog-fish, were also taken, but were never brought to market; they were kept to serve for baits in angling. The *trigla lineata*, which abounds here, and the *clupea pilchardus*, a small sort of herring very little known, particularly attracted my attention. These latter fish are taken in immense quantities: they are served at the tables both of the rich and poor, and vast quantities are cured, which are sent to Gibraltar and the Mediterranean.

* Counsellor Klaproth, of Berlin, through the favour of Sir John Hawkins, possesses a complete collection of the minerals of Cornwall, which he has examined chemically, and ascertained the composition of them.

After having procured an abundant supply of provisions, and having taken on board every thing we esteemed necessary for so important and distant a voyage, we saluted the fort and guardship, and on the fifth of October quitted the shores of Europe, with fair weather and a favourable wind. The speculations of every one were now turned towards the probable fate which was before him. Separated from the rest of the world, the sport of the winds and waves, with no other objects in view but the sea and the sky, and at every hour removed farther from parents, brethren, relations, friends, from every thing, in short, most dear to us, it was scarcely possible not to find some feelings of regret now and then intruding themselves upon our minds.

Captain Von Krusenstern preferred steering his course, in the first instance, towards Teneriffe rather than Madeira, because the landing at the latter is much more expensive than at the former, and all kinds of provisions are much dearer. Our course was therefore directed towards the Canary Islands. The English coast was soon out of sight, and the great Atlantic Ocean lay extended before us. Many people have the idea that a very long sea voyage cannot be otherwise than extremely *ennuyeux*. Since nothing is to be seen day after day but the sea and the sky, they conceive that the mind of every one must be wearied with such an eternal uniformity. But this is seldom or never the case; it is only so with those who are equally a prey to *ennui* upon *terra firma*; who are in fact always *ennuyé*, unless they are at a ball, a concert, the theatre, or cards. But in an expedition such as our's, among a numerous society of learned and scientific men, eager in the search of knowledge, it was im-

possible to experience *ennui*: it might even be asserted with truth, that there was scarcely an individual among us who could not have found abundant occupation, even if our days had been twice their actual length. I will endeavour to give a general idea of the manner in which our time was passed.

Those who were the latest in rising, were yet ready for their tea or coffee by eight in the morning. The common topics of conversation at breakfast were the occurrences of the night; whether the wind and the weather had been favourable or unfavourable; and how far the ship had proceeded in her course. After breakfast each repaired to his own private business. In a numerous and well-assorted library, particularly of travels and works of geography, which Captain Krusenstern with great politeness left free to all the company, it was not difficult to find entertainment for many hours in the day; so that the morning was passed in reading, writing, drawing, taking the height of the sun, and calculating the distance of the moon.

The Canary Islands, which we hoped to reach in a few days, naturally occupied our minds very much. All descriptions of them from the pens of former travellers by whom they had been visited were in consequence eagerly sought after. Every one had studied assiduously their history, the different accounts given of the discovery of them, the descriptions of their situation, of their products, and of the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

Comparisons were made between the accounts of different travellers; the former and present mode of their government

were studied, with the chances of war that had befallen them, particularly the unsuccessful attack made upon the principal island by the English, when the brave Nelson lost his right arm. All these things furnished abundant matter for pleasant and instructive conversation, for scientific emulation, and even gave occasion for sallies of wit and mirth. If we happened to get somewhat heated in conversation, we repaired to the deck to walk up and down, and cool ourselves by breathing the fresh air.

Shoals of dolphins, *delphinus delphis*, of pelamides, *scomber pelamis*, of flying-fish, *exocœtus volans*; the *fuci* floating upon the surface of the water; the sharks following the ship; numerous sorts of aquatic birds unknown to us before; the whales; a poor land-bird driven from the shore through the force of the winds, and which sought an asylum in the vessel; an unknown ship seen in the horizon; the expectation of approaching the land---all these, and a thousand other objects, occupied our attention, enlivening and varying the scene so much, that I am almost inclined to think a sea voyage not at all less amusing than a journey by land, with the reserve, that no stops are made at the towns and villages through which the road lies. And why should a life such as our's be more wearying than that led by a man devoted to letters?---why more *ennuyeux* than that of a mechanic? About two our table was spread with abundance of very excellent provisions, to which commonly twenty-two persons sat down. After dinner we went to our respective employments till tea; then we busied ourselves with our journals, and the evening was concluded with cheerful conversation over a bowl of punch. Several of our party were fond of music, and

a part of the evening, when the weather was calm, was not unfrequently spent in making little concerts.

The weather was so favourable, that we every day drew nearer to a better climate; and at length, on the nineteenth of October, the snowy summit of the far-famed Peak of Teneriffe first presented itself to our view; the twentieth we cast anchor before Santa Cruz, in the eastern part of the road, with thirty-six fathom water, in latitude 28° 27′ 33″ north, and in 16° 15′ 50″ longitude west from Greenwich.

Santa Cruz, on the north-east side of the island of Teneriffe, presents a tolerably good bay; which, however, is not well sheltered towards the east and north-east. The town, consisting of some hundred houses, lies at a short distance from the bay. The houses are in general from one to two stories high; a few have balconies; most of them have *jalousies* * to the windows, as in Spain and Portugal. The streets are regular, clean, and well paved with lava; they have *trottoirs* on each side. It is no less pleasing than surprising to see so regularly built and pretty a town under so remote a heaven. The internal arrangement of the houses, the dress, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, are so very similar to the Spanish, that any one might easily believe himself in the mother-country. The streets are at all times filled with a vast concourse of people, more women than men, and in the evening particularly with a wretched shameless crew of females, and a rabble of men

* Shutters made with sloping laths, in the manner of Venetian blinds.

that have much more the appearance of banditti than of inhabitants of a civilized country. Besides these, there are a parcel of beggars with tattered garments, half naked, who importune and annoy strangers exceedingly.

This place owes its present flourishing condition to being so much frequented by vessels in their course to different parts of the globe. Very near the shore there is good anchorage at fifteen, twenty, and thirty fathom water. Ships may even be well supplied with provisions, if they come about a month sooner than we were here. Grapes, peaches, pears, oranges, lemons, apples, bananas, chesnuts, figs, melons, potatoes, onions, and a great variety of culinary vegetables, are produced in abundance all over the island, the superfluities of which are brought to Santa Cruz for sale to strangers touching at the port. Corn is cultivated in some degree at Teneriffe, but much more in the neighbouring islands. Salt is very scarce; I was even assured that this article is brought hither from Portugal. The wine, one of the principal objects of trade in the Canary Islands, is very good, and not more than half the price of that made at Madeira, for which reason a great deal of Teneriffe wine is sold in England, France, and Holland, as Madeira. A considerable dealer in wine told me, that the superiority of the latter was principally owing to the addition of a small quantity of French brandy, an article not easily to be procured at Teneriffe: this, he said, constituted the most essential difference between the wines.

There are no regular inns here, but for that very reason the greater hospitality reigns in private houses: of this we

received the most obliging proofs in particular from Mr. Armstrong, an English merchant. The lower class of the people seem extremely poor; many of them never have even baked bread; they only grind the corn to meal by rubbing it between two stones, and then mix it up in their hands with water or milk, and so eat it: sometimes their food is merely roasted corn. The fish-market was abundantly supplied; but during my short stay I did not observe any great variety among the fish. Mackerel and pelamides were daily brought to market in great quantities; dog-fish were eaten by the poor. I observed two sorts of rays; the tails of both were cut off, probably because here, as well as in Europe, the popular belief is, that the thorns in the tail are poisonous. One species seemed to be the *raia aquila*; upon the other I will not speak with equal decision: it had a very pointed head. Besides these, I saw the *esox belone*, the *muræna helena*, some sorts of *sparus*, *labrus*, and *chætodon*, and one salmon. The fish are commonly caught by angling: instead of string, catgut is used, which is brought hither from Cadiz. To catch mackerel, six or eight persons go out in the evening in a small boat, on which, as soon as it is dark, a large fire of pitch is made on both sides. The hook does not go deep into the water, and a fish is caught almost at every moment. The fishermen often remain out the whole night, and it is extremely pretty to see such a number of fires upon the water.

Santa Cruz contains two convents of monks. There are several squares, and a public promenade; but, excepting on Sundays, it is very little frequented. In the market-place is a monument of white marble, which was made in Italy, and erected here at the expence of a gentleman of the country,

to do honour to the Virgin *Maria di Candellaria*. The pious erector spent so large a portion of his fortune in this act of devotion, that he is now reduced to very narrow circumstances, and obliged to live with great œconomy. The town and the island are protected by fortifications, which are garrisoned by a regiment of soldiers. The island consists chiefly of almost inaccessible mountains and rocks. Evident marks of former volcanoes are to be traced in different parts: lava of several sorts is every where to be found: all the houses and fortifications are built with it, and it is also used for paving the streets.

On an excursion along the sea-coast to the north-eastern point of the island, after a good hour, I arrived at a little village called St. Andrew. In the hills about I observed many volcanic productions, which were mingled with *silex-obsidianus*, schorl, and pyroren. In the farthest hills were several porous lavas, and a sort of argillaceous earth mingled with iron dust. Here and there I saw basaltic blocks in rough masses, some smaller, others larger, in other places, a sort of argillaceous stones, some of which were mingled with strata of calcareous spath, others were covered over with it. About half an hour's distance from St. Andrew, the lowermost stratum of the hill consists of real *trapezum* combined with lava. In a deep valley in the neighbourhood of this place I observed a fine grained granite mingled with schorl. Subterranean grottoes or caves, which it is to be presumed were the dwellings of the ancient inhabitants of the island, the Guanches, are to be found upon the steep declivities of the hills in several parts of the island. In many of these caves are human bones, and

sometimes the entire human skeleton with the skin dried upon it, like leather. One of these natural mummies is to be seen in the National Museum at Paris, and we had the good fortune to procure one for the museum at St. Petersburgh *.

Concerning the Guanches, the aborigines of the island, we could not obtain any accurate or satisfactory information. We were assured that here and there families exist who have never mingled their race with Spanish blood, but might be considered as genuine descendants of the Guanches. We indeed saw some men who had a very repulsive appearance, looking more like savages than like people belonging to a civilized country. The dirty yellowish brown beard, the poverty and scanty clothing, the uncouth habits and modes of life, all concurred to make a very unpleasant impression upon us as Europeans, and we should really much rather have taken the greater part of them for Guanches than for civilized Spaniards.

The climate is so mild, that even in winter very little clothing is necessary. We saw many children playing in the streets entirely undressed; and boys even of twelve or fourteen years old, equally without clothing, were to be seen working upon the sea-shore. The usual height of the thermometer during our stay was from eighteen to twenty-two degrees of Reaumur. In the country are many windmills; but the poor man, as observed above, grinds his corn by rubbing it

* The author does not seem aware that one of these mummies is also to be seen in the library at Trinity College, Cambridge. Several dried corpses of this kind were lately found in St. Giles's parish church, Westminster.—TRANSLATOR.

between two stones: one of them is light and porous, the other thick, and of hard lava.

Santa Cruz is not destitute of social intercourse. Our party found a very pleasant society every evening at the house of Mr. Armstrong. At the proposal of this hospitable man, several of us joined in an excursion to the north-north-west part of the island, as far as Porto de l'Orotava. The distance of this place from Santa Cruz is about four German miles and a half*. According to the custom of the country, these kind of excursions are made upon asses, mules, or very small horses, and the distance I have mentioned cannot be gone over in less than eight or nine hours. The ambassador, Von Resanoff, Major Von Friderici, Dr. Laband, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, preferred horses; and proper ones being procured, we set out early in the morning of the twenty-first. The road lay through La Laguna, La Matança, La Vittoria, and Santa Ursula. After about an hour, we arrived at La Laguna. The road is hilly, lying over a soil abounding with lava; the aspect of the country is altogether not unpleasing. La Laguna is the principal town of the island: it lies in a very fertile district, and a great deal of corn is cultivated in the neighbourhood. The town itself is irregular, neither handsome or clean, and much worse paved than Santa Cruz; it contains two convents of monks, and two of nuns. We visited the monastery of Dominicans, in which we found some monks, who received us very politely, but their conversation betrayed the grossest ignorance, so

* About twenty-two English miles and a half.

that we could not obtain any information respecting their institution; they were even wholly uninformed as to the origin and history of their monastery. Their library consisted only of a few church books, and some lives of distinguished saints. We endeavoured also to visit a convent of nuns, but were sent away from the door by an old sister in a very courteous manner, and with a sort of mysterious smile. It appeared to us, however, as if this good lady would have given us a more favourable reception towards evening. Fatigued with the heat of the sun, and the exertion of the journey, we looked about in vain for an inn, and were constrained to beg hospitality of a citizen who was wholly unknown to us. He received us very kindly, and we procured some fruit, eggs, and wine, of which we made a comfortable repast, and then proceeded on our way.

At a little distance from Laguna we came to a beautiful and widely extended valley, well cultivated with corn. The soil, consisting of decayed lava, appeared fertile in the highest degree, though to the eye, the country was dull and uniform, as there was scarcely a shrub or bush to be seen. Some cactuses, figs, and mulberry trees, were the only things that in any degree varied the scene. For about an hour and half, or two hours, we exchanged this fertile country for a stony and hilly one. This is a district where vines flourish more particularly; and the nearer we approached to La Matança, La Vittoria, &c. the greater abundance of vine-covered hills we found. We arrived at Santa Ursula, a tolerably large village, as the evening was closing in. The whole village, and all the neighbourhood, were assembled to celebrate the festival of Santa Ursula, whose

birth-day it was. On this account, there were a great many booths set up, in which refreshments, and a number of trifling articles, were sold. Here and there were groups of dancers, both men and women, who accompanied their movements with the guitar, and a rude kind of singing. The dance consisted of a sort of swimming movement, very slow, so that the dancers scarcely moved from their places, and at the utmost, made sometimes a demi-chain. The great concourse of people assembled together in the darkness of the night, had rather the appearance of a fair than of a church festival. We had still a three hours' ride to reach Porto de l'Orotava, and we therefore set forwards again as soon as our curiosity was satisfied.

The road from St. Ursula was bad, stony, and irksome. Our attention was engrossed with the lofty peak, which appeared to be just before us, though it was still at the distance of five German miles. The greater part of our company did not choose to trust the insecure footsteps of their horses in the dark; they therefore dismounted, and descended the hill on foot, having the town of Orotava always in view, as it was clear moonlight. After much winding and turning, we at length reached it at nine o'clock, exceedingly fatigued with the exertions of the day. We went to the house of a friend of Mr. Armstrong's, Mr. Barry, who, having been previously informed of our intended visit, received us with the utmost courtesy and hospitality.

Porto de l'Orotava is a small town, which, from having been originally only an assemblage of fishermens' huts, has been constantly increasing, and is now become the abode of some of the richest merchants in the island. The streets are in general

broad, tolerably clean, and well-paved. The port is not by any means so good, or so safe, as that of Santa Cruz: there are many rocks near the shore, and a very strong surf. The situation of the town is fine, and the surrounding country is beautiful: as the town lies on the north side of the peak, it is less molested by the burning heat of the sun. The greatest quantity of wines in the island are cultivated in this district, so that ships often come hither to take in their lading; but they are obliged to anchor at a considerable distance from the shore, and if the wind be at all strong, to stand quite out to sea.

The most interesting object in the town is a very fine botanic garden. This was established in 1795, by the Marquis de Nava, a very rich man, who lived at Laguna. As a friend to knowledge and science, he laid before the Spanish Court a plan for cultivating plants here from all parts of the world: he particularly wished to make the experiment of transporting to this spot many valuable and useful plants growing in the torrid zone, in hopes, that if accustomed by degrees to a cooler climate, they might at length be brought to thrive in the cold soils of Europe. The plan was discussed, and the government determined to support the undertaking. The Marquis himself omitted nothing that lay in his power to promote it, and even advanced large sums to the government for the purpose. He has now laboured for many years to obtain the very desirable objects he proposed, but alas, in vain! and it is much to be feared that an undertaking, which would have done so much honour both to the nation and the individual, will soon fall entirely to the ground. The Marquis finds himself almost at the end of his own means, and the government does not seem disposed to concern itself farther in

the affair. This is so much the more to be regretted, as there are already more than three thousand rare plants collected from Mexico, Peru, Chili, and the Cape of Good Hope, which, under the care of a very scientific gardener sent from England, are in the most flourishing state. This gardener has also endeavoured to cultivate some of the wild plants, natives of the Canary Islands.

The *dracæna draco*, or dragon's-blood tree, is a native of the Canaries; but the inhabitants, though well aware of its utility, concern themselves little about deriving the advantages that might be obtained from it. Nearly an hour's distance from Porto de l'Orotava lies a villa of the same name, belonging to Don Pedro Franschy. Close by the house stands a dragon's-blood tree, the circumference of which is forty-two English feet. Time did not permit us to visit this very extraordinary natural curiosity.

On the twenty-third we returned to Santa Cruz. Captain Von Krusenstern had in the mean time laid in a stock of water, wood, wine, and other ship stores; and we learnt from the officers that while we had been amusing ourselves at Orotava, he had given a ball on board the Nadeschda. Our crew being rested and refreshed, we were all ready to depart by the twenty-sixth.

I must not, however, quit the island without a word or two respecting the Peak, so universally celebrated. This was formerly regarded as one of the most conspicuous among the mountains upon our globe. Its height, according to the best

geometrical calculations, is estimated by Borda at 1905 toises*; others only give 1901. But since we have been better acquainted with the new world, and the height of Chimboraxo is ascertained to be 3357 toises, that of Cayambe-Urku to be 3030, Antisana 2993, Cotopaxi 2952, and that a great number of others tower far above the Peak of Teneriffe, the latter has lost much of its ancient fame.

How much soever some of our company wished to ascend this mountain, the short and indefinite term of our stay prohibited the gratification of our wishes. We were besides assured by the inhabitants, that at so advanced a time of the year we should hardly be able to overcome the difficulties attendant upon the undertaking, and should be obliged, if we engaged in it, to turn back again. But as it had been visited earlier in the year by Monsieur Cordier, a Frenchman, whose knowledge of mineralogy, and zeal in the pursuit of mineralogical subjects, are well known, I will here present my readers with the remarks made by this very intelligent traveller, taken from his own manuscript.

On the sixteenth of April he set out from Porto de l'Orotava to ascend the Peak. He found the plain on which the hill stands, *Las faldas de las Canadas*, to be 1100 toises above the level of the sea: it was covered with vitrified lava and pumice-stones. A great quantity of broom, *spartium supranubium*,

* A toise is six French feet, about six feet and a half English measure; so that 1905 toises will give a height of somewhat more than two English miles and a quarter.

TRANSLATOR.

shared with some lichens the possession of this vast waste. At the *stancia de los ingleses* the barometer was at 19 inches 9°,05 lines, and the heat + 4°,09, by Reaumur: the *stancia*, therefore, according to the above observations, he determined to be 1529 toises above the sea. The broom grows still at this height, though very much stunted. The cold was very supportable. Three hours carried him to the summit of the Peak. In arriving at it, a great deal of ground is passed over, covered with heaps of vitrified lava in very large rough pieces. The steep acclivity which leads to the summit is strewed with loose pumice-stones, which, from their constantly slipping under the feet, makes the ascent very fatiguing. With a clear atmosphere, and mild weather, the islands of Hierro, Gomera, Palma, and Canaria, may be seen from hence. The walls of the crater within are very steep, and are highest on the northern side: the descent into the cavity is only practicable by three clefts in the sides. The space within is of an elliptic form; the circumference is about 1100 feet; the depth 110. The steep descent into the crater consists of a white earth, which seems a decomposition of vitrified lava. Crystals of sulphur of the most beautiful colour, and extremely brilliant, ornament the inward walls: the hot moisture, which stood abundantly on all sides, had been ascending for some hours from the depth below; and a thermometer held in one of the clefts rose to the height of 80° by Reaumur: this moisture consisted of sulphur, and a sort of tasteless water. It is very remarkable that, mingled with the incrustations of sulphur, opal, in a variety of forms, was to be found.

At eight o'clock, Monsieur Cordier being one toise and a half from the top of the mountain, the barometer stood at

18 inches four lines, the thermometer at 6°,09. At the same hour, the barometer at Porto de l'Orotava was at 28″ 5‴ 06, the thermometer at + 19°,09. The point at which this observation was taken was seven toises above the level of the sea, so that the result of the whole gives 1901,02 French toises for the height of the Peak. The inclination of the needle was directed more than five degrees towards the south pole.

The accounts generally given concerning the keenness of the cold, the difficulty of breathing, and the appearance of the sun's disk, are extremely exaggerated. The cold was perfectly supportable, the strength of the liquors was not in the least diminished, nor did the hydrosulphuric moisture occasion any difficulty of breathing: the rarefaction of the air did not oppress the lungs any farther than to create a necessity of stopping at intervals for a short time when approaching towards the summit.

Although these observations of Mons. Cordier vary very much from those of other travellers, the differences may be easily reconciled, since it is well known that in the Alps of Switzerland the cold will change very much in the course of an hour. Mons. Cordier was also extremely fortunate in having chosen a very favourable moment for ascending the Peak. He left this interesting place after staying three hours and a half. In descending, he soon reached the *nostrils* of the Peak, as they are called. These are two holes at the foot of the summit, which constantly emit a damp vapour. In their neighbourhood is the cave called *Cueva del Gelo*, of which a thousand wonderful stories are related. An idea of it may

be conceived by imagining a grotto formed occasionally by the flowing lava, as it bursts over a vacant space. The bottom of this cave is commonly filled with water arising from dissolved snow, but in the summer it is occasionally entirely dry. The different lavas found in these parts have this peculiarity, that they show the transition of flints into pumice-stones.

There are some other volcanoes. The crater of that which choaked up the harbour of Garachico with lava is five hours from Orotava; the new volcano is seven hours distant from *Yrod de los Vinos*. The three apertures made by the lava in *Las Canadas* lie one above the other upon the steep descent of the mountain Chahorra, which is itself a monstrous excrescence at the foot of the Peak on its south-west side. The largest of these apertures is twelve hundred paces in circumference, and its margin is thirteen hundred toises above the level of the sea. There is no possibility of descending into this. In the others sulphur is found in small quantities, and the vapour is not material. In ascending Chahorra, Mons. Cordier discovered another crater, which had never been observed before: it is sixteen hundred toises above the level of the sea, and is finer than any of those hitherto mentioned: it is nearly an hour and a half in circumference, is very old, and on its steep sides are to be seen abundant traces of the most dreadful fires. The Peak stands upon its margin. The reason of this splendid phœnomenon having remained hitherto unknown, is, that it is impossible, on account of the steepness of the sides, to ascend to the top of the crater upon the Peak on the north side.

The volcano of Guimar is six hundred and seventy toises

above the level of the sea, on the steep declivity that leads to La Cumbre. After forming a mass, the square of which required an hour to go round, the lava spread itself over the plain of Los Barancos, at the foot of the mountain; a part of it ran even to within a quarter of an hour's distance from the sea, which is at the distance of two hours and a half from the mountain. The lava is grey, of a petrosilex nature, mingled with crystals of augit and crysolites. The scoria continues now to decompose, producing a fine sand, which might no doubt be brought into cultivation.

On the twenty-seventh of October, in the afternoon, we weighed anchor; and, amid the roar of cannon, set forward to the Brazils. The atmosphere was uncommonly clear, so that on the twenty-ninth, at six in the morning, we could still see the Peak, though it was at the distance of more than a hundred sea miles. We had now before us a voyage of *two months* and a half; although to many this would have appeared a wearisome and *ennuyant* prospect, we thought of it with great pleasure.

A few days after our departure we arrived between the tropics; and, favoured by the monsoon, proceeded on our voyage most pleasantly. The thermometer was generally from 20° to 22°, and we endeavoured to render the heat supportable by wearing very thin cloathing, chiefly of nankeen. The ship cut the waves so tranquilly, that, but for feeling every now and then a fresh breeze, we should hardly have recollected that we were upon the sea. The nights were cool, and sometimes damp. Captain Von Krusenstern was therefore particularly

careful that no part of the crew should be thinly clothed at that time, or should sleep uncovered upon the deck. Several, indeed, considered this as being over-cautious, since they conceived, that by enjoying the cool air of night, their strength would be recruited; but the happy consequences that attended the regulation, the constant good health that reigned among us, shewed plainly that we were all greatly indebted to this excellent man for his prudent attentions.

Most of our northern travellers found the warm climate very pleasant, and agreed, that while in twenty to twenty-four degrees of cold, an ear or nose might very well be frozen off; in a like degree of warmth, nothing prejudicial to the health was to be apprehended. The riches of the southern climates, where, almost without the intervention of man, nature brings forth fruits and other things necessary to his sustenance, where he is free from all solicitude to procure a warm dwelling, warm clothing, and plenty of firing, shew sufficiently that the existence of man in mild climates is the effect of nature, in cold ones it is entirely the result of art. It is consequently there where necessity compels the mind to greater exertions, and where reciprocal assiduity has for its object merely to satisfy the necessities of nature, that a higher degree of cultivation must be sought. One only among our party, whose constitution had been previously shaken, ever complained of the heat being insupportable.

We had daily new scenes and new sources of entertainment in various ways. The tropic bird *phæton æthereus*, the flying fish, the pelamide, and the thunny, are often seen in these

regions, and we could sometimes take them with the harpoon; but this sport was not so productive to us, as, according to the accounts given, it has been found by others. We many times caught a small kind of sharks, which, for want of other fresh food, were eaten with great pleasure by the sailors. The remora or sucking fish, *echeneis remora*, and the pilot, *gasterosteus ductor*, were also taken occasionally. In very still weather we sometimes saw the *physalis pelagica*. The extraordinary structure of this creature, like a bladder with a number of little threads hanging to it, the beauty of its colours, and the novelty of the object, delighted us exceedingly. The threads, by touching them, occasion a smart and an inflammation on the skin, in the same manner as if cantharides were applied to it. In good weather we frequently hoisted out a boat to examine the clearness and temperature of the water, and the current, or else to fish; sometimes even we went to pay a visit to our companion in the voyage, the ship Neva. Such little excursions, when out in the vast ocean, have inexpressible charms, and whenever one of them took place, it was always a sort of competition who should partake in the treat.

The nearer we approached to the equator, the more variable was our weather. We had alternate calms, brisk gales, showers, thunder-storms, cloudy skies, and bright sunshine. The heat was very supportable, seldom exceeding twenty-two degrees of Reaumur. On the twenty-sixth of November, in the forenoon, we passed the Line in longitude 24° 20′ west of Greenwich. This occurrence is sufficiently interesting to all Europeans to be noted in their journals; how much more remarkable then was it to Russians, since ours were the first ves-

sels of that nation that had ever navigated these waters, that had ever visited the southern division of the globe. A feeling of national pride was awakened in every breast; and even we, who were foreigners, joined in the exultation, since we shared in the honour of laying the foundation for an active commerce, which might be in the end of the greatest importance to the Russian nation.

It was about ten in the forenoon that we crossed the Line, when both vessels, the Nadeschda and the Neva, hoisted the Russian flag, and the day was celebrated as a festival by both. As it is prescribed by ancient custom, that every one who passes the Line for the first time shall be dipped into the water, or at least well sprinkled with it, this ceremony was punctually observed by us. A sailor, who was full of natural drollery and vivacity, to make it the more impressive, dressed himself to represent Neptune. The costume in which this god of the seas appeared must have been one he was only accustomed to wear at the north or south pole; for certainly in the warm climates he usually inhabited, such an one could never have been seen before. In his hand, instead of a trident, he held a harpoon, and with inconceivable celerity dipped his bucket again and again into the water, and sprinkled those around him. When it is observed that the thermometer was now between twenty-two and twenty-three degrees of Reaumur, it will easily be imagined how comfortably warm this good sailor must have been, clad in a thick fur dress, remaining for some hours upon the deck, springing hither and thither in the performance of his function. He went through the whole most admirably, to the great delight and amusement of the company.

The commander of the other ship, the Neva, Captain Lisiansky, at the moment when the Russian flag greeted the equator, passed us in full sail with his yards manned, and gave us three hearty cheers, which we returned with equal ardour.

The ambassador, Von Resanoff, in order to impress this very remarkable day in the annals of Russian navigation the more forcibly upon the minds of everybody, assembled all the sailors upon deck, and ranging them in a row, gave every one a Spanish dollar. When dinner-time arrived, we all sat down with the utmost hilarity. During dinner, we drank, amid the roar of cannon, the health of his Imperial Majesty,--of the gracious monarch, the benefactor of his subjects, the promoter of trade and navigation,--and all his imperial house. Afterwards we drank the minister of trade, Count Romanzoff, and Count Tchitchagoff, minister of the marine, the president of the academy of sciences at St. Petersburgh, Von Novosilsoff, the directors of the Russio-American company, our brave commander, Captain Von Krusenstern, the ambassador Von Resanoff, with all our friends and relations, and the companions of our voyage. We were arrived at the utmost height of joy and mirth, when we rose from table, and went upon deck. Here a new jubilee began. Captain Krusenstern, the ambassador, and all the officers, were one after the other raised up, and swung round in the hand with a shout of joy and a grand huzza. This is a custom among the Russians, when they would shew the great esteem and honour in which they hold persons of such a description. The pleasures of this remarkable day were concluded with a bowl of punch.

We did not find the heat under the equator by any means so insupportable as it is generally represented. To judge by my own feelings, I must confess that a very burning summer's day in the north of Europe is much more oppressive than the heat under the Line. In the latter region, seldom a day passes that a cooling thunder-storm does not refresh the air. As in the north, people guard against the cold by warm clothing and fur caps, so in warm climates the inhabitants, to avoid being overcome by the heat, wear very thin clothing and light straw hats.

Our Neptune, who, notwithstanding the height of the thermometer, had been leaping about all day in a mask and a thick fur dress, must have indeed endured a very unusual degree of heat; yet he never suffered in the least from it. Perhaps the Russian custom of using the vapour-bath so much had a considerable influence in enabling him to support the heat without inconvenience. It is very striking to compare the regulations formerly made on a sea voyage with those of the present times. For example: Sir John Narborough, in the year 1670, says, that he had the precaution, in the warm zones, to have his people bled frequently; and experience had taught him, that no method was more efficacious for preventing fevers. This navigator must have had a very healthy crew, for it might be proved, by many weighty arguments, that his precaution was sufficient to debilitate them, and render them much more liable to be attacked by fevers and scurvy. Experience has shewn Captain Cook's and Captain Krusenstern's plan to be far more salutary. By keeping the men well fed, and endeavouring to make them cheerful, by

enforcing cleanliness, and giving them plenty of good water, with sometimes a glass of wine, grog, or punch, the whole crew, without any one being bled, passed the Line four times, and returned to Europe all in perfect health.

Our poultry, which were partly brought from Europe, partly taken in at the island of Teneriffe, did not bear the heat and the long sea voyage so well as ourselves; our hens, a few excepted, became entirely blind. What could be the reason of this I can by no means conjecture. Labillardiere, who observed the same effect among his poultry, ascribes it to the influence of the air. Perhaps it is rather occasioned by the sea-water, since, from the ship being very frequently washed, and from water being thrown into it in considerable quantities by strong winds, it is almost inevitable that some will occasionally mingle itself with the food given to the poultry.

Every little and often apparently trifling circumstance deserves notice in a voyage such as our's. I cannot, therefore, pass over an incident which occurred on the twenty-second of November. We observed a ship, which appeared to be sailing towards Europe; Captain Krusenstern hailed it, and sent an officer on board with letters. I begged to accompany him, as such an excursion upon the wide ocean is not a thing that happens every day. We learnt that the vessel belonged to the United States of America, and was bound for Batavia. This arduous voyage the captain, like many others, was making without any great astronomical knowledge, and without a chronometer, in consequence of which he was now in reality three degrees more to the west than he was according to his ship's

reckoning. He was exceedingly thankful to us for pointing out to him his error, and indicating the true longitude of the vessel: his course was in consequence immediately changed.

The seventh and eighth of December, Captain Krusenstern was occupied in seeking the problematic island of Ascençao, the existence of which is doubted by the latest navigators, particularly by La Perouse. We steered westward, and found ourselves towards evening in latitude 20° 42′ south, and 37° longitude, consequently two degrees more to the west than the last-named unfortunate navigator, without finding any island: so that if it really exists, it is not in the place hitherto laid down in the maps.

We had now for several weeks, that is, from the twenty-seventh of October, floated upon the great ocean, the sport of the winds and waves; when at length, on the twelfth of December, we discovered Cape Frio, on the long wished-for coast of Brazil. This land, abounding in gold and diamonds, with its splendid towns and rich productions, had long been the leading object of interest among us; it had been the subject of our daily conversation, of our anxious curiosity. Many of our ship's company wished earnestly to visit the town of Rio Janeiro, in the neighbourhood of this cape. Captain Krusenstern, however, thought of the difficulties we should have to contend with. He saw clearly, that here we must of necessity be subjected to a very strict visitation, and put to many unnecessary expenses, besides probably losing a great deal of time; and he therefore determined rather to bend his course to Santa Catharina, an island three degrees farther to the south, which had

many superior recommendations as a place of refreshment, and which had been visited by the immortal La Perouse. We made amends for our disappointment by amusing ourselves exceedingly with the many new objects which the sea and the neighbourhood of the land here presented to our observation. We were from twenty to thirty miles distant from the shore, and saw near our ship a great number of fishing-boats, which sailed by with perfect indifference, probably because they had nothing to sell, and did not want to buy any thing of us.

The country, even at this distance, gave us specimens of its riches. The sea appeared altogether alive. In forty fathom water we caught dorades, *coryphæna hippurus*, which we thought excellent. We remarked, at the same time, an immense number of salpœ, beroes, medusas, and other slimy gelatinous and transparent animals, which come under the general name of Zoophytes and Mollusquæ. It was particularly striking to see the white sea in some places entirely red: on an accurate examination, we perceived that this effect arose from an immense number of little crabs which floated upon the surface of the water.

On the eighteenth of December we came in sight of the island of Santa Catharina, and were already welcomed, though at the distance of more than sixty sea miles, by a great quantity of butterflies: they were probably driven from the land by a strong wind. The weather was very fine, the horizon clear, and we steered directly for the coast. At half past four in the afternoon we were so near, that we could distinguish the trees, the rocks, and other objects. We were

full of hope, that this evening, or very early the next morning, we should cast anchor, and be soon in full enjoyment of all the delights of Brazil; when suddenly a violent storm of thunder, wind, and rain, came on, so that we were obliged to bear away from the land, and seek our safety from a south-west wind in the open sea, nor could we venture to approach the coast again till the twentieth.

CHAPTER II.

Stay at Santa Catharina.—The Town of Nossa Senhora do Desterro.—Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants.—Dance of the Negro Slaves.—Excursion to the Main-Land.—Arts, Knowledge, and Public Institutions.—Manufactory of Train-Oil.—Natural History.—Medical Observations.

THE aspect of the landscape presented to our view, which was decked with a drapery of the most beautiful green, ornamented with flowers of a thousand hues, promised us, even at a distance, the highest enjoyment during our stay in the place, and the most abundant refreshment. The island of Santa Catharina, and the coast of the main-land opposite to it, consist principally of pretty high land; the most lofty summits, however, rise only to a middling height, and are entirely clothed with trees; the ascents are steep, and they are much intersected with deep vallies. We observed along the coast several little creeks and islets, and found the land abundantly watered by many springs, rivulets, mountain-torrents, rivers, and marshes. The shore is partly sandy, partly bordered by granite rocks, against which the waves beat with so much force, and occasion so strong a surf, that it is impossible for a vessel to approach them.

The sight of land, even of the most barren rocks, is always delightful after a voyage of two months, and having no other view during all that time but the wide waste of waters. How

much more enchanting then is the prospect of such a land as that we now approached, where nature is so highly favoured, where reigns all imaginable beauty, every thing that can charm the eye and delight the heart. A lovely landscape rose above the strand of the sea, and the green of the hills was increased by the golden border they received from the rays of the setting sun. We saw about the shore, to which we drew nearer every moment, several little vessels; and dropped our anchor, on the twenty-first, near a small fortress called Santa Cruz, upon the island of Atomeri.

My imagination was so filled with beautiful pictures, that I could scarcely wait the return of dawn to obtain a more intimate knowledge of this enchanting spot. I must confess, that my ideas were carried almost perhaps to extravagance; but notwithstanding this, the nearer I approached the land, the more did I find the reality exceed my expectation. The number and variety of the flowers, the beauty of their colours, their size and forms, were truly worthy of admiration, and the delicious odours with which they filled the atmosphere seemed at every breath to strengthen the body, and exhilarate the mind.

Large butterflies, which I had hitherto only seen as rarities in the cabinets of the curious, were fluttering about in prodigious numbers; and plants, which I did not know any otherwise but as dwarfs in our conservatories, here reared their heads aloft in towering majesty. The lovely golden colibris hovered about the honied flowers of the banana-groves, and the notes of birds never heard before resounded through the well-watered vallies, delighting at once the ear and the heart.

Shady winding paths lead from one habitation to another, very far exceeding in pleasantness and beauty, in simplicity and variety, the studied and artificial walks that ornament our European gardens. Every thing I saw excited in me the utmost astonishment from its novelty, and made an impression upon my mind and heart much easier felt than described. In the evening I returned to our ship wholly transported, and enriched with a large collection of plants and insects: here I excited no less astonishment among all our party than I had myself experienced, and they joined with me in admiring more particularly the size, variety, and beauty of colouring among the butterflies.

The island of Santa Catharina forms but a small portion of the government to which it gives name. It is twenty-five miles long, and in some places from eight to nine miles broad, in others only from three to four. Its north-north-west point lies in latitude 27° 19′ 10″ south, and in longitude 47° 49′ 20″ west, according to Captain Von Krusenstern's and Dr. Horner's* observations. It is separated from the main-land by a strait, which in the narrowest part is not more than two hundred fathoms over. All the entrances to the strait are guarded by forts mounted with artillery, and garrisoned; but, notwithstanding, in case of an attack from an enemy, they are not capable

* Dr. Horner, of Zurich, was, at Zach's recommendation, appointed astronomer to this expedition. Captain Von Krusenstern commends, in his work, the activity and knowledge of this excellent man. Through his probity, his integrity, and the mildness of his character, he acquired the friendship and esteem of every body: he distinguished himself in the most advantageous manner on a great variety of occasions.

of making much resistance. Small vessels, such as brigs, cutters, &c. may take the southern entrance to get to the establishment, but larger vessels must take the northern. The latter is defended by two small forts, one of which stands upon the north-west point of the island, and is called *Forte da Ponta Grossa*; the other is nearer the main-land upon the little island Atomeri, and has the name of Santa Cruz. In the neighbourhood of the latter, large ships find a safe and convenient anchorage.

The principal place of the island, and the seat of government, is the town of *Nossa Senhora do Desterro*. It stands on the south-west side of the island, about ten sea-miles from the anchoring-place above mentioned, at the foot of a considerable hill, and contains between four and five hundred houses. The number of inhabitants in the island of Santa Catharina is reckoned at ten thousand, that of the whole government dependent upon the island at thirty thousand. There are a great number of people among the inhabitants in easy circumstances, but few very rich. The houses are all built of stone, cemented with a kind of clayey earth: the streets are for the most part regular. Here are merchants, or rather traders, and mechanics, of every description; and great abundance of provisions of all kinds are daily brought to market from the country around. In the numerous shops are to be found almost all sorts of European merchandize that contribute to the support and convenience of life; as, for example, iron wares, glass, porcelain, silk and woollen stuffs, cloth, looking-glasses, paper, &c. &c. But all these things, as may be reasonably supposed, are extremely dear.

Brasilian Air.

Modinha.

1

Quando o mal acaba
O bem principia
Meu mal acabou
O bem se seguia
Pois sim, meu senhor,
Meu mal acabou
Mas penso que vou
De mal a peor.

2

Vem a noite escura
Succedes o dia
Depois da tormenta
Vem a calmeria
Pois sim, meu senhor,
Meu mal acabou
Mas penso que vou
De mal a peor.

The inhabitants of the whole province are pleasing, friendly, and prepossessing; great hospitality reigns among them, and they are very sociable with each other. They assemble together in the evening in little family parties, in which the Portuguese manners prevail entirely: they dance, they laugh, they joke, they sing, they play, and might be taken really for those whose manners they imitate. Their usual instruments are the guitar and the dulcimer. The music is expressive, pleasing, and affecting; the songs are, according to the very general, it may be said, almost universal custom, changes upon love and maidens, upon wounds given by Cupid and bleeding hearts, upon sighs and longings. But as it will, perhaps, be more agreeable to my readers to have a specimen of the Brazilian airs, than merely a description of them, I subjoin one.

The females are not ugly; among those of the higher classes we saw some who, even in Europe, might with justice have been pronounced handsome. They are in general of a middle stature, well made, with dark complexions, coarse dark hair, and dark eyes full of fire; we saw, however, a few who were very fair. They receive their guests with great courtesy, and are not restrained like the lovely sex in the mother-country, who are shut up the whole year through, and can only catch a sight of a stranger by looking through the key-hole or a crack in the door. How inconsiderable soever this place may be, it is not destitute of little love intrigues; they are woven together here as every where else. The most insignificant presents of European merchandize, tinsel, ribbands, ear-rings, or other things of the like kind, are always thankfully received. The clothing of both sexes is according

to the European fashions, only that the garments are made of the thinnest and lightest materials that can be procured. Muslins, fine linens, nankeen, and silks, are particularly sought after.

This government is of modern institution. It extends from Rio Grande, which is at thirty-two degrees south, to the government of St. Paul, which is at twenty-five. It was principally peopled from this latter government. The Portuguese regency has bestowed many privileges upon it; as, for example, that all ships coming into or going out of this port, foreigners as well as natives, pay much less than at any other harbour in Brazil. The province is fertile, and all things necessary to life are extremely cheap. Nature brings forth every thing without much help from the activity and industry of man. Fruit, of a great variety of sorts, is produced in almost inconceivable profusion. Oranges, lemons, limes, bananas, pine-apples, peaches, sweet melons, water melons, figs, cocoa and other nuts, and grapes, abound all over the island. Turkish corn is also grown, as well as rice and various sorts of pulse. Spanish potatoes, *convolvulus batatas*, onions, yams, *dioscorea alata*, and many other sorts of vegetables, are cultivated. Tapioca, as it is called in Brazil, in other places *mandioca*, or cassava root, *jatropha manihot*, is the principal food of a great part of the inhabitants, and is eaten instead of bread. The finer parts of the root make the tapioca, a true white sago, and this is eaten by the higher classes; the grosser parts, under the name of *farinha da pao*, are eaten by the poor. Corn and white bread are only to be found among the very highest and richest of the people. The earth-nut, *arachis hypogœa*, is also abundantly

cultivated. At the time when this plant is in flower, the pointal inclines towards the ground, by which means it receives its fructification. It is said to be now much cultivated in the south of France.

The landed proprietors almost invariably keep a great number of domestic animals, as oxen, horses, cows, hogs, ducks, geese, turkeys, &c.; meat and poultry are therefore to be had at a very reasonable price. An ox, of at least four hundred pounds weight, may be purchased for eight Spanish dollars; an excellent milch cow for twelve, or from that price to sixteen: a fat hog of two hundred pounds for ten dollars; a good fowl for the eighth of a dollar. Muscles, crabs, shrimps, and fish of various sorts, might also be had in abundance, but they are dear in proportion to other things. The inhabitants of the coast in general fish for themselves, so that but little is brought to market; the negro slaves are the persons principally employed to fish. A fine fertile property of some hundred acres of land, well wooded, and with excellent pasture, may be bought for three or four hundred Spanish dollars. Any one who is in possession of such a property, and some good slaves, may be considered as a rich man, free from care, and he may live in abundance upon the products of it. The proper inhabitants of the country are easily to be distinguished by their superior cleanliness from the dirty Portuguese. The soldiers, the peasants, and even the poorest among the people, not only wear plenty of good and clean linen, but the utmost neatness is to be observed in their houses and household.

The greatest part of the government of Santa Catharina con-

sists of coast-land, running not farther into the country than from six to eight German miles. Even at the distance of one German mile from the shore the lands begin to be thinly inhabited: only scattered cottages are to be found at a considerable distance from each other. These people depend principally for their support upon the rearing of cattle. They have innumerable herds of horned beasts, which range in immense pastures, remaining there the whole year round without any care being taken of them; nor can each individual exactly ascertain the number that properly belongs to him. These half-wild animals are sold upon the spot at the low price of two or three Spanish dollars; they are bought in great numbers, and brought to the town of Nossa Senhora do Desterro. The greatest difficulty is to catch them: for this purpose, many persons both on foot and on horseback endeavour to surround an ox, and to throw over his horns or his foot a cord with a noose in it. When thus caught, they play him about for a while till he is wearied, and he is then thrown to the ground: in this manner he is somewhat tamed, so that he can at length be driven to the town. Yet the transport of these beasts is attended with so much trouble, that the price is doubled by the time they reach the place of their destination.

The inhabitants of the interior are not only the poorest in the province, but they are subject, from time to time, to inroads from the Indians, the aborigines of the country, who are here called *Gentio brava*, wild men, or *Caboccolos*. During our stay, an occurrence of this kind took place, and the governor was obliged to send a detachment of soldiers to the

assistance of the people. I understood, indeed, that such occurrences were by no means rare.

With regard to the climate, we did not find the heat so insupportable as we had been led to expect. During the months of December and January, which, in the southern hemisphere, answer to our summer months, the usual height of the thermometer in the shade was from twenty to twenty-two degrees of Reaumur; the greatest heat was twenty-six. The governor related, as an extraordinary circumstance, that he had known the thermometer as low as ten degrees: this is the greatest degree of cold ever felt. Scarcely a day passes in the warm season without rain and thunder storms towards the evening. Winter, according to the account of the inhabitants, is the most agreeable season of the year, and like a delightful spring.

The air is constantly moist. The lofty chains of mountains being covered with an eternal green, attract the clouds, which then descend into the vallies to refresh the plants and animals, and afford them nourishment, and to furnish supplies to the springs, the brooks, and the rivers. The greater the heat during the day, the more certainly may thunder and rain be expected in the evening. The regular supply of moisture, together with the great degree of warmth, may be considered as the united causes of the excessive luxuriance and variety that reign in the vegetable and animal kingdoms here. The naturalist, however, finds great obstacles to his obtaining a good collection of objects of natural history, since the beetles, the crabs, the butterflies, the locusts, the large

spiders, which among us are dried very easily, are here always disposed to rot, unless very great care be taken to dry them in close places, where they are not at all exposed to the humidity of the air. To my inexpressible concern, from ignorance of this circumstance, and not taking precautions against it, I lost a great part of the plants which I had collected at the beginning of my stay. Leaving them half-dried when I went for some days upon a distant excursion into the interior of the country, at my return most of them were completely mouldy. The nights are particularly damp; but it must be observed, that this seems to have no ill effect upon the health of the inhabitants. This government, except the northern part about San Francisco, is considered as extremely healthy. In the part above alluded to, the vapours arising from some very extensive marshes and standing waters are extremely prejudicial.

The manners and customs of the country do not partake much of those to be observed in Portugal: they vary from them particularly in the different customs and modes of life which a different climate and different natural productions inevitably occasion. In such a climate as Santa Catharina very little clothing is required, the women, therefore, seldom wear more in the house than the under garment and a thin gown over it. The former is of fine linen or cotton, with a handsome worked border round the bottom; they commonly also wear a muslin handkerchief. In company, in the evening, the ladies appear dressed very much in the European style, but ornamented with great quantities of ribband and tinsel: the greater the variety of colours worn, the more elegantly dressed they

esteem themselves. The men are equally clothed almost entirely in the European style. The negro slaves go nearly without clothing; the men wear only a *culotte*, and the women a short petticoat, with perhaps an old shift, or some rags fastened upon the shoulder, and hanging down over the breast.

The number of negro slaves of both sexes to be seen here appears very singular to the eyes of an European unaccustomed to such a spectacle. It gave me a wholly new and very revolting sensation, when I went for the first time to Nossa Senhora do Desterro, and saw a number of these wretched helpless beings lying almost naked about the streets for sale. It is well known that a great number of negroes are brought every year from the Portuguese settlements in Africa, particularly from Angola, Benguella, Mozambique, &c. to Brazil. These poor creatures are, like all other animals, rated in their value according to whether they be old or young, healthy or unhealthy, strong or feeble, of the male or female sex; if they have had the small-pox the price is exceedingly enhanced. Although I have, even in these modern days, heard this traffic defended by many respectable men, according to my ideas, it must be one highly revolting to the refined feelings of an European. During the transport from Africa, great numbers fall victims to the small-pox, to putrid fevers, or to their sickly longing for their own country: this produces a fixed melancholy, which few who are stricken with it ever survive. A young healthy negro costs in Brazil from a hundred to a hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. If he be accustomed to labour, or understands any mechanical trade, or if

he can speak the Portuguese language, his price is much increased: he is paid for, in short, according to the talents he possesses. A number of such slaves forms a valuable capital to the owner of them: for it must be observed, that whatever they can earn, whether by bodily labour, or mechanical employments, is not their own, it all reverts to their master; they are let out by him to work, as an European would let out a horse, at a stated price, by the day or week.

It is these miserable creatures who cultivate the land, and do all the most laborious work of every kind. The wealth of the inhabitants is principally estimated by the number of slaves that each one possesses. The latter may esteem themselves happy when they fall into the hands of merciful and humane masters; but woe to those whose lot is cast under harsh and severe ones: they are sometimes treated in the most brutal manner. Among such it often happens that the desire of liberty, so natural to the heart of man, leads them to run away upon the first favourable opportunity presented; they conceal themselves among the mountains, preferring, infinitely, the life they lead there, feeding upon herbs, fruits, roots, and such animals as they can kill in the chase, to smarting under the lash of a barbarous tyrant. Under such circumstances, they often associate themselves with the Indians of the interior, and serve them as guides when they make the inroads already mentioned into the settlements of the Europeans. In some few cases, the ill-treatment of the slaves has wrought them up to such a pitch of fury, that they have become the murderers of their masters. Such an instance occurred a short time

before our arrival at Santa Catharina. As the coast of Brazil is very thinly peopled, the annual increase of industrious slaves would be a real acquisition to the country; and the government would therefore do wisely to pay great attention to having them treated with humanity and kindness.

The products of the land, abundant and various as they are, would prove an inexhaustible source of the richest commerce, if trade were not embarrassed with many shackles. Every other part of the colony is made subservient to Rio Janeiro, as it is there alone that the inhabitants are allowed to sell their commodities. Should this fine country become hereafter more populous, and be less neglected by the government, it might, from its superabundant natural riches, be made one of the most important marts of commerce in Brazil. The cultivation of cotton and coffee would produce immense gains. Rice and sugar abound here, and yet there is a great want both of rum and arrack. Indigo, pepper, vanilla, copaiva balsam*, and various other objects, would grow without trouble. A number of the finest sorts of wood for ship-building, and for making the most costly household furniture, abound in the forests, and would form very important articles of trade, if the exportation of them were not prohibited. In the southern parts of the government, namely, in Rio Grande, are to be found most of the

* The tree which yields the copaiva balsam, or balsam of tolu, *copaifera officinalis*, is here called *oleo breto*, or black olive. It abounds in the forests, but very little use is made of it. I was assured, that when the incision is made in the tree to procure the balsam, which is done only in the very hot summer months, a strong sound is heard, and the sap or balsam rushes out in a stream, as when a vein is opened in the human arm.

products of the milder parts of Europe: vines, for instance, in abundance; but scarcely any persons concern themselves with the cultivation of them.

Whoever is accurately acquainted with the nature of the Portuguese government, must be surprised, in an establishment where so much affluence reigns, to find so few ecclesiastics. Permission has often been asked of the Court to build a convent here; but the present governor, Don Joachim Xavier Curado, has upon every such application strenuously opposed it, for the very wise reason, that the monks, not contributing to the population of the country, would prove in reality an obstacle to its increasing in wealth and prosperity. Such an instance had occurred only a short time before our arrival.

Of the peculiar customs and manners which I observed during my stay at Santa Catharina, I will endeavour now to give some idea. The inhabitants very often drink a tea, or an infusion from the leaves of a plant known here by the name of *herba do matto*, the *galium mollugo* of Linnæus: this is as general here as tea or coffee in most European countries. I could not procure the plant which produces these leaves*; it does not grow in the island of Santa Catharina, but is brought from the most northern parts of the government, about San Francisco: the leaves are transported hither in a long kind of baskets, which hold from two to three pounds each. When they are to be used, hot water is poured upon them; the liquor is then sweetened

* To judge by the texture of the leaves, it appears to be an *ilex*; perhaps somewhat resembling the *ilex vomitoria*, or Paraguay tea.

with sugar, and served to the guests. In order that none of the leaves may come into the mouth, a little pipe is used, about six inches long, and as thick as the shaft of a tobacco-pipe, through which the liquor is drawn up. Among the poorer class, the shell of a cocoa-nut, or of a species of gourd, probably the *cucurbita siceraria*, is commonly used as a cup: sometimes, however, a sort of cups are made of burnt clay, which are presented with a napkin; the latter is made a part of the appurtenances, that the hand may not be molested by the heat of the cup. Among rich people may be seen cocoa-nuts, finely carved and lackered, while others have both the cup and the pipe of silver, the workmanship of which is very neat, and instead of a napkin, a saucer of the same metal. I was informed that the use of this tea was introduced from the Spanish possessions, and that the drinking it had been for a long time an universal custom.

Instead of fire-arms, the people of Santa Catharina make use of a sort of bow, but they do not shoot with arrows. Sometimes they use small pebbles, sometimes balls made of hard clay. It is surprising to see with how much dexterity even boys will use this weapon: they kill at a considerable distance, with as much certainty as an European with his musket. Nor is this merely a sport of youth to bring down small birds: I have been assured that the aim is taken with so much certainty, that as many, even large birds, are brought home as they carry out clay balls with them. This account appeared to me so much the more credible, as I had in my excursions often taken a youth with me as a guide, who used his bow with extraordinary dexterity: and I once saw a boy only ten years old take his aim at a butterfly which was perched upon a flower,

and blow the creature entirely to pieces. I observed another shoot a particular orange which was pointed out to him from the bough of the tree; and I repeatedly saw them destroy the little colibris as they were hovering about the blossoms. As a good gun from Europe is in Brazil a very dear and costly weapon, and as powder can often not be procured at any price, the manner of shooting here described is so much the more valuable. For natural history, and particularly for subjects of ornithology, it is particularly desirable, as all birds, not excepting the smallest colibri, that I saw dispatched by it, were not in any way shattered: they were killed merely by the force of the blow received from the ball.

Another universal custom is to wash the feet with warm water every night before going to bed. All persons of both sexes, from the wealthiest land-proprietor to the lowest slave, those that inhabit the most splendid mansions, as well as those who live in the poorest cottages, observe this custom, only with the difference, that the feet of the masters and their guests are first washed by the slaves, and then the latter wash their own. The principal reason of this universal custom arises from the general practice among the poorer classes of going barefoot. The day-labourers, and slaves who return home from their daily labours, weary, and covered with dust and sweat, find it infinitely reviving and refreshing: it besides is the most effectual preventive of the bad effects which might arise from the noxious insects that get under the skin. The *pulex penetrans*, for example, among negligent and careless people, going barefooted, will burrow almost into the flesh, and finish by occasioning sores of a very painful and pernicious kind. In the town of Nossa

Senhora do Desterro, we were much struck by seeing persons of the highest classes with very long nails, particularly upon the thumb: this was considered as a great ornament. Here, as in many places in the East Indies, it is regarded as a mark of distinction to have long nails, since it is a certain sign that the hands cannot be employed in hard labour.

In our European towns we go in splendid equipages to make visits of great ceremony, or to attend a wedding or christening. In this little town of the new world, on such occasion a sort of sedan chair is used, called cadeirinhas, in which the rich are drawn in state by their negro slaves. They are not like our sedan chairs, closed up with doors and glass windows, but rather resemble an easy chair with a high back: they have a canopy, round which is a curtain of scarlet cloth richly bordered with gold fringe, and the whole, when the curtain is open, has very much the appearance of a king's throne.

We had the satisfaction of solemnizing here the festival of the New Year, and of participating in the pleasures which on this occasion are allowed by the state. Nor was it a slight satisfaction to see the poor negro slaves, who are kept so strictly to work the whole year round, at this period allowed some days of freedom, when they could seek their enjoyments after their own fashion, and indulge in those national dances which are to them so great a source of delight. Although the best description of these characteristic performances can be but imperfect, yet will I endeavour to give some idea of them in the best manner I am able.

Commonly the slaves rush into the street with great noise and impetuosity; but at this time it rained so hard that they were constrained to solemnize their bacchanalian rites in cottages or public-houses. It was easy to discover where a ball was going forwards, for the music, and the shouts of the dancers, might be heard to a considerable distance. I say music, although nothing like any of our European wind or stringed instruments was to be heard, not even a bagpipe. A monotonous cry, a wild, noisy, yet measured kind of drumming, a sound like that of hammering copper, a clapping of hands, distinguished the place of assembly. In entering this seat of rejoicing, the not very agreeable smell of so many negroes, shut up together in a very confined space, heated with the exertions of dancing and leaping, was sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of many, or rather to frighten it entirely away. Mine was not so easily subdued: the desire of seeing in South America a dance performed by the swarthy natives of Africa, was superior to any repulsion arising from the above-mentioned circumstance.

The king, or leader of the dance, was to be distinguished immediately from the rest by his greater height and more athletic form. He stood like a hero in the midst of his followers, who were all collected in a circle round him. Instead of the helmet of steel, his head was ornamented with gold paper and feathers: instead of the iron breast-plate, his body glittered with bits of glass, gold fringe, and spangles: suns, and stars of gold and silver paper, appeared above all others the favourite ornament. In his left hand he held a reed about two feet long, in which were a great many notches pretty close to each other: on this

he scraped continually with a little stick which he held in his right-hand. The rest of the dancers had either like sticks, rattles, or little bells, any thing, in short, that would make a clattering and noise. Instead of musicians, some of the negroes sat in a corner of the room upon the ground, and struck with their hands upon an ox-hide, which was stretched over the hollow trunk of a tree, serving as a drum. The whole company were ornamented with feathers and ribbands, and wore diadems of gold paper. The faces of some were covered with masks, those of the rest were smeared over in a frightful and horrible manner, with red, white, and other colours.

Both negroes and negresses having formed a circle round the king, afterwards began, first one, then another, according to the degree of agility they possessed, to come forwards in the circle as solo-dancers, when they made the strangest gestures that can well be conceived; the rest sung, or screamed some incomprehensible African songs. They drew the hip and ankle-bone with incredible celerity into a circle horizontally, while the upper part of the body remained almost motionless, seeming, as it were, to balance themselves upon the lower part; the neck, the shoulders, and the back, were equally shaken with such celerity, that they seemed to have every joint and muscle about them perfectly at command. The greatest dexterity was shewn by a half-naked negress, who united with the most rapid movement of the hips a very exactly measured and equally rapid motion of the feet. The distortions of the countenance, the swelling out of the cheeks, and other hideous gestures, seemed to constitute, according to the ideas of these people, the perfection of the performances. After

awhile, the sweat arising from their exertions mixing itself with the dyes that smeared the swarthy bodies of the dancers, and running down together, occasioned a variety of shadings truly ludicrous, and more easily conceived than described.

The principal object of these dances consists in representing the common occupations of life, as fishing, hunting, fighting, &c.; and they are represented with so much fidelity, that our European ballet-dancers might here learn lessons of expression. When we consider the natural warmth of the climate, united with the artificial warmth of so many people shut up together in a confined space, and both combined with that arising from the violence of their exertions, one cannot be enough astonished to see for what a length of time together the dancing is continued.

In the night before the feast of Epiphany, it is the custom for lovers to serenade their beloved, and friends to serenade each other. We had not been previously apprised of this custom, and were not a little astonished at being waked in the middle of the night with a sweet and melodious song, accompanied by flutes and guitars. The effect of this soul-enchanting art, particularly in the middle of the night, must be well known to all who have experienced it, and they will easily conceive the pleasing impression made upon us by the charms of these soft tones on our yet but half-awakened senses. On the following morning we learnt that this was intended as a mark of friendship and good-will, as a token how much we had acquired, during our short stay, the esteem and respect of the inhabitants.

I was no less surprised than rejoiced to learn from the governor, that there was a person in the country who had for several years occupied himself exceedingly in collecting insects. Anxious to avail myself of a circumstance which might prove of so much advantage to me in my own pursuits, I immediately intreated his Excellency to introduce me to the acquaintance of this brother collector. But here a difficulty arose, as he did not live in the island, but upon the continent, at the distance of a full German mile, and the governor was not very well acquainted with the precise place of his abode. He, however, very obligingly took great pains to inquire him out, and I had soon the pleasure of a visit from him. My first business was to intreat him to point out to me the parts where I might obtain the richest harvest for my collection, and to solicit permission to accompany him in some of his excursions; both which requests he complied with in the most obliging manner.

The very same day, at his invitation, I quitted Nossa Senhora do Desterro, to accompany him to his own habitation on the continent, which we reached at five o'clock in the evening *. It was a small house, situated in a most charming and fertile landscape, about a hundred paces from the shore. A considerable tract of land belonging to him afforded ample means of providing for the wants of himself and his family. Three slaves, eight cows, a number of swine, fowls, ducks, and turkies, constituted his household, the guard of which was

* For the information of future travellers, it may not be amiss to give the name and address of this worthy man. *Senhor Matheos Cardoso Caldeiro, nos carrieros Freguesia Sao Jose, Governo da Ilha Santa Catharina.*

delegated to several very fine and watchful dogs. His wife, an industrious active woman, and very well instructed in all the departments of domestic management, kept a school for girls, and had a house full of young pupils. At my entrance, I found them all at their respective employments; some were spinning, others sewing, others knitting, others learning to read and spell; such a general appearance of order and industry, in short, reigned among them, that it made the most pleasing and interesting impression upon me, and gave me the highest opinion of my new hostess.

She received me in a very hospitable and friendly manner according to the customs of the country, and to her own confined means. Two daughters, already grown up, who seemed, for their situation, to have been extremely well educated, sung, at the conclusion of the day's work, upon my request, some very pleasing and expressive airs; and as they could not play upon any musical instrument, accompanied their singing in a very peculiar manner. They had in their hands a bivalve shell, in which was inclosed a small pebble, which they shook in a regular manner, so as to mark the time: it resembled somewhat the Spanish castagnettes, and produced by no means an unpleasing effect.

This agreeable entertainment concluded, they both absented themselves awhile, and at their return brought me, the one figs, the other flowers, which they had gathered in their own garden. Their whole demeanour was replete with rural innocence and kindness. It was a fine moonlight evening, and the good father proposed a walk upon the sea-shore, which I

accepted with the greater pleasure, as we were to be accompanied by the two daughters.

At our return, we found an excellent supper set out, which the good mother had been in the mean time preparing. The bananas were dressed in a way wholly new to me, and which I thought particularly good. This fruit, the *musa sapientum* of Linnæus, may be eaten the whole year through. It is, in truth, one of the most benevolent presents of nature, furnishing a grateful, healthy, and nourishing food; the flavour may be best likened to a mixture of flour, sugar, butter, and eggs. The fruit is eaten either raw, or boiled in water only, or roasted in butter; dressed in the latter way, it resembles very much an omelette or a pancake. The evening was passed very pleasantly, and our grand excursion was fixed to take place early on the following morning.

Before I went to bed, a slave brought me, according to the custom mentioned above, a warm foot-bath, when he washed, rubbed, and wiped my feet so softly, so gently, that I must freely own I thought it a most refreshing and grateful ceremony. I have ever since found the same practice the greatest refreshment possible when I have been fatigued. I could not help thinking of the deceased Forster as I was going through this operation. He says, that the best remedy he ever found for reviving his wearied muscles, and restoring them to their elasticity, was, when the daughter of his host, who excelled all the beauties of Otaheite in the clearness of her complexion and the regularity of her features, rubbed his arms and legs gently with her delicate hands, and pressed the

muscles softly between her fingers*. I must confess, that whatever pleasure I received from the friction by the negro slave, I should have felt ten times greater, if, instead of him, the daughter of my host would have condescended to be my attendant. The effect of this operation is indeed not very different from that of animal magnetism.

On the following morning, at day-break, after an excellent breakfast of bananas and milk, which I preferred to coffee, we set out upon our excursion. It was never extended more than a German mile from the house; and a little before evening we returned richly laden with butterflies and other insects. I, for my part, took every thing that came in my way, and filled four middling-sized boxes, which were carried by a boy whom I had taken with me for the purpose, with the most beautiful, and to me very rare objects. My conductor brought home only one box full, he being much more select as to what he caught than myself. After I had refreshed myself with a very hearty and excellent meal, I expressed a wish to return the same evening to Nossa Senhora do Desterro, as I had no more boxes with me for farther excursions. My friendly host immediately sent for one of his slaves, and ordered his own boat to carry me over; he, indeed, accompanied me himself to the island, though purely out of politeness, as he had no real business there.

In some of our future excursions together, he carried me to the hill of Sertao das Picadas, and to the stream of Ribeirao,

* See the account of a voyage of discovery to the South Sea by Captain George Forster.

about two German miles and a half inland. These my conductor assured me were the principal places for finding large and rare butterflies; and here we collected, among others, the *adonis crameri*, *epistrophus weberi*, *helenoris crameri*, *lysimnia*, *februa hoffmanseggi*, *thoas*, *archidamas*, and many others equally uncommon and beautiful.

We always set out at day-break. A Portuguese boy, whom I hired for the purpose, carried the boxes and the necessary refreshments; and I had my nets, my needles for fastening the insects when caught, botanizing boxes, knives, and other tools. At every step I took, as I left behind me the sea-coast already so well explored, and which I thought had yielded me so rich a harvest, and approached the forests, as yet unknown to me, I was in still greater astonishment, and could not contemplate with sufficient transport the new and charming objects which were at every moment presented.

Transported, enraptured with the beauties of nature, often did I stop to enjoy them a few moments longer. My conductor could not comprehend how I could feel so much delight at contemplating objects with which he had been too long familiarized to experience any thing like corresponding sensations. The admiration I expressed at the variety and stature of the gigantic stems with crowns of flowers upon their heads, at the fragrance of the atmosphere, at the new forms and colours of the fungi, at the size and extraordinary variety of the ferns *, at

* See "Plantes recueillies pendant le Voyage des Russes autour du monde par Langsdorf et Fischer." Tubingen, chez Cotta, 1810. Fol. avec des figures.

every object, in short, that I beheld around me, excited more astonishment in him than the things themselves. Instead of cocoa and banana trees, of coffee, sugar, rice, and cotton-plants: instead of fields of tapioca and earth-nuts, the sight of which had so often enchained me on the sea-shore, my eye now endeavoured to pierce through dark, shady, and almost impenetrable forests. Here were olives, fig-trees, the *cedrus odorata* or mahogany tree, *beroba*, *garabisi*, *garaberi*, *garaxuba*, *garabrura**, and others, all with the thickest, highest, and most upright stems, with the most luxuriant foliage, and with their branches covered with fruit or flowers; it seemed impossible sufficiently to admire them. Nor was I less delighted with the infinite variety of climbing plants which wound about these superb trees nearly to their summits, forming the finest natural garlands.

Bountiful nature, who here far exceeds all ideas ever conceived of her fertility, of the brilliance of colouring and beauty of form among her productions, of her delights and riches, has animated these forests with an endless variety of living creatures. Wild beasts, birds, insects, and reptiles, which we Europeans seldom see even in large collections of natural his-

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* I cannot insert more than the names of these, for to have obtained the leaves or flowers, the tree itself must have been cut down. A botanist who would stay here, not days or weeks, but years, and go upon his excursions with an axe and bill, would be richly rewarded by the discovery of many new genera and species in the vegetable kingdom.

The Translator is obliged to give the five latter names as they stand in the original, not being able to find them in any dictionary, so as to insert them under either the English or botanical names.

tory, either stuffed or preserved in spirits, are here presented to the eye at every moment in living forms. I have seen on one side parrots of various sizes and colours flying about with loud and discordant screams, while on the other the large-beaked toucan *ramphastos*, unsuspicious of any treachery, was eating the fruit of a neighbouring tree wholly unknown to me. Deeper in the forest, I heard the cries of monkies, and at my feet were holes of the armadillo. Here a brisk butterfly, as large as a bird, fluttered from flower to flower: there a lovely colibri sucked the honey from the odoriferous blossoms. The venomed snake, gliding along the narrow foot-way, terrified the wanderer, and made him half insensible to the heavenly harmony of thousands of singing birds, whose notes were calculated at once to charm the ear, and enliven the heart.

Among such transporting pictures, which seemed almost like the illusions of a dream, did we one day wander till we came to the ridge of a steep hill composed of a moist and red argillaceous earth, when suddenly I was surprised anew by seeing a fine and extensive valley spread before me. We now exchanged the cool shade of the forest for an open region, where we were constantly exposed to the burning rays of the sun: along this we had proceeded some way, when we found the stomach begin to be very importunate for a share of our attention. In our route hitherto, which exceeded a German mile, we had met with only a single miserable house; so miserable that it could not even furnish us with a little milk. Farther in the valley, at about ten o'clock in the morning, we came to another small hut or cottage. It was not provided with any of the dainties of an European kitchen, but we found an

excellent water-melon, which the good people gave us very freely, though it was the only one in the house: they besides set before us a gourd-shell full of tapioca-meal. The rest of our repast was made out with bread and a glass of brandy, both of which we had providently brought with us. Our hosts would not accept any payment, but we presented them with some bread, which seemed very acceptable, as it is a thing the common people of this country seldom taste.

Exceedingly refreshed, we proceeded on our walk, penetrating still farther and farther into the valley. We had already reached the bound of our that day's excursion, the river Ribeirao, when my conductor desired me to take off my boots and stockings, and follow him. Though this proposal did not please me very much, principally because I had the idea of venomous serpents fresh in my mind, yet no choice was left me but to comply, or leave my curiosity unsatisfied; for the only possible means of penetrating into the thickest part of the forest was by following the stream in its course through it. The boots and stockings were accordingly taken off and left upon a bush, and we waded along up to the knees in the crystalline flood. We had scarcely proceeded ten steps, when we were surrounded by an indescribable number of beautiful butterflies, and my conductor had sufficient employment in sticking all that I caught. As it was not, however, our purpose to undertake this walk merely to obtain what might equally have been procured upon the sea-coast, we rather reserved ourselves for the more important objects we had in view; and, like the huntsman, who watches for the game in the snare, waited at a little distance from each other with our

net spread, the arrival of the more rare and costly game of which we were in search. It was not long before the beautiful *adonis* and *epistrophus weberi* appeared. The first rose high into the air with a rapid flight, its glittering wings shining in the distance like some brilliant metal; the second, with a proud and majestic air, as if mocking the levity of the other, bent its slow course solemnly over the stream. The sun fell with almost perpendicular rays upon our heads, while our feet were one moment plunged in the cool water of the river, then in the hot puddles of the surrounding bog.

My conductor being better accustomed to this sort of insect hunting than myself, seemed to prosecute it without feeling the least inconvenience; but for my part, after remaining here for some hours, my feet, from having been so long naked, sometimes in the cool water, at others in the burning puddles, began to smart and turn red as if they had been scalded, nay, even to swell. We had come in the intention of staying in this spot, so rich in the objects we sought, till the following day; but this idea I was now constrained to abandon, lest on the following day I should not be able to stir. We therefore set out on our return, and notwithstanding the constantly increasing swelling of my feet, reached the dwelling of my host late in the evening, exceedingly fatigued, but richly rewarded in the number, the beauty, and variety of the new objects we brought away with us. Indeed, I had good reason to consider this as one of the most delightful and most memorable days of my stay in Brazil.

In all my excursions, I found the people of the country

truly hospitable and obliging. Wherever I presented myself, the family were eager to produce all which their little stores could furnish to satisfy my hunger. Sometimes I procured a fowl, some eggs, milk, fish, or bananas, oranges, and water-melons; at other times I was obliged to be contented with tapioca or dried beans. In the latter case, however, though the fare was not sumptuous, I found the truth of the old saying, that a good appetite is the best sauce.

As in this season of the year scarcely a day passes without rain, it sometimes happened that I was obliged to seek shelter from that and the thunder in the first cottage I could find; and being not unfrequently wet through before I could reach any place of shelter, the good people always pressed me, unasked on my part, to accept dry linen, and were assiduous in wiping and washing any part of my dress that had been dirtied. If occasionally I could not reach the ship, or my dwelling in the town, before night, they were always ready to give me a night's lodging, such as their situation would afford; and if it generally was but ordinary, it was always clean. The bed was commonly nothing more than one or two thin straw mats spread upon the ground; but there were always clean sheets and a soft pillow: a light cotton covering completed the furniture. However hard and inconvenient such a bed appeared at first, I soon grew accustomed to it, and learnt an useful lesson how little is necessary to satisfy the real wants of man, and how tender he is made by a high degree of what we call cultivation.

The same straw mats that serve for the bed, or similar

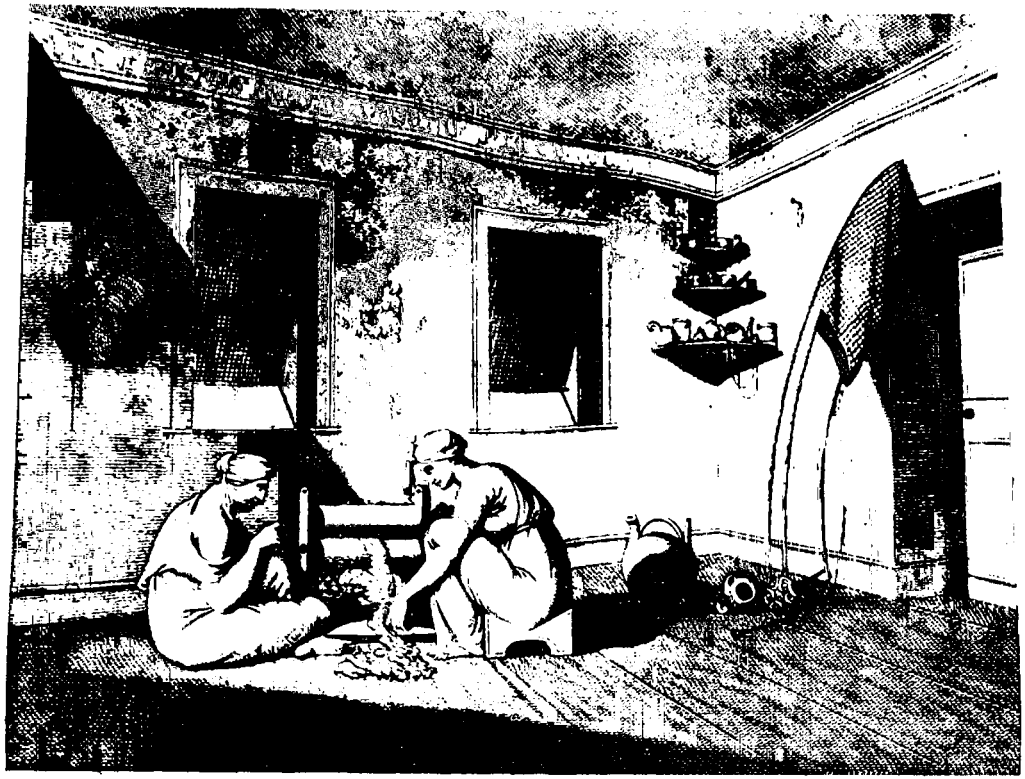
ones, are spread at dinner by way of table; they are covered with a cloth. The whole family lie down round the mat, the men stretched at full length, resting one arm on a little pillow; but the women, after the oriental fashion, with their feet crossed one over the other, in the way that tailors sit among us. The use of chairs is almost as little known in the country as that of tables.

I have already mentioned the tapioca, or mandioca root, which the common people use instead of bread, and will here therefore only mention the manner in which it is eaten. The shell of a small gourd cut in halves and dried, full of this tapioca meal, is brought upon the table, with some wooden spoons, while, by way of bread, some of the dried root is eaten with it, or perhaps mixed into the dish; each person dips his spoon in, and eats as much as he likes. I was exceedingly struck with seeing a lady of consequence at Nossa Senhora do Desterro take some of this tapioca-meal at dinner, and after mixing it with her other food, eat the mixture with her fingers, without seeming to think that she had done any thing improper or unbecoming. In consequence of this custom of eating with the fingers, it is a constant practice to bring water to wash the hands and mouth at the conclusion of dinner. This is done even in the poorest and meanest houses; and equally, when, instead of eating with the fingers, nothing but the spoon has been used during the whole meal.

The houses of the land cultivators are small, but convenient, and generally placed in fine situations. The interior usually consists of a sitting room, one or two chambers, and a kitchen.

The latter is sometimes in a separate building with a chamber over it, appropriated to the negro slaves. Among the richer cultivators, the principal room has a boarded floor, but this is not the case with the poorer; few are covered with tiles; the greater part are only thatched, as it were, with palm-leaves, from a sort of palm probably not yet known to us. Villages, as among Europeans, there are few, or rather none: the houses are scattered singly over the country, some at a greater, some at a less distance from each other. Every land proprietor has his possessions immediately round his house. Most of the dwellings lie near the sea-coast, and are surrounded with orange-trees, coffee, banana, and cotton plants. In the neighbourhood of each house is commonly to be seen a crystal fountain under the shade of an orange-tree.

The little boats hollowed from the trunk of a single tree, which are used by the inhabitants for fishing, and for their intercourse with the continent, are commonly from twenty-four to thirty-two feet long, and about three feet broad. They lie along the shore, not shut up or watched, only drawn under a sort of sheds, to keep them from the rain and the burning sun. Every where I observed among the people simplicity, confidence, and hospitality. They are seldom devoted to one particular branch of mechanical occupation, but, as true cosmopolites, understand a little of all, and each one practises the different mechanical arts for himself, as far as he has occasion for them. He is his own butcher, carpenter, joiner, tailor, fisherman, huntsman, &c. &c.; many are, among other things, weavers.



Interior of a House in Brazil

As to what concerns the arts, knowledge, and the public institutions, not much is to be expected. The tools for mechanical works, the implements of husbandry, the household furniture and utensils, are poor and inconvenient. Possibly the government may intentionally prevent the people becoming much enlightened, lest they should in the end grow too well aware of their own power, and bidding defiance to the little kingdom of Portugal, shake off their yoke entirely.

If any individual of greater activity and ingenuity than the rest endeavours to distinguish himself by the introduction of new objects of industry and wealth, instead of being supported by the higher powers, he always finds them throwing obstacles in his way. Such was particularly the case with a man, who sometime since endeavoured to establish a manufactory of indigo, and for this purpose had procured a quantity of the plants; but for want of support from the government, he was obliged, in the end, to abandon the scheme. The manner of making brandy, and the apparatuses for distilling, must be very imperfect: the latter I did not see, but I judge from the very indifferent quality of the rum. I do not know that the islanders ever attempt making arrack from their rice, but it is certain that they might have both rum and arrack of a very superior quality, and in abundance, for exportation. Instead of this, brandy is even brought hither from Lisbon, and under the name of *aqua ardente do reino*, sold very dear.

For separating the cotton wool from the seeds, a very inconvenient machine is used, consisting of two cylinders working against each other, and which require two people every time to

move them. The looms for weaving are quite in their infancy, and the mills are very defective. Yet among so many indifferent objects, I must not omit to observe, that I saw some excellent pottery manufactured at Nossa Senhora do Desterro. A fine red and black argillaceous earth, both of which abound in the country, are used for this manufactory, and the different articles are so well made that they are even exported to Rio Janeiro, and Rio Grande. There is also a very good tile manufactory. Concerning the sugar-boiling I could not obtain any particular information.

The whale-fishery, however, and the manufactory of train-oil, in this government, deserve to be especially mentioned. This branch of industry was formerly carried on by a company to whom it was farmed out, and was very profitable; but for some years past the administration have taken it into their own hands. Perhaps the farmers, from the diminution in the number of fish taken every year, found it, latterly, not a sufficiently advantageous speculation; or more probably the government, by restraining the fishery, hoped to increase their gains. Be this as it may, the whale-fishery, even as it is now carried on, and the manufactory of train-oil, form a very considerable branch of the national industry, and support some thousands of souls, particularly the negro slaves.

The regulations for the fisheries are as follows. That of Villa-Nova has its warehouses in the parish of Villa-Nova; that of the island has its warehouses on the south-east side of Santa Catharina; that of the *Entrada* has the warehouses at the northern entrance of the Strait, and that of Rio do Gravato, has

warehouses upon the same river. The warehouses of the Entrada, at the north-west point of the island, being the nearest to us, I took an opportunity of visiting them, accompanied by some others of our party. In the last winter, that of 1803, no more than ten of the spermaceti whales, *physeter macrocephalus*, were caught: and the overseer assured me that this was the only sort of whale ever taken here. The largest, according to his account, do not exceed thirty-five feet in length; the generality run about twenty-four feet.

The fishery is extremely well regulated. Two or three boats go out in the morning, and return back in the evening. They never run farther than the island of Alvoredo: the whales sometimes come even into the Strait. At the commencement of this institution, four hundred fish were not unfrequently taken in a winter: the greatest number ever known to have been caught in one season was five hundred. When we consider the produce of so large a number, some idea may easily be formed of the quantity of vessels, of furnaces, and other things necessary for the manufactory, that must have been provided here. The profits of a manufactory, which had taken five hundred whales, might be estimated at three hundred and forty-six thousand rix-dollars, clear gain. The quantity of fish taken, however, and consequently the profits, decrease every year: this has been more especially the case since the English, and the speculative heads in the United States of America, have begun to pursue the fishery in these parts, particularly in the neighbourhood of Falkland's Islands. But perhaps the principal reason for the decrease of the whale-fishery is, the government having taken it into their hands. Every one knows with how much

assiduity individuals will seek their own emolument, and wite what negligence the very same objects are pursued if the direction of them, in behalf of the public, is consigned to men who have no eventual interest in the concern but being well paid, think much more about receiving their stipends than of advancing the prosperity of the undertaking. Besides the warehouses above-mentioned, there are others on the more southern parts of the coast of Brazil, about Rio Grande, but the number of them I could not exactly ascertain.

If I only subjoin a few cursory medical observations, it must be understood that I do not offer my remarks in general as any thing more than cursory and detached ones. No person of candour and judgment can expect a circumstantial history of diseases from a stranger who resides a few days, or perhaps weeks, in a place, and who can therefore never obtain more than a superficial knowledge of the climate, the domestic economy of the inhabitants, their customs and modes of life; all of which have so essential an influence on the constitution, and of course on the maladies to which the human frame is subjected; who besides, perhaps, cannot gain the confidence of the inhabitants so far as that they will communicate freely with him; nay, who cannot even be sure that they will not studiously conceal many circumstances, or represent them under false colours. I shall confine myself, therefore, to stating the few following facts.

The medical oracle of the island, and indeed of the whole government, is an army surgeon, who lives at Nossa Senhora do Desterro, and who has the superintendance of two hospitals, a general and a military one. Though these hospitals are well

situated, and appear tolerably spacious, yet if, unfortunately, putrid fevers or other malignant diseases break out in them, it happens, as in most European hospitals, that too many of the sick are crowded together, so as to endanger the increasing, rather than lessening the ravages of the disease. In a gallery of the military hospital, which is scarcely large enough for fifty beds, I saw eighty crammed together. I cannot forbear observing, besides, that the great cleanliness which I had in general remarked and admired, all over the island, failed very much here, where it was particularly desirable. Though this province is generally considered as extremely healthy, yet some years before a contagious disorder prevailed, to which several thousand persons fell victims. According to the best information I could collect upon the subject, it seems to have been a dysentery, accompanied with putrid fever. Notwithstanding that the loss of several thousand lives, in a colony so thinly peopled, is irreparable, it was not sufficient to rouse the apathy of the Portuguese government, and induce them to establish in the island persons properly instructed and experienced in the medical art.

The only remedies administered by the practitioners here, are cathartics, emetics, and phlebotomy. The common people have a number of domestic remedies, which are scarcely less pernicious than bad medical advice. In Nossa Senhora do Desterro are three houses which bear the title of apothecaries' shops: the owners of them profess to have a large stock of medical drugs, but the fact is, that they have not even the medicines produced by their own country. One might ask in vain for some ounces of copaiva balsam, or ricinusol. The small-

pox is a very dreadful and dangerous disease, particularly among the negro slaves: when it breaks out, it commonly costs the lives of thousands. Inoculation is a thing of which the people here have no idea; and that most precious gift of heaven, the vaccine inoculation, is hardly known even by name. Cutaneous diseases are very frequent in this country, as in all equally hot, and appear under various forms and modifications. The itch, and other eruptions of the skin, are to be seen in the most distinguished families, and among the poor there is scarcely a house free from them. They do not seem, however, to be communicated by the touch, as no infection was ever taken by any of our ship's company. The syphillitic virus is but too widely spread, owing to circumstances which may be considered as invariably attendant upon a warm climate.

A very common evil here is the sores that arise from the *pulex penetrans*, or *sand flea*, as it is called. This is a small insect, which burrows into the skin of persons going bare-footed, and announces itself by occasioning an itching and smarting sensation. If the sting be not early attended to, and the animal taken out, it will make its way even into the flesh, and occasion swelling and sores very difficult to be healed. The slaves, who always go bare-footed to their field-work, are particularly subject to this inconvenience: it was experienced by most of our party, who went about in thin silk stockings, or even without any covering upon their feet. With two of them, the itching and smarting continued for six weeks, long after we had quitted Brazil, when we had even doubled Cape Horn. If, however, as soon as the itching is felt, people are careful to

extract the animal in the same manner that they would a thorn or splinter of wood, no ill effects will arise; if left, a large family may soon be expected.

It is extraordinary, that most of the native women here have very bad teeth, although those who are born of Portuguese parents are distinguished for beautiful ones. Many young girls, not more than fifteen or sixteen years old, may be seen with one or more of their front teeth entirely gone. May not this effect be produced by the tapioca-meal, which constitutes so essential a part of their food? As a remedy against head-ache, it is common to rub the forehead and temples over with a red earth mixed with water. The countenances of the negroes, painted in this way, as I have often seen them, have a truly singular and comic appearance.

In a country where experienced physicians are not to be found, it is little to be expected that midwifery should be practised by instructed persons. The practitioners in this department of science are old women, who have had many children themselves, and thus from experience have acquired a sort of substitute for knowledge. According to the account given me by many different persons, unnatural labours are not by any means uncommon, and many women lose their lives in consequence of them: far more instances of the kind occur here than is usual in warm climates. The women in this country, as well as in Spain and Portugal, are extremely fruitful, nor is it unusual to find families of fifteen or even twenty children. All the streets and roads are full of children, and it is well known that the population of Brazil increases rapidly. When we

reflect how abundantly the people of the country are provided with the means of supporting their children, and that with very little labour, it will not appear surprising that the families are so numerous. The children are fed in their infancy very much with bananas. Many mothers endeavour to retain their milk, and suckle their infants as long as possible: children even of three or four years old may occasionally be seen at the breast. This is done, according to the confession of the women themselves, to delay as long as possible any farther increase of their family.

The natural history of the country, according to the plan I have followed, is so interwoven with the account of my travels, that little more remains to be said except to subjoin a few observations, which I trust will be found of general interest.

However charming the forests appear, however delightful the country, yet there are a number of venomous reptiles, which occasion the walking about not to be entirely free from danger. Of these, the most noxious are the *coluber corallinus*, or coral snake, and the *xiraracca**. The coral snake is the most poisonous of all. The inhabitants cannot speak of the bite without terror, as certain death. This serpent moves very slowly, somewhat in the manner of our *anguis fragilis*, or blind worm. In the open field, or upon the seashore, it may easily be avoided or killed. I have several times

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* The Translator has not been able to procure any explanation of this Portuguese name for the serpent here mentioned, and is therefore obliged to call it only by the name given in the original.

killed them myself. They endeavour to avoid man when they see him approach. The great danger of being bitten by them is in going barefooted into the thick forests, when they may be concealed among the leaves, and a person may tread upon one unawares. The consequences of the bite are a sudden swelling of the whole body, and a rushing of blood from the nose, ears, eyes, and ends of the fingers. They are seldom more than an ell and a half long *. The xiraracca is also extremely venomous, and many persons have died of the bite; but it is not considered as such certain death as that of the coral snake. This snake is sometimes between two and three ells long. When I inquired whether there was no counter-poison against the bite of these serpents, I was answered that there were many persons who could pronounce a *blessing*, and that this was the best remedy. Reasonable people have, however, found burning the wound of great utility.

Often in the evening, particularly in low marshy grounds, the air will be filled in places, fora circle of twelve or fifteen paces, with a smell exactly like that of musk. This I had several times remarked, and was anxious to investigate the cause of it. The universal popular opinion is, that it arises from the xiraracca. I must leave it to future travellers to determine whether this be in any, and in what degree,

* It is to be presumed, that by this measure is meant the Flemish ell, which is three quarters of an English yard, or two feet three inches. In Nemnich's Dictionary of Natural History, the *coluber corallinus* is mentioned as more than three feet long, which corresponds with the measure given by the author, taking it for the Flemish ell.—TRANSLATOR.

true. It is possible that nature, by occasioning the animal to emit such a smell, means to warn man against the approach of a formidable enemy, as by the rattle it warns him against the most poisonous of all serpents. I must, however, observe, that I have myself killed and skinned many, and never perceived any thing of the pungent odour which I had often experienced in my evening walks in the fields. If it did indeed proceed from the animal, I know not why it should be exhaled in the evening only, and not at any other time. In my opinion, the origin of the smell is to be sought in some cause different from the vicinity of the xiraracca.

The bird spider, *aranea avicularis*, is very common. This name was given to it because it has been said that it eats the humming-birds; but the notion appears wholly unfounded. This spider does not make any web; it lives in holes under ground, which it only leaves in very warm sunshine, and never goes many paces from them. It moves almost like a crab, and thence has the Portuguese name *caranguexeira*, or crab-spider. I myself caught three, and fourteen other specimens were brought to me, so that I had sufficient opportunities of making myself acquainted with their structure, and judging therefore somewhat of their habits and the nature of their food. If I asked the people of the country whether these spiders ever eat the colibris, they answered me in the negative with a smile, assuring me that they feed upon nothing but insects, such as flies, ants, bees, wasps, beetles, and the like, and this assurance was confirmed by my own investigations. The structure of the mouth is sufficient to decide that the idea can be only a popular prejudice, as it is cal-

culated merely for suction, so that at the utmost it could only suck the blood of the little creature. The colibris hover about from flower to flower; how should they, therefore, ever come in contact with a spider that only crawls upon the ground? the latter is, besides, very slow in its movements, and upon this principle alone could never overtake the brisk and active colibri. It is difficult to conceive how the idea was ever entertained of giving this animal a bird as its principal food. The bite is not mortal, or even dangerous, but will occasion considerable smart. The hair, with which the body is entirely covered, by merely touching the skin creates a painful kind of smarting and itching, as I more than once experienced in only touching, in order to preserve them. The creature appears to have very little strength in his muscles to defend himself against an enemy. This spider, as well as many other insects and plants, is not to be found in the island of Santa Catharina, but abounds upon the continent, particularly in a district called *Os Barreiros*, where a great deal of Turkish corn is grown.

At the beginning of summer, only a few small butterflies of several sorts appear: the largest and most beautiful do not come out till the great heat of summer is over. Although I was extremely satisfied with the collection I made here, my Portuguese friend, Senhor Caldeiro, assured me, that all these were nothing in comparison with the beauty of several species that appear in the months of February and March; and, indeed, the latter days of our stay were those in which I made the most interesting captures. I observed, that in their nature and habits, these superb creatures differed in many respects as much from their brethren in Europe as in their exterior. They raise

themselves with a light and rapid flight into the air, and hover about the blossoms of lofty trees; they are shy and restless, and settle so seldom upon the flowers, that they must in general be caught in their flight. An *amateur* who uses here only the flaps which he employs in Europe, would return home very little satisfied with the produce of his labours. Large nets are necessary, fastened to a long and light cane-staff. I recollected on this occasion, a net for catching butterflies, which I had seen some years before, at the house of a Mr. Latham, in London, and had a similar one made immediately, which was of very great use to me. I observed with the utmost astonishment, in my excursions, a particular species, *februa hoffmanseggi*, which, when it flew away from a tree, or when flying with the female, made a very clear and distinct noise like a rattle, probably with its wings. This species lives in thick orange groves, settling upon the stem, with its wings spread out, and from being very much the colour of the tree, it is difficult to be discerned; but when any one approaches, it flies away with the rattling noise above described. The *archidamas* is a butterfly which emits a soft and not oppressive smell of musk: it lives upon flowers, and flies very quick and high.

Another phœnomenon I observed was, that a butterfly, which I took to be the *catilina crameri*, through a very remarkable opening in the breast-plate emitted a great quantity of a sort of froth: this seemed employed as a means of defence against its enemy, and resembled, in some sort, what is done by the caterpillar of the *machaon*. Several species of the yellow diurnal butterfly, which are here among the most common sorts, live in societies, and are seen in flocks of hundreds, nay thousands,

together. Among these, the *philea*, the *trite*, the *alcmeone*, the *sennae*, the *eubulus*, and the *argante*, may be particularized. Their favourite abode is in low, sandy, and sometimes moist districts, near rivers or brooks, where they often settle in large flocks together upon the sand. When one of these butterflies is caught, if he is only stuck with a pin to the ground, he is sure to be quickly surrounded by a number of his species, and forty or fifty specimens may presently be acquired.

Not only upon the land, but in the water, the inhabitants of this country find enemies unknown to us in Europe. In the neighbourhood of Santa Catharina, and particularly about the island of Alvoredo, and other islands in the same cluster, a very large sort of *sepia*, the *sepia octopus*, or *polvo*, is found. I was assured that these creatures sometimes grow to the size of a man, and are very dangerous, since they will twine their suckers round a person bathing, or fishing, in such a manner that it is impossible to get free from them; and if no one is at hand to assist the person attacked by cutting the animal away, death is inevitable. That a very large *sepia* may in this way become dangerous to a man I can believe; but that there is a species which will, in the open sea, thus twine itself round a large three-masted vessel, so as to draw it under the water, does not come within the compass of belief*.

Very little fish was brought to market during our stay: the principal reason was, perhaps, that from the burning heat of

* Histoire Naturelle des mollusques, par Denys Montfort. Paris, An. 10. Le poulpe colossal.

the sun it was liable to corrupt very soon. I remarked the dorade *coryphæna hippurus*, the sheat-fish *silurus bagre*, the scad *scomber trachurus*, the cat-fish *squalus zygæna*, the sword-fish *trichurus lepturus*, the pelamide *scomber pelamys*, some species of *chætodon*, of *tetraodon*, of *sparus*, of *diodon*, and several others; a catalogue of the names of which was made by Counsellor Tilesius.

The great number of still unknown animals, the investigation of their habits and modes of life, under a heaven so remote from our's; the infinite riches and variety of the vegetable kingdom, would furnish employment for hundreds of naturalists during a long course of years. Our short stay, and the little effectual support which Counsellor Tilesius and myself found in our researches, compelled us to rest satisfied with the little knowledge we could obtain by our own individual efforts.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Brazil.—Voyage round Cape Horn.—Easter Island.—Arrival at Nukahiwa, one of the Washington Islands.—Impressions made at the first Sight of the Island.—Visit from the Natives.

By the end of January, the ships were ready to proceed on the voyage. We were all refreshed with the luxurious living we had enjoyed for some weeks: the whole crew of both ships were in excellent health, and Captain Von Krusenstern had laid in a large stock of fresh provisions of various kinds. On the first of February, therefore, an order was issued for all who had resided during this time at Nossa Senhora do Desterro to repair on board, and we were obliged to quit one of the finest and richest spots upon the globe. The recollection of my stay in Brazil can never be erased from my memory, nor can I ever recur to it but with delight. On the second of February, the governor, who had shewn us great kindness and attention during our stay, came on board with a number of other persons of both sexes, to bid us adieu.

The captain thought it right to hasten our departure as much as possible, as it was by no means desirable to sail round Cape Horn very late in the season. The frightful pictures given by Commodore Anson of the passage round this Cape at an unfavourable period, and the many hardships endured by Captains

Bligh, Wilson, and others, whose descriptions were now the daily subjects of our conversation, rendered us all equally desirous that no unnecessary delays should be made, so as to endanger our experiencing any thing similar.

Our departure had been fixed for the third of February; but on that day there came on so strong a gale of wind, that our captain judged it prudent to remain in the harbour, and wait a more favourable moment. On the fourth, in the afternoon, the wind being sufficiently abated, the anchors of both ships were weighed, and they were soon under sail with a fresh breeze from the south. This day, and the next, the weather was not very favourable; it rained almost incessantly; but the breeze continuing, we were soon at a considerable distance from the coast of Brazil. On the sixth, the weather changed; the rain ceased, and we had a brisk wind from the east, which carried us on rapidly in a southerly direction, so that by the ninth of February we were in the latitude of the Rio de la Plata. Here a small vessel in the horizon, to the south-east, attracted our attention; but as it would have been idle to waste time in satisfying our curiosity with regard to it, we contented ourselves with leaving it to pursue its course quietly, and continued to pursue our's with great rapidity.

We found many new objects of various kinds to engage our attention and observation, in regions hitherto so entirely unknown to us. The flying fish, the dolphins, the pelamides, the dorades, the tropic-birds, and other inhabitants of the warmer zone, were no longer to be seen: but we had albatrosses, *dio-*

medea exulans, peterels, *procellaria*, and whales, as our constant companions. In the fortieth degree of southern latitude we found a great quantity of a very particular sort of *fucus*, though we were six hundred miles distant from the nearest land. The whole crew of the Neva experienced, in the night of the twentieth of February, a most terrible alarm: the vessel received so violent a shock, that they thought of nothing less than being upon a rock or a sand-bank. They all rushed upon deck to learn the whole extent of their danger, but were soon satisfied with finding that it was nothing more than a whale, whether dead or alive was very immaterial, against which they had struck.

The wind, though variable, had been so generally favourable, that by the twenty-fifth of February we were in the neighbourhood of Staten-land. This wild and uninhabited country, whose steep and craggy mountains now bounded our horizon to the south, afforded us, when the weather was clear, many agreeable variations in the different aspects which it presented, as seen at different points of view. We clearly distinguished Cape St. John, from which we were about thirty-three sea-miles distant. This promontory lies in 63° 47′ western longitude, and is a point of great importance to mariners, since its situation is so well ascertained, that the greatest difference to be found with regard to it, among the most experienced astronomers and navigators, does not exceed a few minutes. This cape may assist mercantile seamen, who have not always the best means on board their vessels of ascertaining the longitude and latitude *,

* Witness the American vessel mentioned in page 27, which was three degrees too much to the west.

as a safe guide to correct their reckonings. It is of double importance in these parts, where the navigation is so dangerous, and where, frequently, the prosperous doubling of Cape Horn depends upon the longitude being ascertained with great precision. The quantity of peterels and albatrosses increased the more we proceeded southwards, and the throwing up the water by the whales, which appeared sometimes in the night as if it was surf breaking over a concealed rock, was become so familiar to us, that it almost ceased to be a subject of remark.

Here and there were to be seen stripes, or spots in the sea, which from their glittering appearance, and the little movement the water then had, were distinguishable at a very great distance. These spots proceeded from the fat and oily substances emitted by the whales in their breathing, or from their excrements, and shewed, in a remarkable manner, how little oil is necessary to spread to a great extent over the surface of the water. The idea, which I believe originated with Dr. Franklin, that the waves of the sea, when violently agitated, might be stilled with oil, was probably borrowed from this circumstance.

The almost constantly favourable wind, by which we had been so rapidly carried forwards from Santa Catharina, increased our hopes, and animated our wishes, that we should now, in a few days, have doubled Cape Horn. But, alas! we had scarcely passed Cape St. John, and reached the latitude of the dreaded promontory, when, on the twenty-sixth of February, a very strong gale from the south-south-west, attended

with violent hail and rain, which suddenly came on, shewed us what sort of a region it was that we were now navigating.

We had been so much accustomed for some time to a warm climate, that till the twenty-fifth of February, when we were in latitude 54° 12′ south, we had seldom a less degree of warmth than twelve degrees, by Fahrenheit. On this day the thermometer fell to eight, which affected our feelings very sensibly. On the twenty-seventh the weather cleared very much, and the thermometer was at $5\frac{1}{2}°$, we being then in latitude 57° 19′. The waves, however, continued very high, and the rolling of the ship fatigued us exceedingly. The hope of a calmer sea, with which we flattered ourselves, soon vanished; for on the twenty-eighth began the most frightful south-west wind imaginable, accompanied with fog, rain, and hail, which continued more than twenty-four hours. At length, on the first of March, the storm abated, the wind turning more towards the north: during its continuance, the water almost incessantly washed over the ship.

The second of March was one of the finest days that we saw in these southern latitudes. The reviving rays of the sun warmed us more than ever; and since, during the late melancholy weather, almost all the crew who were not under the necessity of being upon deck, had kept below, we were now very glad to indemnify ourselves by inhaling as much as possible of so reviving an air. Three days had elapsed since we had seen the sun. Our joy, however, experienced some abatement on learning that during the late winds we had been carried entirely southwards, not in the smallest degree towards the west.

Our earnest prayers to be soon out of this stormy region seemed at length to be heard, since about noon a light wind from the north-east sprang up, which freshened so much towards evening, that in the space of an hour we had run ten sea miles westward; and in the morning of the third of March the delightful intelligence was communicated to us by our excellent captain that we had doubled the Cape. This welcome news was received with hearty congratulations to each other, and sincere thankfulness to heaven.

Since the twenty-seventh of February, the thermometer had commonly fluctuated between $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$; but in the night of the first of March it was only one degree above the freezing point. The barometer was at the lowest during the storm of the twenty-eighth of February; it was then 28″5; the highest point it attained was on the second of March, when it was at 20″50.

Scarcely had we entered the South Sea, when we were forsaken by the north-east wind, and a not very favourable west wind began to blow. This constrained us to keep in a southerly direction, so that on the fifth of March we were in latitude 60° south, the lowest southern latitude that we reached during our voyage. After doubling Cape Horn, notwithstanding that we were going farther southwards, the weather grew warmer every day. From the third to the thirteenth of March, the usual height of the thermometer was four degrees above the freezing point; the lowest point to which it descended was three, and it never rose above five. We had now very changeable weather, alternate fog and sunshine, calm and brisk winds. For some days the wind was almost constantly to the east; and

then, from the twelfth to the sixteenth of March, we had a strong north-west wind.

In the night of the seventeenth, between the hours of three and seven, the quicksilver in the barometer fell from 29″10, to 28″45. Such a fall was a thing hitherto wholly unknown to us, and it filled us with the cruellest apprehensions of a more dreadful storm than we had yet experienced. On the eighteenth, however, the weather was again fine; we had nearly a calm; the sun shone delightfully; and the thermometer stood at noon at seven in the shade. An immense number of albatrosses were swimming like geese about the ship; we endeavoured in vain to kill some of them with our guns, but as soon as a shot was fired, they flew away: they seemed to raise themselves with difficulty from the water, and made a vast circle in it before they had wind enough to fill their long wings, and begin their ascent. This was to us a new and very amusing spectacle. We were now in latitude 55° 46″ south, longitude 89° 51″ west.

Repeated attempts were made by us to catch the albatrosses alive with a hook, as well as to kill them with our guns; but though this has, according to report, been often done by other mariners, we could never succeed in it. Captain Bligh says: "The method employed by the sailors for catching the albatrosses consists in fastening the bait two or three feet from the hook, and when the bird catches at the bait, the hook may, with a jerk, be fastened into the foot or some part of the body. Many sorts of birds caught by

us in this manner were shut up and fatted, and their flesh was then as good as that of a goose."

The following week the weather was very pleasant, and nothing deserving of remark occurred till the twenty-fourth of March, when a strong north-north-west wind arose, which continued till the end of the month. On this day, in a very thick and long continued fog, we were, to our inexpressible concern, separated from the companion of our voyage, the Neva. Captain Von Krusenstern had previously agreed with Captain Lisiansky, that in case of a separation, Easter Island should be the place of rendezvous; and thither, therefore, the attention of the whole crew was immediately directed. We sought out all the accounts of former navigators by whom it had been visited, and studied them assiduously, so that our curiosity was in the end extremely excited to see the island, and compare its present state with that in which it had been seen by others. We were particularly desirous of knowing whether the presents made to the inhabitants by the unfortunate La Perouse had been cherished, and preserved by them so as to have contributed to their comfort and happiness *. Unfortunately for us, contrary winds, combined with other very particular circumstances, constrained Captain Krusenstern in the end to abandon his intention of touching there, though we were now within five hundred sea miles of it. The latest

* They consisted of goats, sheep, hogs, orange and lemon trees, cotton plants, Turkish corn, and a profusion of seeds of various kinds.

accounts we have of the island are derived from the voyages of Captains Forster and Cook, and from La Perouse's voyage. I cannot refrain from noticing a passage in a work, where an account is given of the first discovery of this island, since it will display in strong colours that propensity to the marvellous which pervaded the relations given by the discoverers of those times.*

" These savages do not go naked, but are clothed in a sort of cotton cloth. The most remarkable thing among them is their long ears, which are considered as a great ornament; in some of them there are holes so large, that a man might easily thrust his hand through them. Thus far my narrative will readily gain credit, as it contains nothing that is at all uncommon; but I must add, that these savages are of more than gigantic stature: the men are twice as tall and bulky as the largest among the people of our own country. Most of them are twelve feet high, so that, however incredible it may appear, we could easily pass between their legs without stooping; they were extremely well-proportioned, and each might very well have been taken for a Hercules. The women were lower in stature than the men, not being more than from ten to eleven feet high. I presume that most of those who read my narrative will not believe what I say, but consider this account as a poetical fiction. I, however, declare, that I have written nothing more than the

* The island was discovered by Roggewein, who landed there on the sixth of April, 1722. The passage here given is from a Dutch work, intitled, *Twee Jaarige Reyse rond om de Wereld, &c. te Dordrecht, by* JOANNES VAN BRAAM, 1728; a work very little known.

strictest truth, and assert, that upon the most accurate investigation these people will be found such as I have described them, of a size and stature altogether supernatural."

Let us now advert to the testimony of Captain Forster. He says: "We did not find one among these people who could be called tall, and they were extremely thin; the women are little, and of a slight construction." Such are the very opposite accounts given by different voyagers. We lamented exceedingly that we could not visit so interesting a spot, and examine into the truth ourselves.

We were now daily wafted by very turbulent winds into a warmer zone. On the first of April the wind abated, and on the following days we had changeable weather with showers: the thermometer was from thirteen to fifteen. On the fifth, a very strong west wind rose, by which the ship was so much heeled, that one side lay three inches in the water, and the foresail swept its surface. On the twenty-seventh we crossed the tropic of Capricorn, and after the bad weather we had so long encountered, found the constantly increasing warmth very comfortable and pleasant. By the twenty-second the trade-wind commenced; we were then in latitude 18′ 45″ south, in longitude 114° 50″ west. The weather continuing fine, the thermometer being generally from eighteen to twenty-three, we proceeded rapidly on our course, so that by the sixth of May, at daybreak, we were in sight of the nearest island among the group called the New Marquesas, or Washington's Islands. The island we now saw was that to which Captain Cook gave

the name of Hood's Island: it was about thirty sea miles distant from us.

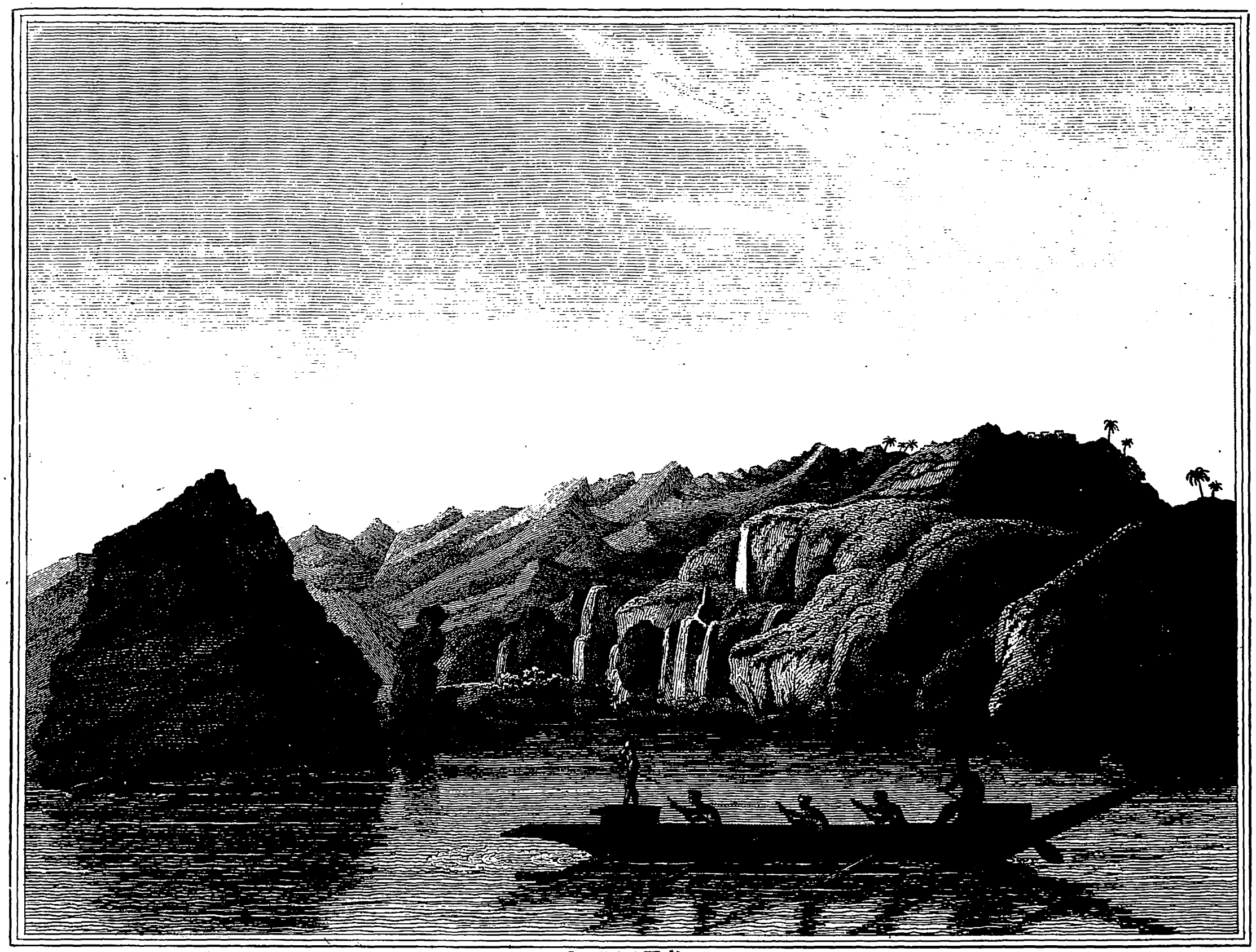
The short description given of this little Archipelago by Hergest, Marchand, and others, appeared so prepossessing, that Captain Krusenstern had no doubt of finding at Nukahiwa, the largest of them, abundance of every thing for the present refreshment of his crew, and for recruiting the stores necessary to continue his voyage. He preferred Nukahiwa to the neighbouring island of Santa Christina, though the latter has been hitherto much more frequented than any other in the group. An uncommon number of birds, and immense shoals of a small fish, which seemed a sort of herring, perhaps the *scomber scomber* of Linnæus, announced, on the fifth of May, that we were approaching to land.

Hood's Island had the appearance of a steep rock rising out of the sea; and seemed, on the north side at least, entirely sterile and uncultivated. It was about six in the morning when we first saw this island: about seven, we discovered to the south-west, though the horizon was hazy, Dominico, and St. Pedro. By nine, Riou's Island, or Uahuga, was in sight; its naked aspect, its rugged, steep, and peaked rocks, did not appear to us extremely attractive. We observed a prodigious flight of birds, and the ship was followed by numbers of porpoises, *delphinus phocæna*.

About five o'clock in the evening we were delighted with discovering the place of our refreshment, the island of Nukahiwa. Almost at the same moment a heavy rain and gust of wind

came on, so that at night we were forced to take in almost all our sails, in order to keep the vessel from running too near the land. Early in the morning, the haze being much cleared away, the island was again in sight: the nearer we approached to it, the more was our curiosity excited. We were constantly looking through our glasses, and were now so near to the southern coast, that we could distinguish it very plainly. After so long a voyage, our thoughts were turned with no small degree of delight towards the enchanting valleys of the South Sea islands, planted with groves of cocoa-nuts, of bread-fruit, and bananas, so highly extolled by Captains Forster and Cook; and although we had as yet been scarcely able to discover any thing except naked and barren rocks, feasted in idea upon the profusion we expected to find of these and other delicious fruits. It was only in the deep valleys, among the rocks, that we could discover faint traces of population and cultivation. Several cataracts, which fell from the tops of rocks, not less than a thousand feet high, into the sea below, and which were now filled by the recent heavy rains, were the only objects that varied and enlivened this desert landscape. But the sight of fresh water was particularly grateful to our eyes, as we had been for some weeks much in want of it, and had been reduced to a stated daily portion of an article so essential to the comfort and health of man.

The land which lay before us was of a middling height: it was bordered by steep and abrupt masses of rock, alternately terminating in naked peaks, and in broken craggy summits, which seemed thrown together without any order or regularity. At the first view, they had very much the appearance of having



Engraved by Letitia W.Elizth Byrne.

Vieur of the Island of Nukahiwa.

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been subjected to the action of fire, and we could almost fancy ourselves again at Teneriffe. Here and there only were to be seen a bush or a shrub ornamenting the dark summits of the rocky pyramids, or a tree adhering, as it were, to their sides: some gentle declivities were clothed with a beautiful soft carpet of green. However inviting the landscape appeared, the eye was soon wearied with looking in vain for some traces of mankind. No living creature was to be seen, not even any thing like flocks feeding upon the grassy slopes.

The strong surf occasioned by the waves beating against these broken rocks was every moment more and more clearly to be discerned; we were, indeed, now so near the shore, that we looked about with the utmost anxiety in hopes of discovering some of the inhabitants, or a canoe, which the rarity of seeing an European ship might have enticed from some creek; but we looked in vain, and at length almost abandoned the hope of being welcomed by these islanders while still upon the sea. Captain Krusenstern now ordered out two of the boats to reconnoitre the coast and the harbour, when at length we perceived some islanders fishing, but, as far as we could perceive, they seemed to see us sail by with the most perfect indifference. A short time after, to our great joy, a canoe appeared, carrying a white flag, and navigated by eight men entirely naked, which rowed directly up to one of our boats. We observed it very anxiously, and were rejoiced to see one of the men, without the least appearance of reluctance or timidity, spring from the canoe into our boat, when our men immediately began to return towards the ship. This gave rise to a great variety of conjectures; but how much were we surprised, when, instead

of a South Sea islander, we saw an European entirely in the costume of the country, with only a piece of cloth round the waist, spring upon our deck.

An English sailor of the name of Roberts, who had, God knows how, or on what occasion, come hither, now stood before us, and informed us that he had inhabited the island some years. Such had been the influence of the climate upon his exterior, that he was scarcely to be distinguished by his colour from the natives. Several written testimonials, which he had from captains of ships who had touched here, of the services he had rendered them, gave us naturally great confidence in him, and we rejoiced not a little at having so unexpectedly found an European, from whom we should receive, according to his own promises, all the information we could desire relative to the island, given with perfect fidelity and accuracy.

He was now besieged with a thousand and a thousand questions, every one being solicitous that his should be the first answered. As we inquired for the chief of the island, he replied that it was governed by a king, who, with his brothers, was now in a canoe rowing round our ship. It seemed very laughable to us when we immediately gave permission for his majesty to come on board. A large robust man, with his body tatooed all over, instantly presented himself before us, and climbed upon deck. He was, as were likewise all his attendants, entirely naked, and had no badge or characteristic by which he was to be distinguished from them. He appeared so extremely shy and timid, that we could not help being astonished how a person so athletic and powerful could be impressed

with apprehensions, which to us, unaccustomed to the habits of people living in these remote climates, seemed altogether childish.

At first he hesitated whether he should take the hands held out to him; then, in a few moments after, he evinced a disposition to approach those who shewed a friendly disposition towards him, but yet had hardly courage enough to venture it. Perhaps this extraordinary timidity arose from a circumstance that occurred between the English and the inhabitants, when Captain Vancouver's vessel, the Dædalus, came hither from the coast of North America in February, 1793, and was at anchor in the harbour of Anna Maria, where we now were. A very friendly intercourse at first took place between the islanders and their visitors, but it was after awhile interrupted by a quarrel, in which an islander, who was on board the ship, struck one of the sailors. He immediately sprung overboard, and was swimming away, but the insult was so deeply resented by the whole crew, that they fired upon and killed him. This occasioned so great an enmity among the islanders towards the English, especially as the person killed happened to be of a distinguished family, that Lieutenant Hansen, who had then the command of the ship, was obliged to leave the harbour. We all thought that the recollection of this event was a principal cause of the apprehensions evinced by the king.

After our guests had remained awhile trembling on board the ship, and seemed desirous of returning to their canoe, they were presented with some nails, knives, red cloth, and other

things, with which they jumped overboard highly delighted, and swam away. We, in the mean time, had, under the direction of our Englishman, who was a pilot, made our way into the harbour, where we cast anchor at one in the afternoon, about half a mile from the shore. Every thing was still silent as death on the nearest part of the land; it was not long, however, before a number of people of both sexes appeared: the women were most of them to be distinguished at a distance by having a piece of cloth made of the paper mulberry-tree, *morus papyrifera*, principally of a yellowish colour, thrown over them.

A number of the islanders a short time after came from the opposite shore of the harbour, which was to the north-west, and swam to the place where we were anchored, a distance of three miles. At first we could only see a shoal of black-haired heads just above the water; but in a short time we had the very extraordinary spectacle presented us of some hundred men, women, girls, and boys, all swimming about the ship, having in their hands cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, and bananas, which they had brought to sell.

The cries, the laughter, the romping of these mirthful people, was indescribable, and made a very novel impression upon us. Only a few, whom Roberts pointed out as persons of distinction, were invited on board, the rest swam and played about like a troop of Tritons. The never-ceasing noise they made far exceeded any that I had ever heard at our most numerously attended fairs; and we could scarcely, when we were at dinner, hear each other speak. The young girls and

women were not more clothed than the men, and were collected even in greater numbers; they were above all loud and noisy, and, according to our European ideas, immodest. They burst into a loud laugh at the most trifling things; and as we did not understand a word of the many comic effusions addressed to us, their oratory was illustrated with pantomimic gestures, by which we were sufficiently given to understand that they were making us the most liberal and unreserved offers of their charms. The men who were with them did not shew the slightest symptoms of jealousy, but rather seemed pleased and flattered when a wife, a daughter, or a sister, attracted our particular attention.

Towards evening most of them, at our very earnest and pressing solicitations, returned on shore, some having by that time kept up for four or five hours such a constant shouting and noise in our ears, that they had quite wearied us. The women and girls appeared here, as almost every where, more headstrong, and less easy to be persuaded, than the men. Perhaps, also, corrupted by the Europeans, who had visited the island before us, they knew that these strangers were good kind of men, who are not accustomed, in the end, to decline the advances made to them. Suffice it, that the beauties of the island were so extremely importunate to be permitted to come on board, and urged their importunities with so much noise, that, merely for the sake of getting rid of them, and being left quiet awhile, we were obliged to grant some of them free access to the ship.

These graces appeared in general with all their charms exposed; for though they never left the land without at least

so much clothing as a large green leaf, yet this light covering was generally lost by swimming any length of way. By a few only were the leafy aprons preserved, and luckily for them we had no sheep or goats on board; since they might, perhaps, have been no less eager to feast upon them, than we were to feast upon the bananas, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit, which the lovely creatures brought in their hands. We are told by Captain Wilson, in the account of his missionary voyage to the South Sea, in the ship Duff, that an adventure of this kind happened to some visitors who came to pay their respects to himself and his crew. "The knavish goats," he says, "were guilty of a very great offence, with regard to the poor young maidens, for they would not leave them even the little clothing they had: they flocked round them to get at the green leaves, till most of them were left entirely in their native beauty."

But however prodigal of their favours, and however ready to follow any sailor that held out a hand to them, the fair sex were still not without a certain degree of modesty. They seemed to be considerably distressed when they had lost their aprons, and crept about with their hands in the position of the Medicean Venus, in attitudes which presented a beautiful spectacle to the philosophic observer. Those who had not been deserted by their garments were particularly anxious to adjust them properly. We were not a little surprised to see girls, who seemed not more than eight or nine years old, very free in their approaches to us, and appearing no less desirous of making a market of their charms than their older companions. But we learned from Roberts, that such is the precocity of nature here, in comparison with what is to be seen in colder climates, that these children

were now as forward as girls in the north of Europe are at nearly twice their age. We saw a girl, who at the utmost did not seem above eleven years old, and was already the acknowledged wife of one of the islanders.

We were not, however, allowed a long time to make philosophical observations upon our new Venuses; for one after another they vanished, hand-in-hand with the sailors, to the interior of the ship, while the goddess of night threw her dark veil over the mysteries that were celebrated. Thus ended, with a scene altogether new and extraordinary to us, the first day of our stay in the harbour of Nukahiwa. Early on the following morning, the beauties skipped one after another upon deck, and leaping into the water, swam away gaily, carrying with them presents of various kinds.

The sailors, who were not rich in treasures to bestow upon their nymphs, presented them with bottles, pieces of broken china and earthenware, coloured rags, and other things of a like kind, with which they seemed highly delighted. One sailor, who was at a loss in what way to testify sufficient gratitude for the favours he had received, tore out the lining from a pair of old breeches, and wrapped it round the neck of his beloved. This was so extraordinary a present, that the lady was no less delighted with her new ornament, and no less proud of it than a knight with the ribband of a new Order, and hastened home, probably thinking to herself, *Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

CHAPTER IV.

Account of the Englishman Roberts, and the Frenchman Cabri.—Cursory View of the Group called Washington's Islands.—Description of the Island of Nukahiwa.—Its Situation, Climate, Productions, and Population.—Particulars relative to the Inhabitants.

INSTEAD of arranging the occurrences during our stay at Nukahiwa under the form of a journal, I think it will be better to put together, in one point of view, the result of my observations upon the Archipelago of which this island forms a part, and upon the manners and customs of its inhabitants. In order to do this, it is necessary to premise the following remarks.

From the Englishman Roberts, who was our first acquaintance in these parts, we learnt that we should also find a Frenchman upon the island: he, however, represented him in very dark colours, and warned Captain Krusenstern, earnestly, not to entangle himself with such a man. If the Frenchman had been so fortunate as to have been the first who visited us, probably he would have said the very same thing with regard to his arch-enemy Roberts. Be this as it may, notwithstanding the eagerness of the Englishman to prevent all intercourse between us and the Frenchman, the latter managed matters with so much dexterity, that almost immediately after

Engraved by R. Cooper

Portrait of Jean Baptiste Cabri

our arrival he came to the ship in company with the king, as he was called. This man was a native of Bordeaux, by name Jean Baptiste Cabri. Through the friendly interposition of our worthy commander, who was above all things anxious to restore peace and harmony between these rivals, they appeared at least to be reconciled, and during our stay were both of great assistance to us in a variety of instances. Roberts, in particular, in whom we found reason, from his orderly behaviour, to place the greater degree of confidence, conducted himself uniformly in the most disinterested and irreproachable manner, and exerted his most strenuous efforts to promote our wishes in every respect.

These two Europeans had now lived for many years sometimes upon one, sometimes upon another of these islands, and both, particularly the Frenchman, learnt so much of the language that they could serve as interpreters, and give us the best information relative to the manners and customs of the inhabitants, as far as their understandings could enter into them. It was much to be regretted that the shortness of our stay, which was extended only to ten days, did not permit of our making as ample use as we could have wished of the opportunity thus afforded us for becoming thoroughly acquainted with a description of people, and a country so entirely different from any to be seen on our own side of the globe.

The remarks I have to offer are not, therefore, mere suppositions formed upon taking a philosophical view of a group of islands hitherto very little known; they will contain a true representation of them, according to the assertions of two persons

who have lived upon the spot many years, who had not the slightest motive in any way for misleading us, and who were not sufficiently refined to have thought of giving us fictions without any motive. I sought as much as possible to draw information separately from them, and only considered a fact as fully established, when I found it in this way confirmed by the testimony of two men who were in their hearts such decided enemies to each other.

For the rest, I must confess that I placed more dependance upon the testimony of the Frenchman than of the Englishman; because the former had lived much longer in the country, and had so much lost the manners and habits of civilized life, that little difference was to be discerned between him and the natives, with regard to his habits and mode of living; I might also add, with regard to his modes of thinking. He had almost forgotten his mother-tongue, and, at first, a repetition of *parlez français* was the only proof he gave of his nationality. His whole figure, not excepting his face, was tattooed: he swam as well as any of the islanders, had married a daughter of one of the inferior chiefs of the island, and lived with the family of his wife, and the rest of the inhabitants, upon the most friendly and confidential footing. Roberts, on the contrary, lived much more separate from the islanders, and had not, as far as we could judge, any thing like the same readiness in speaking their language: he seemed much less acquainted with the manners and customs of the people; indeed, evinced a great indifference with regard to them. He had, however, a better natural understanding, with greater civilization in his manners, and appeared by his more reserved behaviour to have

obtained a powerful influence over the people. Perhaps this might be only a temporary effect, proceeding from the more marked confidence which they saw placed in him by us; from perceiving that he was our principal agent in business, and interpreter, and that Cabri was only occasionally employed in our affairs.

The influence which the latter had obtained by his marriage with a native was very trifling, because the woman was not of high descent, and he only lived under the protection of an inferior chief. With this man he claimed relationship, although he had only changed names with him; a ceremony, which here, and in many other of the South-Sea islands, creates a sort of relationship, or rather religious compact, somewhat resembling the tie created among us by standing as sponsor for any one at their baptism.

The first part of the voyage of Captain Von Krusenstern has at the moment of my writing appeared in print. His interesting observations will be found to vary in some sort from mine; but the reason is, that he collected his information principally from Roberts, whereas I had mine chiefly from Cabri. I beg to assure my readers that in this difference of opinion, with regard to detached facts, I have no intention whatever of casting the least reflection upon our excellent commander. Far be it from me to think of charging with untruth one, without whose support these observations would never have been laid before the public; nor would any candid judge, I trust, accuse me of such designs. But that I may be rightly understood, and not appear in a false light, I feel myself compelled thus publicly

to assure the man to whom I owe so much, for whose friendship I have the highest value, and towards whom I feel the warmest gratitude, that it is not from any mean or unworthy views, or for the sake of contradiction, that I differ from him; wherever we seem not to agree. I attribute it wholly to our having drawn our principal information from different sources.

If, for instance, I say that the mothers suckle their children, if I assert that matrimonial unions are formed among the people of Nukahiwa, and that they are addicted to jealousy, I must lay the blame of these untruths, if untruths they be, upon Cabri. Trifles of such a nature are not sufficiently important to stake upon them the friendship of such a man as Captain Krusenstern, the object of universal respect, and whose services are known to all Europe. For the rest, similar variations will sufficiently evince to the public the difficulties under which travellers labour to obtain truth, in a country and among a people where they are total strangers; and it remains at the option of every one whether they will abide by the testimonies of Roberts or of Cabri.

I proceed now to give a short view of the Marquesas or Washington's Islands. This group was discovered in July, 1595, by Don Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, who gave them the name of the Marquesas, in honour of the Marquis Mendoça de Canete, then viceroy of Peru, by whom he had been sent with four ships to take possession of Solomon's Islands, which he (the same Neyra) had previously discovered. The Marquesas were afterwards, that is, in 1774, visited by Captain Cook, when he discovered the island of Fetugú, or Fataugu, one

which till then had remained unknown, and to which he gave the name of Hood's Island. Since that time, the group has been visited in succession by Le Marchand in 1791, by Hergest in March, 1792, by Brown, in June, 1792, by Captain Roberts in 1793, by Captain Wilson in 1797, and by many other navigators; it has besides been frequently the resort of vessels belonging to the United States of North America.

Captain Roberts, who was an American, remained three months at Tahuata, or Santa Christina, where he built a small vessel, and sailed with it to the north-west coast of America in pursuit of the fur trade. Whoever is desirous of obtaining the most accurate and interesting geographical information with regard to the group in general, will find in the voyages of Le Marchand, Vancouver, and Wilson, and more particularly in that of Captain Krusenstern, ample materials to satisfy their wishes. I content myself here with giving a very general and cursory view of them.

Tabular View of the Old Marquesas.

True Names.	Old Names.	Names given to them.	By whom discovered.	Place where they touched.	South Latitude.	Western Longitude.
1. Fatuiwa	Ohitatoa	La Magdalena	Mendana de Neyra, 1595	Centre of the island	10° 25′	138° 49′
2. Montane	Onateaya	St. Pedro	- - - -	- - - -	9° 47′	138° 55′
3. Tahuata	Ohitau	Santa Christina	- - - -	Port Madre de Deos	9° 55′	139° 8′
4. Hiwaoa	Ohiwana	La Dominica	- - - -	Eastern point	9° 39	138° 21′30″
5. Fetugu	Tihboa	Hood's Island	Capt. Cook, 1774	The centre	9° 27′	138° 29′30″

Tabular View of the New Marquesas, or Washington's Islands.

1. Nukahiwa	Nuahiwa	Federal Island	Ingraham, 1791	South-east point	8° 57′	139° 32′ 30″
- - -	- - -	Isle Beau	Marchand, 1791	South point	8° 58′ 40″	139° 54′ 30″
- - -	- - -	Sir H. Martin's Island	Hergest, 1792	North-west point	8° 53′ 30″	139° 49′
- - -	- - -	Adam's Island	Roberts, 1793	- - - -	- - - -	- - -
2. Uahuga	Ruahuga	Washington's Isl.	Ingraham	Western point	8° 58′ 15″	139° 30′
- - -	- - -	Massachuset's Is.	Roberts	The double peak	8° 55′ 58″	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Riou's Island	Hergest	The centre	8° 54′ 30″	139° 9′ 30″
3. Uopoa	Ruapoa	Adam's Island	Ingraham	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Isle Marchand	Marchand	Northern point	9° 21′ 30″	139° 9′
- - -	- - -	Jefferson's Island	Roberts	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
4. - - -	- - -	Lincoln Island	Ingraham	- - - -	9° 29′ 30″	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Isle Platte	Marchand	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Resolution Isl.	Roberts	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Level Island	Wilson	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
5. } Motuaiti	- - -	Franklin's Island	Ingraham	- - - -	8° 37′ 30″	140° 20′
6. }	- - -	Blake Island	Roberts	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
7. } Hiau and	- - -	Knox & Hancock	Ingraham	Southern point	7° 37′ 30″	140° 13′
8. } Fatuuhu	- - -	Masse et Chanal	Marchand	- - - -	7° 50′	140° 6′
- - -	- - -	Freemantel and Langdale	Roberts	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
- - -	- - -	Robert's Island	Hergest	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -

The shores of the island Nukahiwa, the principal one of the New Marquesas, are in general steep, and present only dark naked masses of rock, which no doubt owe their origin to volcanoes; they rise almost perpendicularly out of the sea. The neighbourhood of the equator, from which it will be seen by the above table that they are but a few degrees distant, presents immediately the idea of a very warm climate; and, indeed, the thermometer is seldom lower than from eighteen to twenty degrees. Le Marchand observed it in the month of June at twenty-seven: and in the month of May, when we were there, it was commonly, even on board the ship, from twenty-three to twenty-five. The country must be extremely healthy, and of this the two Europeans gave us a proof. Diseases are scarcely known, except such as arise from wounds or other casualties. Winter is characterized here, as in most places between the tropics, by abundant showers of rain. If it happens, as is sometimes the case, and unhappily was so the year before we were there, that not a drop of rain falls for nine or ten months, a scarcity is the consequence. This does not occasion much mortality from the mere effects of hunger, but it gives rise to the most frightful and horrible practices, of which I shall speak more hereafter.

The prevailing wind at Nukahiwa is the easterly trade-wind, which blows the strongest in autumn: it is called in the country *tiutiu*. The south-west wind is called *tuwatone*. This seems to be the prevailing wind in winter, and the inhabitants avail themselves of it to visit the neighbouring islands. Their navigation is in a very poor and low situation, for they

require three days to go to Santa Christina. In spring and summer the north wind is very prevalent: it is called *tukuahu*. There is no particular name for the west or north-west wind, as these winds are said to blow very rarely. Thunder storms but seldom intervene.

Nukahiwa is about fifteen German miles in circumference, and consists chiefly of naked, craggy, and for the most part inaccessible mountains; among which are interspersed here and there small, but very fertile and well-watered vallies. On the southern coast are many secure harbours: in the first place, the bay of Tayo-Hoae, or Taïohaïe, or Tiohai, to which the name of Port Anna Maria was given by Hergest *. Secondly, Home, Hoome, Siume, Tscho-ome, the Comptroller's Bay of Hergest. Thirdly the new harbour of Hapoa, called by Captain Krusenstern Port Tschitschagoff. Fourthly, Captain Brown, of the Butterworth, says, that he found on the north-west side of the island some good harbours, and that the parts about them seemed to be very populous: as far as I know, these districts have never been accurately examined or described. Fifthly, the Neva, when she was here, remarked a bay numerously inhabited on the north-east point of the island. Sixthly, the south-west side presents, in some places, low and gently rising land, where might very probably be found creeks that would afford good and safe anchorage.

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* It will be seen, from the variations in the names here put down, how difficult it is for a foreigner to give the idea he means to convey of a name, for the orthography of which he rests entirely on his own conceptions. According to my ideas, I should write this name Tiohai, but Captain Krusenstern gives it as Tayo-Hoae.

As the islanders reciprocally make war upon each other, and live in a state of constant enmity, we could procure but little information respecting the more remote parts of the island. The boundaries of their habitations are fixed by rivers and mountains. The most inhabited places in the neighbourhood of the bay where we anchored are the three first harbours mentioned above, and the valleys by which they are bordered. They may contain together about three thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The country about Home, or Comptroller's Bay, was represented to us as one of the most populous parts of the island, and consisting of three valleys. On the west, or south-west side, where is the largest river of the island, lies a very rich and populous valley, which was called to me Jacapa: it contains twelve hundred men capable of bearing arms. Captain Krusenstern calls this valley *Hotty-schewe*, but I suspect that the name was badly pronounced by the Englishman, since that name does not appear to me at all like a word of Nukahiwa. The valley near the harbour of Hapoa, or Tschitschagoff, is called Schegua, and another near it Thanahui. The son-in-law of the chief of Tayo-Hoae, by name Maudai, governed a valley in the interior of the conntry, which contained also twelve hundred warriors.

From these, and other detached uncertain data, the population of Nukahiwa may, I should presume, be estimated at about eighteen thousand souls; though I know not whether, according to the number of habitations we knew of, and the many

more of which we probably never heard, this estimate may not be too small. War carries off fewer of the human race than scarcity; since, in case of the latter, these people have recourse to the horrible practice of feeding on human flesh. By this means, if we may rely on the account of our interpreters, several hundred persons had been sacrificed the year before in the valley of Tayo-Hoae alone, so that at the present period there might be reckoned four men to one woman, and scarcely any children remained. How far the modes of life contribute to diminish the population will be examined as we proceed farther in this description.

It is possible, nay, even extremely probable, that the island was in former times much more populous, and it is not unlikely that it may recover again in a course of years. Hergest, who visited the harbour of Tayo-Hoae twelve years before us, says, that he saw fifteen hundred inhabitants about the nearest shore: at the time we were there, the number was not above eight hundred, or at the utmost a thousand.

The Washington Islands do not appear to differ essentially in the natural productions of the country from the rest of the Marquesas, or from the Friendly and Society Islands. The bread-tree, *arto carpus incisa*, the fruit of which, according to what Forster says, is here larger and finer flavoured than any where else, cocoa-nuts, bananas, Indian kole, *arum esculentum*, yams, *dioscorea alata*, and batatas, *convolvulus batatas*, are the principal articles of food among the vegetable kingdom; sugar-canes are also in abundance, but no attention is paid to

cultivating them. The Otaheitean burning-nut, *tuscarpus Forsteri*, is used here as well as at Otaheite, in the place of candles; and of the *casuarina equisetifolia* are made javelins, clubs, and other warlike weapons. The bark of the *morus-papyrifera*, made after their manner into cloth, is the only clothing the people wear. Their houses are built with bamboo canes, or with the calabash-tree, and the shells of cocoa-nuts serve them for drinking cups. Most of the plants which Forster mentions as having seen at Santa Christina, I found also here: a few new species will be mentioned in my botanical catalogue. The Otaheitean apple, *spondias*, which the above-named celebrated naturalist did not find at the Marquesas, I found at Nukahiwa, but it was somewhat scarce.

Besides the above common objects of food, there are a number of other fruits and roots, which the inhabitants eat in times of scarcity. As these are only to be found upon high mountains, almost inaccessible, except when hunger urges to finding a way of coming at their products, I could only obtain the names of them. The mahinei, probably *aniotum fagiferum* is a very good fruit, in flavour like a chesnut; the *tefah*, or *tipah*, is a red fruit never eaten but in times of great want; the *tih* is a thick root, which may be had the whole year round, but, like the *tefah*, it is only considered as a resource in times of scarcity: *cape* is a nourishing food, and is probably the same as the Otaheitean *ape*, and the *cappe* of the Sandwich Islands, *arum macorrhizon*. The land, by a higher degree of culture, would be capable of producing many very useful objects, as, for instance, the sugar-cane. We gave Roberts

a great many seeds of oranges, trusting that he would use his endeavours to introduce the raising of this excellent fruit here.

Judging from the accounts of all navigators who have visited the Friendly and Society Isles, I am inclined to think that the people of the Marquesas and Washington Islands excel in beauty and grandeur of form, in regularity of features, and in colour, all the other South-Sea islanders. The men are almost all tall, robust, and well made. Few were so fat and unwieldy as the Otaheiteans, none so lean and meagre as the people of Easter Island. We did not see a single crippled or deformed person, but such general beauty and regularity of form, that it greatly excited our astonishment. Many of them might very well have been placed by the side of the most celebrated chef-d'œuvres of antiquity, and they would have lost nothing by the comparison. Their beards are commonly shining, black, and thin, as they are very much in the habit of plucking up the hairs by the roots. The hair is generally long, curly, strong, and black; among a few it was somewhat less dark.

A certain Mau-ka-u, or Mufau Taputakava, particularly attracted our attention from his extraordinary height, the vast strength of his body, and the admirable proportion of his limbs and muscles. He was now twenty years old, and was six feet two inches high, Paris measure*; and Counsellor Tilesius, who unites the eye of a connoisseur and an artist, said, he never

* A French foot measures thirteen inches, or one foot one inch English measure.—TRANSLATOR.

saw any one so perfectly proportioned. He took the trouble of measuring every part of this man with the utmost exactness, and after our return to Europe imparted his observations to Counsellor Blumenbach, of Gottingen, who has studied so assiduously the natural history of man. This latter compared these proportions with the Apollo of Belvedere, and found that those of that master-piece of the finest ages of Grecian art, in which is combined every possible integer in the composition of manly beauty, corresponded exactly with our Mufau, an inhabitant of the island of Nukahiwa. We were told that the chief of a neighbouring island, by name Upoa, with equally exact proportions as Mufau, was a head taller, so at least Roberts and Cabri both assured us; if they were correct, this man must be nearly seven Paris feet high.

I trust that this subject will be thought sufficiently interesting to excuse my giving the measurements of Mufau, as taken by Counsellor Tilesius, and detailed in Voigt's Magazine of Natural History.

Height, six feet two inches, Paris measure.
Breadth between the shoulders, nineteen inches two lines.
In the periphery, forty inches.
Breadth across the breast, fifteen inches.
Length of the arms, from the point of the shoulder to the end of the longest finger, twenty-two inches four lines.
Length of the head, from the skull to the chin, ten inches.
Circumference of the head, measured round the forehead, and just above the ears, twenty-three inches and a half.
Circumference of the breast, forty-two inches.

Periphery of the lower belly about the spleen, thirty-two inches.

Periphery of the great bason round the hips, forty-two inches.

Periphery of the upper part of the thigh, twenty-five inches.

Periphery of the calf of the leg, seventeen inches and a half.

Periphery of the ankle an inch above the foot, where it is the smallest, ten inches.

Length of the foot, twelve inches and a half.

Greatest breadth of the foot, five inches and a half.

Circumference of the upper part of the arm, thirteen inches and a half.

Circumference of the arm above the elbow, thirteen inches and a quarter.

Circumference of the hand, eleven inches and a quarter.

Length of the hand, nine inches.

Circumference of the neck, sixteen inches.

Length from the skull to the navel, thirty-one inches and a half.

Length from the navel to the division of the thighs, ten inches and a half.

Length from the division of the thighs to the sole of the foot, thirty-eight inches.

The expression of countenance in these people is generally pleasing; it is open and animated, and their dark eyes are full of life. Most of them have such prepossessing features, that from them, as well as an appearance of natural *bonhommie*, we should have conceived, with Cook and Forster, that we had met with a friendly and kind-hearted race, if we had not been better informed by our European interpreters. The women

are in general much smaller than the men, but are extremely well proportioned. Many of them, in form and countenance, resembled very much the most distinguished women of Otaheite.

Captain Wilson, who visited this island in 1797, having previously heard the beauty of the females much celebrated, had on board an Otaheitean woman; but he says, "though she was tolerably handsome and well-made, she was entirely eclipsed by the finely-proportioned women of Nukahiwa, and this she seemed herself to feel in no slight degree. She was, however, much more amiable, and possessed much more of the softness, delicacy, and tenderness of her sex."

The women have well-formed heads, their faces are rather full and round than long, they have large sparkling eyes, clear complexions, very fine teeth, great expression and regularity of features, and generally black curly hair. Among many of the lower class, who were daily on board the ship, the body was small without being compact, the belly out of all proportion large, and their manner of walking slow and trailing. Among the women of distinction, who seldom or ever came on board, this was not the case: they were of a pleasing form, with slender waists, and great vivacity, so that they had a just claim to be called handsome. Of this truth I have been convinced by my own eyes, since Major Friderici, Counsellor Tilesius, and myself, in our walks about the vallies, have sometimes met women and girls of the higher classes. They were very different from the women who lived about the harbour, taller in stature, with more decorum of manners, and

never without some kind of covering; they would not enter into conversation with us, but seemed altogether modest and reserved.

Captain Krusenstern acknowledges that the daughter and daughter-in-law of the chief of Tayo-Hoae, and Roberts's wife, were so handsome that they must have been allowed to be beautiful, even in Europe. He says, besides, that he found the women in the valley of Schegua throughout perfectly well-made, and many of them extremely pretty. None of these were among the tribe of women who came to visit us on the first day of our arrival. How much soever the navigators that have visited the South-Sea islands extol the beauty of the women, I am disposed to consider the men of Nukahiwa as far exceeding them. Had I not been convinced from some solitary examples, that the women of distinction who kept aloof from us were really handsome and well-formed, and that we were only visited by the lower classes, it would have appeared to me an almost inexplicable problem in physiology, how such little, puny creatures, with bodies debilitated by premature licentiousness, could ever have brought forth such gigantic and finely formed men as Mufau, and many others.

It is highly probable that we saw a very few only of the really fine and handsome women, and that most of those who fell under our observation were the ladies of pleasure of the island. I must, however, confess that in my opinion both the form and countenance of a well-made negress are more pleasing and interesting, according to our European ideas of beauty, than those of the women in these islands. We certainly found in Nuka-

hiwa an Apollo of Belvedere; but it may as certainly be made a question, whether a nice observer would not sooner find the original of the Medicean Venus upon the coast of Africa than in the South-Sea.

The natural colour of the skin in these islanders is almost as white as that of Europeans; but from the influence of the climate, and the power of the sun's rays, it by degrees becomes brownish. This is particularly the case among people of the lower classes, who have scarcely even a girdle of modesty as a covering, and are obliged, perhaps, to work out in the open air. Captain Wilson says, that many women who at his arrival were nearly as white as Europeans, by coming perpetually on board the ship in the burning heat of the sun, were after awhile quite brown and sun-burnt: the new-born children are nearly as white as in Europe. The women of the higher classes are scarcely less careful of their complexions than our belles, and to preserve them, live almost entirely in the shade, sheltered from the effect of the burning sun-beams. They have a garment of cloth, made from the bark of the paper mulberry-tree; and if they go out, hold a green bough, or a banana leaf, over their heads as a parasol. In this way they preserve their complexions so well, that many of them are not darker than an European brunette. The desire to please, among the women, is here so strong that they have even found a method, if they are very much tanned, of bleaching their skin again in a few days. They have generally recourse to this expedient before any great popular festival, or public sports, that they may attract more admiration, and receive more homage. The manner in which it is done is to rub the whole body with sap extracted from the leaves of three different

plants, called here *epapha*, *hoko-kuh*, and *ohue*. The skin becomes at first entirely black, and for five or six days, the persons undergoing the operation cannot leave the house; they then wash themselves well with fresh water, which takes off the black sap, and leaves the skin its natural, nearly white, colour.

Another custom which prevails, no less among the men than the women, is to rub themselves all over with a sort of ointment, made from the oil of the cocoa-nut, which they consider as having a very fragrant smell; it is mixed with the sap of several plants, particularly the *hibiscus populneus*, to give it a yellow colour. This shining yellow dye, according to the taste of the islanders, adds extremely to beauty of person, particularly in the male sex. It makes the skin very soft and smooth, and prevents strong perspiration, which in these hot climates very much weakens and injures the constitution: the anointing the bodies in this way assists also in facilitating their swimming. Though we Europeans could not acquire any taste for such a mode of ornamenting ourselves, yet it was considered by the old women and young girls as a great addition to their charms. They seemed to expect their conquests to be much more numerous when thus adorned, and were exceedingly astonished when we endeavoured to make them comprehend that we thought them much handsomer with their skin of its native colour.

The people of Nukahiwa also consider it as indisputable that a totally smooth skin, entirely free from hair, is a great beauty; and under this idea pluck up the hair under the arms and upon

the breast: those who do not take this trouble are regarded as very careless and negligent. The chief, or elder of the valley, by name Katanuah, stood one day full of astonishment, looking at one of our officers, and made him understand by signs that he wished him to hold himself still, when with his nails he endeavoured to pluck out a hair from the inside of his nostril. Hair in this part is considered as particularly unseemly; perhaps, because among all the South-Sea islanders, instead of kissing, they join noses, as a proof of love or friendship.

mischief is irreparable, it must be worn with all its faults the whole life through.

For performing the operation, the artist uses the wing bone of a tropic bird, *phaeton æthereus*, which is jagged and pointed at the end after the manner of a comb, sometimes in the form of a crescent, sometimes in a strait line, and larger or smaller according to the figures which the artist intends to make. This instrument is fixed into a bamboo handle about as thick as the finger, with which the puncturer, by means of another cane, strikes so gently and so dexterously, that it scarcely pierces through the skin. The principal strokes of the figures to be tattooed are first sketched upon the body with the same dye that is afterwards rubbed into the punctures, to serve as guides in the use of the instrument. The punctures being made so that the blood and lymph ooze through the orifice, a thick dye, composed of ashes from the kernel of the burning-nut, *aleurites triloba*, mixed with water, is rubbed in. This occasions at first a slight degree of smarting and inflammation, it then heals, and when the crust comes off, after some days the bluish or blackish-blue figure appears.

As soon as the inhabitant of Nukahiwa approaches towards the age of manhood, the operation of tattooing is begun, and this is one of the most important epochs of his life. The artist is sent for, and the agreement made with him that he is to receive so many hogs as his pay; the number is commonly regulated according to the wealth of the person to be tattooed, and the quantity of decoration bestowed is regulated by the pay. While we were at the island, a son of the chief

CHAPTER V.

Tattooing.—The Manner in which it is performed.—The Houses tabooed during the Time.—Clothing of the Islanders.—Their Food.—The Bread-fruit.—Their Dwellings.

THE most remarkable and interesting manner which the South-Sea islanders have of ornamenting their naked bodies consists in punctuation, or, as they call it, tattooing. This kind of decoration, so common among many nations of the earth, merits greater attention from travellers than it has hitherto received; and I am much surprised that the acuteness of a Forster has passed over the subject with so much indifference. It is undoubtedly very striking, that nations perfectly remote from each other, who have no means of intercourse whatever, and according to what appears to us never could have had any, should yet be all agreed in this practice.

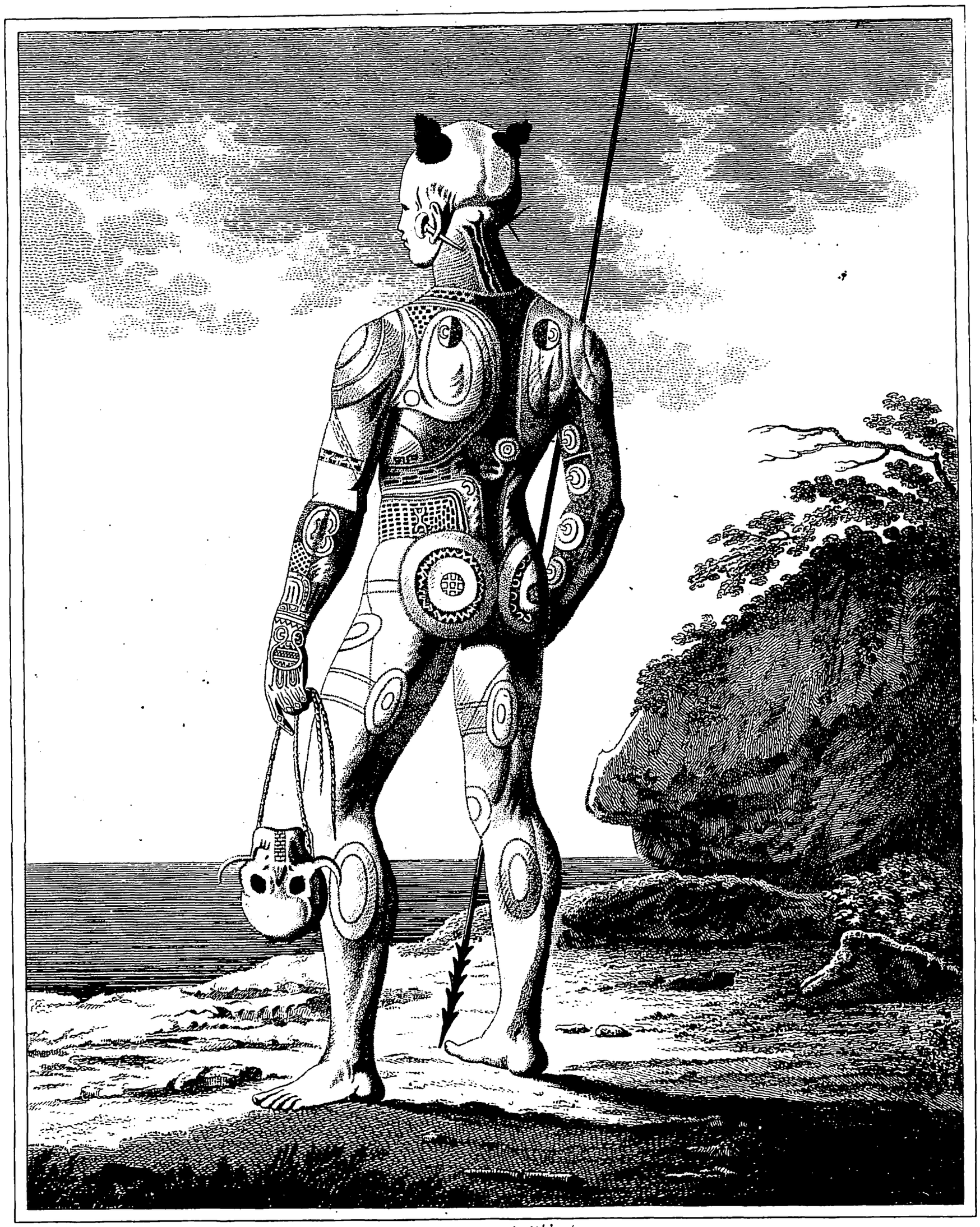
Among the Europeans, that is to say the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and the sailors of almost all the nations of Europe, in the Alautian islands on the north-west coast of America, in the Sandwich, Friendly, and Society islands, among the New Zealanders, and the people of Easter Island, in short, among the nations both of the northern and southern hemispheres, both of the east and of the west, in the old and in the new world, are to be found traces of this custom; in some places

A Native Inhabitant of the Island of Sukkahanna

more, in some less, but among all in a certain degree. It seems always done with the idea of ornament, but it is also highly probable that in the warmer zones it may have the farther view by cutting through the pores of the skin so much to diminish transpiration, and by that means supersede, in some sort, the necessity of anointing the body.

Among all the known nations of the earth, none have carried the art of tattooing to so high a degree of perfection as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands. The regular designs with which the bodies of the men of Nukahiwa are punctured from head to foot supplies in some sort the absence of clothing; for, under so warm a heaven, clothing would be insupportable to them. Many people here seek as much to obtain distinction by the symmetry and regularity with which they are tattooed, as among us by the elegant manner in which they are dressed; and although no real elevation of rank is designated by the greater superiority of these decorations, yet as only persons of rank can afford to be at the expence attendant upon any refinement in the ornaments, it does become in fact a badge of distinction.

The operation of tattooing is performed by certain persons, who gain their livelihood by it entirely, and I presume that those who perform it with the greatest dexterity, and evince the greatest degree of taste in the disposition of the ornaments, are as much sought after as among us a particularly good tailor. Thus much, however, must be said, that the choice made is not a matter of equal indifference with them as with us; for if the punctured garment be spoiled in the making, the



Jones sculp. 26 Queen St. Golden Square

A young Nukahiwan not completely Tattooed.

Published May 1.1813 by Henry Colburn Conduit Street London.

Katanuah was to be tattooed. For this purpose, as belonging to the principal person in the island, he was put into a separate house for several weeks which was *tabooed*; that is to say, it was forbidden to every body, except those who were exempted from the *taboo* by his father, to approach the house; here he was to remain during the whole time that the operation continued. All women, even the mother, are prohibited from seeing the youth while the *taboo* remains in force. Both the *operator* and the *operatee* are fed with the very best food during the continuance of the operation: to the former these are days of great festivity. In the first year only the ground-work of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs, is laid; and in doing this, the first punctures must be entirely healed, and the crust must have come off before new ones are made. Every single mark takes three or four days to heal; and the first *sitting*, as it may be called, commonly lasts three or four weeks.

While the patient is going through the operation, he must drink very little, for fear of creating too much inflammation, and he is not allowed to eat early in the morning, only at noon and in the evening. When once the decorations are begun, some addition is constantly made to them at intervals of from three to six months, and this is not unfrequently continued for thirty or forty years before the whole tattooing is completed. We saw some old men of the higher ranks, who were punctured over and over to such a degree, that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished, and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. This is, according to the general idea, the height of perfection in ornament, probably

because the cost of it has been very great, and it therefore shews a person of superlative wealth. It is singular, that the men of distinction should place their gratification in acquiring this dark hue, while the women place theirs in preserving their original fair complexion uninjured.

The tattooing of persons in a middling station is performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers, and *tabooed* by authority. A tattooer, who visited us several times on board the ship, had three of these houses, which could each receive eight or ten persons at a time: they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required. The poorer islanders, who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon bread-fruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice, but their works are easily distinguishable, even by a stranger, from those of an experienced artist. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, but few of whom we saw, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all.

The women of Nukahiwa are very little tattooed, differing in this respect from the females of the other South-Sea islands. The hands are punctured from the ends of the fingers to the wrist, which gives them the appearance of wearing gloves, and our glovers might very well borrow from them patterns, and introduce a new fashion among the ladies, of gloves worked *à la Washington*. The feet, which among many are tattooed, look like highly-ornamented half-boots; long stripes are

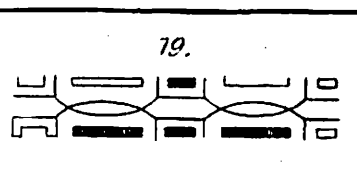
besides sometimes to be seen down the arms of the women, and circles round them, which have much the same effect as the bracelets worn by European ladies. Some have also their ears and lips tattooed. The women are not, like the men, shut up in a *tabooed* house while they are going through this operation: it is performed without any ceremony in their own houses, or in those of their relations; in short, wherever they please.

Sometimes a rich islander will, either from generosity, ostentation, or love to his wife, make a feast in honour of her, when she has a bracelet tattooed round her arm, or perhaps her ear ornamented; a hog is then killed, and the friends of both sexes are invited to partake of it, the occasion of the feast being made known to them. It is expected that the same courtesy should be returned in case of the wife of any of the guests being punctured. This is one of the few occasions when women are allowed to eat hog's flesh. If, in a very dry year, bread-fruit, hogs, roots, and other provisions, become scarce, any one who has still a good stock of them, which commonly happens to the chief, in order to distribute his stores, keeps open table for a certain time to an appointed number of poor artists, who are bound to give in return some strokes of the tattoo to all who choose to come for it. By virtue of a *taboo*, all these brethren are engaged to support each other, if in future some happen to be in need, while the others are in affluence. This is one of the most rational orders of Freemasonry upon the globe.

Our interpreter Cabri, who was slightly and irregularly

tattooed all over his body, upon one of these occasions got a black, or rather blue eye; and Roberts, who had only a puncture on his breast, in the form of a long square, six inches one way and four the other, assured us that he would never have submitted to the operation, if he had not been constrained by the scarcity in the preceding year to become one of the guests fed by the chief Katanuah. The same person may be member of several of these societies; but, according to what we could learn, a portion must always be given to the priest or magician, as he is called, even if he be not a member. In a time of scarcity also, many of the people who have been tattooed in this way unite as an absolute troop of banditti, and share equally among each other all that they can plunder or kill.

The figures with which the body is tattooed are chosen with great care, and appropriate ornaments are selected for the different parts. They consist partly of animals, partly of other objects which have some reference to the manners and customs of the islands; and every figure has here, as in the Friendly Islands, its particular name. Upon an accurate examination, curved lines, diamonds, and other designs, are often distinguishable between rows of punctures, which resemble very much the ornaments called *à la Grecque*. The most perfect symmetry is observed over the whole body: the head of a man is tattooed in every part; the breast is commonly ornamented with a figure resembling a shield; on the arms and thighs are stripes, sometimes broader, sometimes narrower, in such directions that these people might very well be presumed to have studied anatomy, and to be acquainted with the course and dimensions of the muscles. Upon the back is a large cross,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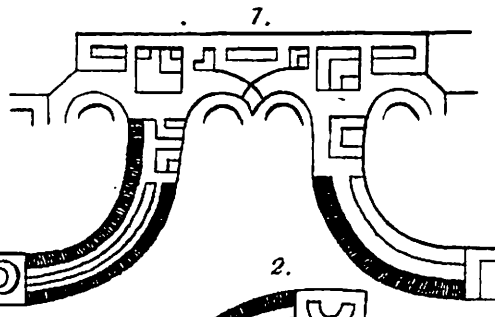
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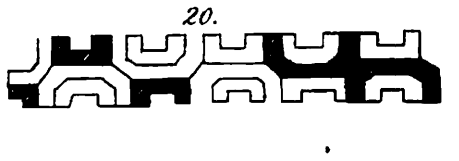
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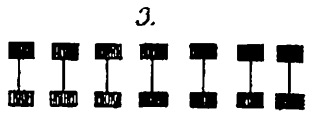
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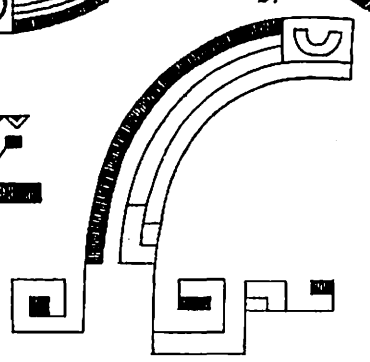
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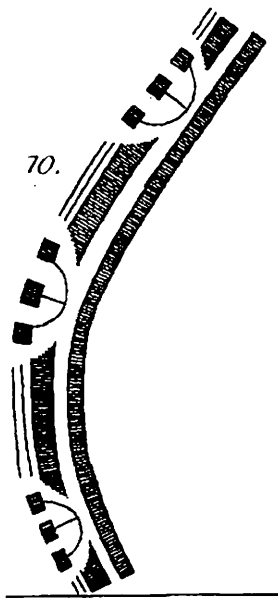
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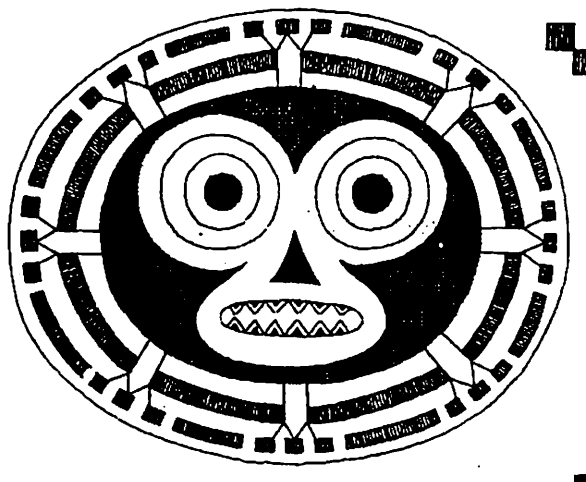
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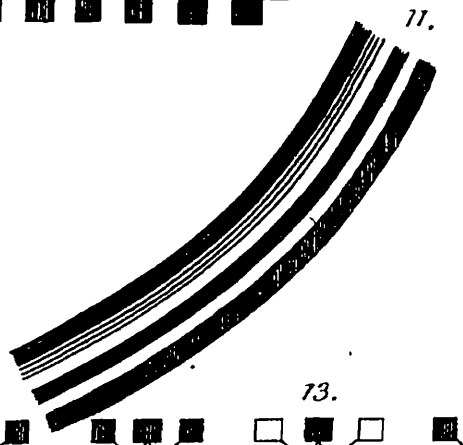
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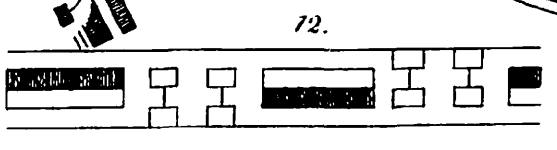
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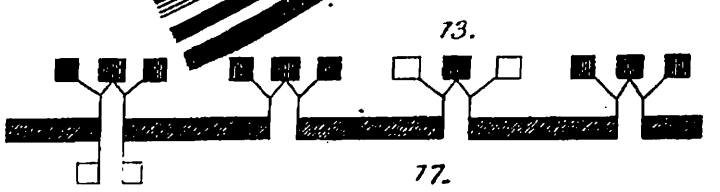
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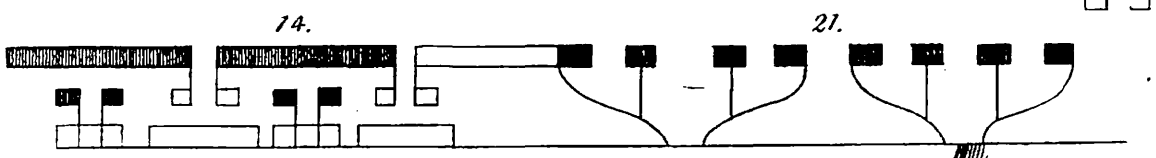
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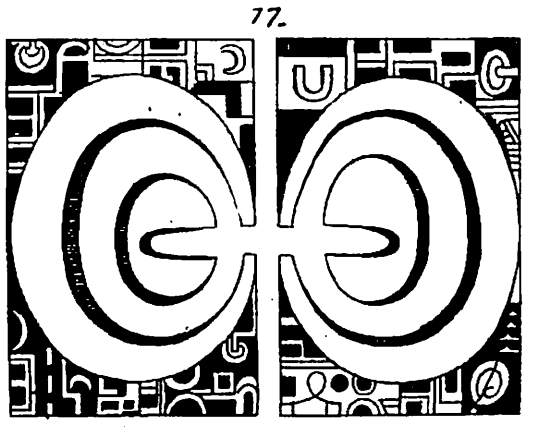
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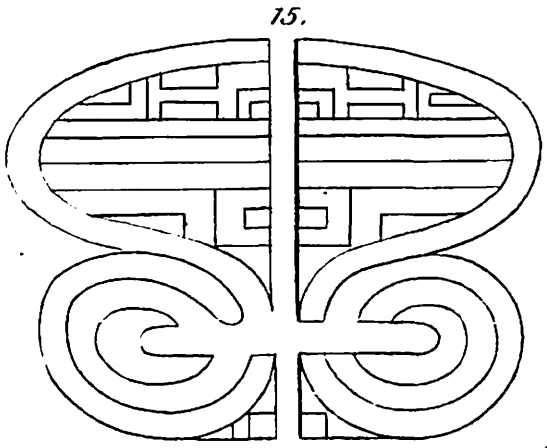
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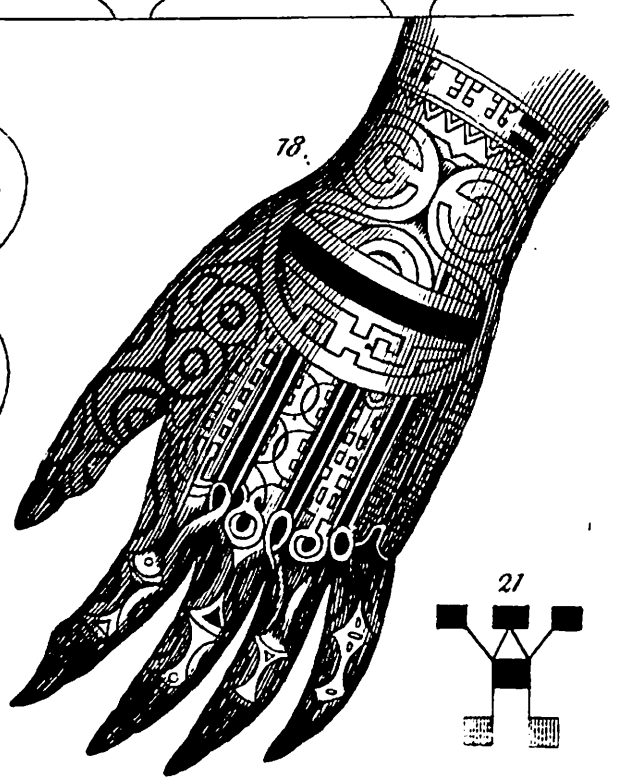
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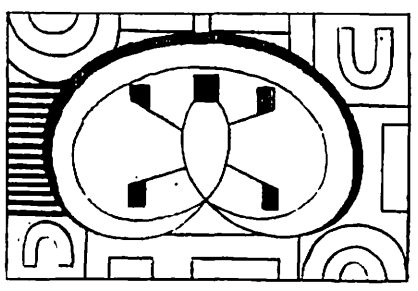
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. Waite, Jr. 72 Queen St. Golden Square.

Figures used in Tattooing.

Published May 1 1813 by Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, London.

which begins at the neck, and ends with the last vertebræ. In the front of the thigh are often figures, which seem intended to represent the human face. On each side the calf of the leg is an oval figure, which produces a very good effect. The whole, in short, displays much taste and discrimination. Some of the tenderest parts of the body, the eye-lids for example, are the only parts not tattooed.

The clothing of these people consists of a piece of cloth round the waist, which among the men is called *tschiabu*, but among the women *teweu* or *teuweu*. The women have besides a large piece of cloth thrown over them: this is done less from modesty than to keep off the burning sun from injuring their complexions. Many of them would very gladly have given us their cloaks for a piece of iron, or a knife, if they had not been too far from their habitations, and afraid of being tanned by the sun in returning to them. A few of the men had a piece of cloth hanging partly down the back, and fastened together upon the breast or under the chin.

The bread-fruit, which forms so essential an article of food among these people, is here, as in almost all the South-Sea islands, what corn and potatoes are in Europe, what rice is in India, and what the cassava root is in Brazil. This tree appears indigenous in these islands, and was first known to Europeans through the great English navigators, by whom the vast Archipelagoes of the South-Seas were discovered. Its importance and utility induced the English government, in 1787, to send out an expedition under the command of Captain Bligh, to carry a quantity of the plants to their West

India possessions. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of their first attempt, Captain Bligh was ordered again to Otaheite for the same purpose, and in 1792, succeeded happily in transporting this precious gift of Providence to the West Indies: the plants have ever since flourished there exceedingly. The fruit, in size and form, resembles very much a cocoa-nut or a melon. The tree grows to a great height, is thick in the stem, and has a very luxuriant foliage; the leaves are much like those of the oak, but a great deal larger, growing to the length of a foot or a foot and half. The fruit is not eaten raw, but roasted or broiled; the taste is different according to the manner in which it is dressed, but either way has a considerable similarity with that of the banana, only less sweet and not so greasy. It very much resembles a cake made of flour, butter, egg, milk, and sugar; it has more the appearance of being a composition of flour than the banana.

The usual manner of cooking the fruit is to make a hole in the ground, and pave it round with large smooth stones; a fire is then kindled in the middle, and as soon as the stones are thoroughly heated, the ashes are cleared away; bamboo canes and banana leaves are then laid over them, and the bread-fruit wrapped in a banana leaf laid into the oven, which is covered with leaves and hot stones. The fruit, when roasted in this way, and eaten with milk pressed from the cocoa-nut, is called *waikai*, and is esteemed very delicious. The chief of Taiohaie once brought us a present of this dish, as a specimen of the cookery of his country, and we all liked it exceedingly. Another way of dressing the bread-fruit is to take off the outward shell after it is roasted, and mix it with water, or milk of cocoa-nut, with

some of the nut scraped fine; this is called *kakuh*, and is also very pleasant.

The ripe bread-fruit will not keep good many days: in times of great abundance, therefore, it is cut into small pieces, when a hole is made in the ground about eight feet long by four broad, and five or six feet deep, which is paved with large stones, and the pieces of fruit thrown into it. A strong fermentation ensues, and forms a leaven, which will then keep for months. This food is called *popoi**. When it is mixed with water, it makes a drink which has very much the appearance and taste of butter-milk, and is extremely cooling and refreshing. There are many other ways of dressing the bread-fruit, mixed with taro, with yams, with bananas, or other fruits, concerning which I could not obtain any accurate information.

The animal food of these islanders consists in man's and swine's flesh, in fish and poultry. The two latter are not held of any great account; but the flesh of swine, with, alas! that of their fellow-creatures, form very essential articles in their political economy. On the birth of a child, on a wedding or a funeral, on the tattooing of a person of distinction, at any dance, festival, or other ceremony, swine are always killed in a greater or less number, according to the circumstances. They are roasted in ovens such as have been described for roasting the bread-fruit, and eaten without salt: the latter is

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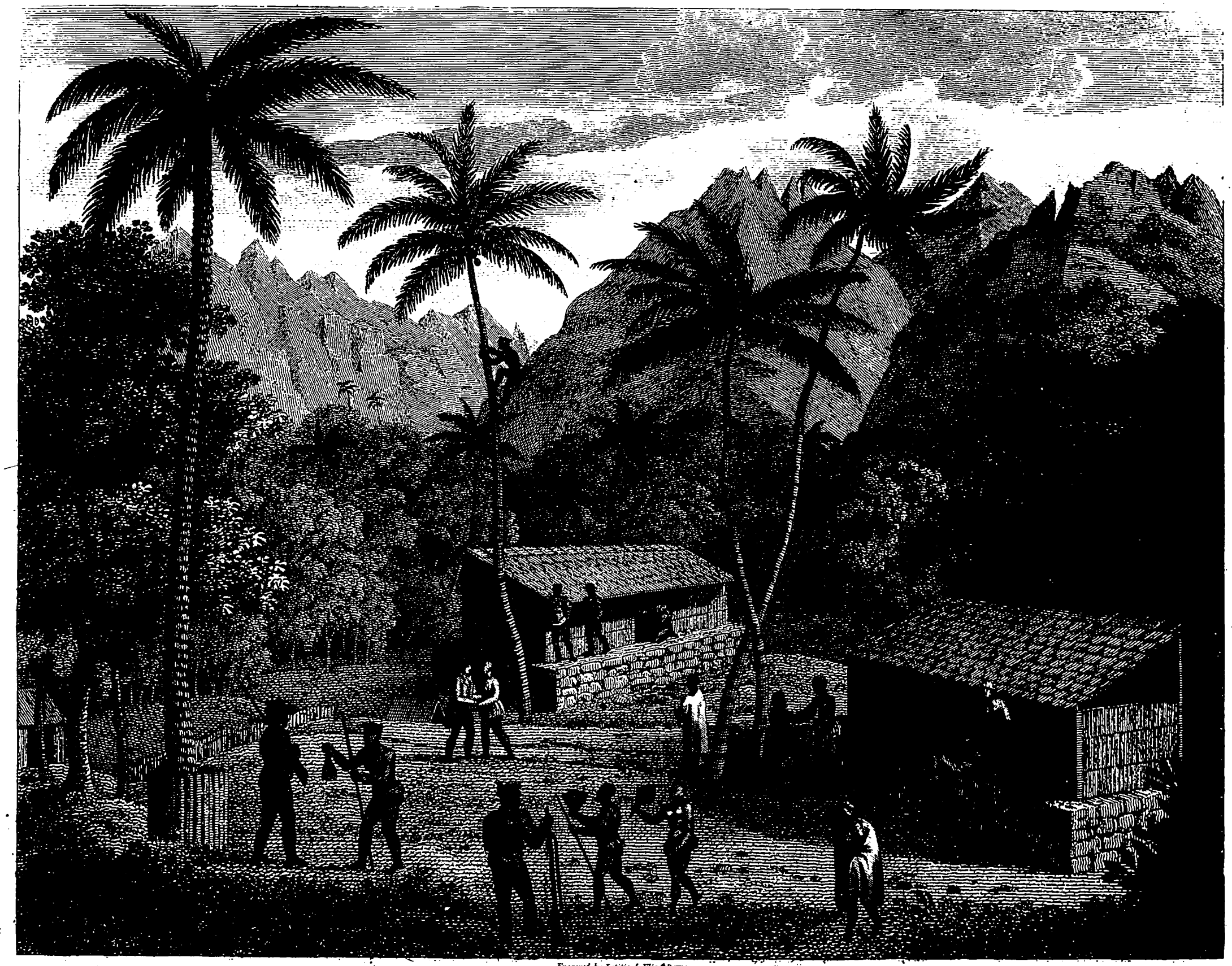
* Probably *popoi* may signify *food* in general; for the eating-house, as will be seen in future, is called *popoi-taboo*, even though not destined entirely to eating swine's flesh.

unknown among these islanders; it is only sometimes compensated by the use of sea-water. Fish and shell-fish are not held in any esteem, and fowls are rather kept for the sake of their feathers than as an article of food.

The want of variety in objects of animal food seems the principal reason why a variety is made by eating slaughtered enemies, and human flesh procured by other means. On account of the importance of this subject, I propose in a future chapter to be somewhat diffuse upon it. In the time of scarcity, the people are glad to eat any thing, and content themselves with rats, and different kinds of fish; among others, *medusæ*, which are not usually considered as objects of food. We did not observe here the custom common among the other South-Sea islanders, of extracting an intoxicating liquor fron the pepper plant, *piper-latifolium*, although the plant grows here, and the manner of making the liquor seemed known to them. Probably much of the beauty and good health of the men is to be ascribed to their abstaining from a beverage so extremely unwholesome.

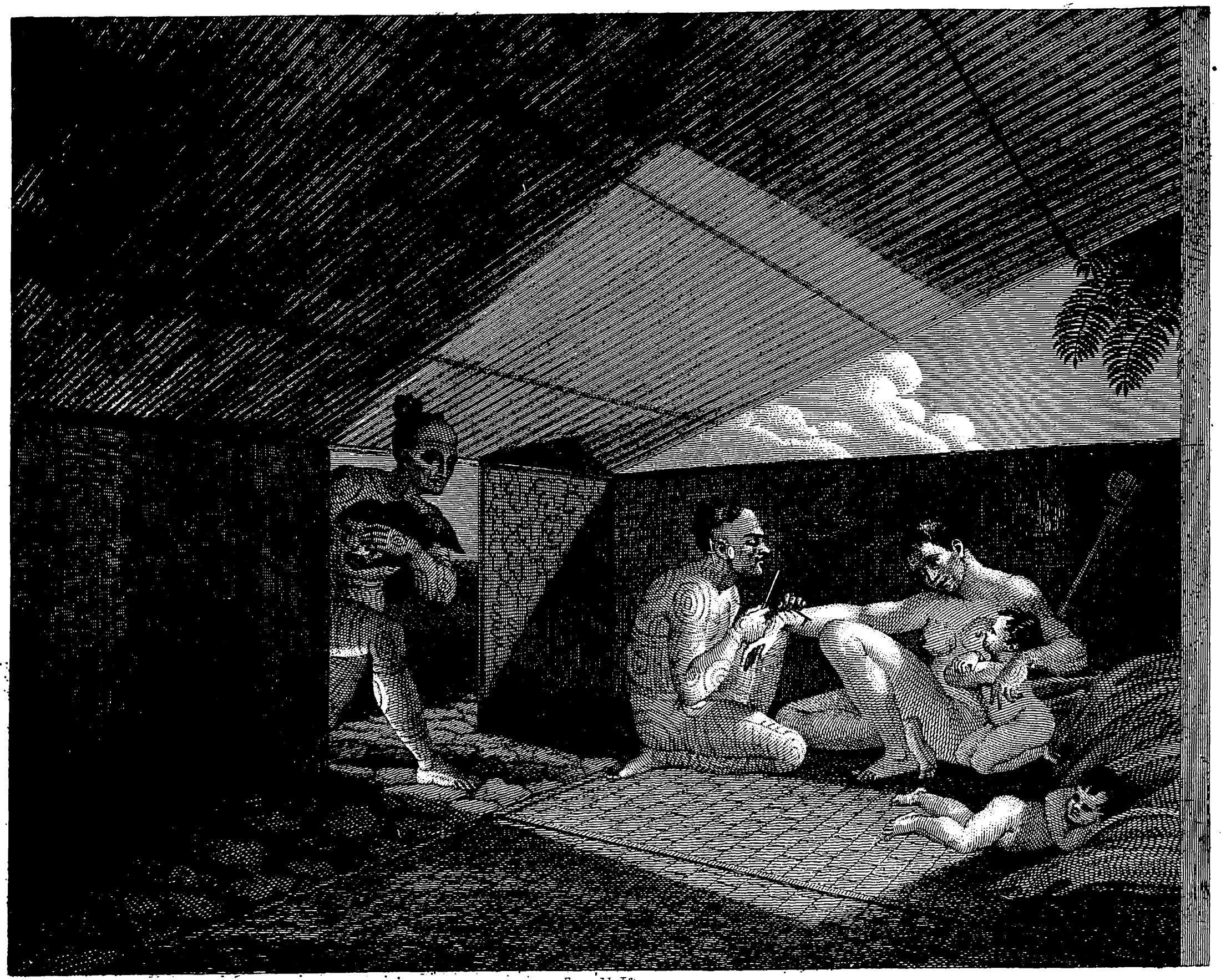
The habitations of the people of Nukahiwa are different in size, though resembling much in their exterior European houses of only one floor. They are commonly about twenty-five feet in length, and six or eight in breadth, with a division across the middle; the hinder wall is much higher than that in front, the former being ten or twelve feet high, the latter not above three or four. They are made with four strong posts stuck into the earth at the corners, to which are fastened horizontal poles. The sides are composed of bamboo canes of equal thickness, placed perpendicularly about half an inch



Engraved by Letitia & Eliz.th Byrne.

An Inhabited Valley in Nukahiwa

Published May 1.1813 by Henry Colburn, Conduit Street, London.



Engraved by J. Storer.

Inside of a Hut at Nukahiwa.

from each other, and lined in the inside with leaves of the cocoa-palm, and some sorts of fern dried. The roof is covered with several layers of leaves of the bread-fruit tree, which keep out the heaviest showers of rain; the entrance is in the low wall in front. It has always appeared to me extraordinary, that not only here, but in the habitations of all uncivilized nations, the entrance should be so disproportionately low. In cold climates, inhabited by a pigmy race of men, a good reason may be assigned for it, that the smaller the opening, the more easily can the cold be kept out: but it is incomprehensible how the custom can have become universal among the large and robust inhabitants of warm climates, who must find the inconvenience of it very sensibly.

The best houses are built upon a platform made of quadrangular smoothed stones, which sometimes extends several feet in front of the house: this undoubtedly makes the habitation more dry, and gives it a handsomer appearance. In these buildings one cannot but be very much astonished to see with what dexterity the people put together such immense stones; they are of a size scarcely to be moved by less than ten or twelve men, and are united without any kind of cement whatever, so that they are absolute Roman walls: they would, indeed, do honour to any European architect. In erecting a new house, the neighbours reciprocally assist each other. People often build houses merely for amusement, and those who are in affluence have frequently houses or huts in several parts of the valley they inhabit, which can be taken down again, and removed in a few days.

The building of the larger dwellings, in which a numerous family can live all together, is the business of the men and women conjointly. But when a man, without the assistance of his wife, brings together the stones that are to serve for the ground-plot of his house, the building erected upon it is *tabooed*, that is, the women are prohibited entering it. Every affluent islander has at least one such *tabooed* house, which is commonly at a little distance from the dwelling-house. He suits it entirely to his own convenience, and has above all a *salle-à-manger*, where, removed from the presence of his wife, he can eat swine's flesh undisturbed; for this, as has been already hinted, is a food of which the women are rarely permitted to partake, and when they are, it is only by special grace and favour of the men. Such a *taboo-house* is called *popoi-taboo*.

Every new-built house must be consecrated by a priest or magician, or whatever he may be called; he makes an oration upon the occasion, which is given in a language wholly incomprehensible to the people at large. He must then be feasted with swine and other good things, over which he makes strange ceremonies, and sleeps the first night in the new house; by these means it is for ever protected from evil spirits. Upon several occasions the women also have separate houses allotted to them, particularly for the purpose of lying-in. The interior of the houses is very clean, for the inhabitants are bound by the laws, or by taboos, to a great degree of cleanliness: it is divided by rafters into two unequal parts: in the first, which is the smallest, there is nothing but the stone pavement to be seen; but the other is strewed over with a soft

grass, over which straw mats are laid, and on these all the inhabitants of the house, without distinction of age or sex, sleep. The walls are hung round with domestic utensils, such as calabashes of different sizes, cocoa-nut shells, fishing-nets, lances, slings, stilts, battle-axes, hatchets, sundry ornaments, drums, and a variety of other articles.

CHAPTER VI.

On the social Institutions among the People of Washington's Islands.—The Chiefs, or Kings.—The Religion and Laws.—Recapitulation of Objects tabooed, and of the Occasions on which they become so.

Of the social institutions, the wars, the religion, the character, and the modes of thinking of these islanders, it was difficult, during our short stay, to obtain accurate ideas, so that I am almost afraid of hazarding any positive opinions with regard to them. The knowledge and judgment of our interpreters were besides so contracted, that very commonly, when we endeavoured to establish any fact by minute investigations, they contradicted themselves.

We certainly could not discover that there was in Nukahiwa, properly speaking, any form of government. Roberts having, as an Englishman, always the idea of a king in his head, distinguished the chief who resided in the valley of Tayo-Hoae, by name Katanuah, with this title; yet his power did not appear to exceed what belongs to a chief, and to be very far indeed from that of a sovereign. He was probably descended from one of the oldest families, and as a distinguished head of a house, had a numerous relationship and great possessions; but he did not appear to exercise any political supremacy. In his exterior there was nothing either of clothing or badges of honour to

distinguish him from the most obscure of his fellow-citizens, excepting that he was very much tattooed; but this was a distinction which he had only in common with many other rich people. His body was somewhat corpulent and unwieldy, so that he could not with advantage have been taken as a leader in battle, in which activity is an essential quality. His commands seemed only laughed at, and he had so little influence over the inhabitants, that he could not, at the entreaty of Captain Von Krusenstern, keep the people away from our watering-place, or lay a taboo upon it. Sometimes he came with other islanders in a canoe to our ship, but at other times swam on board among the lowest of the people, without the least appearance of distinction between him and them, or their appearing to pay the least respect to his dignity.

Every district, and every valley of the island, has, according to the assertions of our interpreters, its separate king; so that in a circumference of scarcely sixteen German miles, there must be, by this account, fifteen or sixteen kings. These magistrates, however, as far as we could judge, seemed not to have so much power over their subjects as among us a village justice has over his peasants. I may, therefore, well assert, that Roberts and Cabri had made Katanuah a king, and that neither he or the rest of the elders, neither the rich or the poor, have any idea of political sovereignty, of government, or of a form of government. This chief, the king of the valley as he is to be called, is in possession, and probably the hereditary heir to several groves of bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and banana trees, and as such is capable of feeding a number of persons; they probably, for this reason, consider themselves as under his protection, yet every

one still remains his own judge. The intercourse of the islanders one among the other is regulated principally by the taboos.

When any one of them kills another, which probably may happen not unfrequently among a people so extremely passionate, the whole family of the slain unite themselves against the murderer; an open strife commences, and the injured party will not discontinue it till either the offender, or some one of his family, is slain. But as soon as one is sacrificed, no matter whether man, woman, boy, or girl, the enmity ceases, and the most complete harmony is restored between the antagonists. During the continuance of such a family strife, many spectators from neighbouring houses will look on, without any one thinking of interposing to effect a reconciliation.

Every islander regulates himself in his behaviour according to prejudices and customs, and his passions are kept in check through deeply-rooted superstition, through fear of invisible spirits, which is all comprehended in the word *taboo*. Hence are derived their laws, and hence what may be termed religion among them. A brief account of the objects of taboo will be the best manner of explaining, in great measure, their institutions, modes of life, manners, and customs. Had Roberts and Cabri been persons of inquiring and enlightened minds, we might probably have obtained such information as would have afforded important matter for philosophical speculations; instead of this, I must confine myself to some trifling observations which I collected casually.

First. The persons of the priests or *Tauas* *, and all their possessions, that is to say, their household utensils, implements, canoes, &c. &c. are tabooed. By this is meant, that they are to be considered as holy, and must not be touched or used by any body but the owner. At first, it was incomprehensible to us why some islanders, who seemed otherwise not in the least above the rest, would not, upon any account, give us their implements or ornaments in exchange for things we offered them, and which they seemed very desirous of possessing, till we afterwards fully understood the meaning of this word taboo.

Second. The persons of the rich, and of people of distinction, are tabooed; that is to say, no one can strike or touch them in any way that would have the appearance of insult, without offending the invisible spirits, and exciting their utmost rage against the offender.

Third. Every one, even the lowest person in the valley, who kills the highest person, or one of the highest among the enemy, for such a heroic deed is tabooed for ten days. During this time he can have no intercourse with his wife: he has hogs brought him as presents, and fire is tabooed to him; this means, that another must make fire and cook for him. Perhaps it is intended, by treating him with this distinction, to encourage others to perform like deeds of valour.

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* As the name of priest or high-priest naturally presents a religious idea, I shall call these magicians or enchanters, in the language of the country, *Tauas*. It would hardly be giving a right idea of their office to apply the term priest to them.

Fourth. The *morai*, or cemetery, is tabooed to women. No woman, therefore, can visit this place; and when she goes near it, she must have a very large piece of cloth thrown over her. If she be naked, she must keep at a great distance. Every islander has a morai near his house, near to which is the *popoi-taboo*, or tabooed eating-house, where the men eat swine's flesh uninterrupted by the women. The morai of the Tauas is entirely remote from all other habitations; and here, commonly, slaughtered enemies are eaten. Through this taboo the women are not only precluded from eating swine's flesh, but the still greater enjoyment of eating human flesh. No person can be present at one of these banquets who is not tabooed: they are confined to the Tauas, to persons of distinction, their relations by name, the hero of the fight, and others.

Fifth. Human flesh is tabooed to women; that is to say, they are not allowed to partake of this feast. Some instances, however, may occur in which the prohibition is relaxed; but I could not get any accurate information what they were.

Sixth. The wife of the chief is tabooed to her friends, and to all who bear her name; that is to say, the friends and relations by name would on no account permit themselves to take any liberties with her.

Seventh. The head of every islander is tabooed. No one, therefore, may step over the head of another as he lies asleep: a father even may not step over the head of his son; nor may any one lay his hand upon the head of another. At our first arrival we were very desirous of stroking our hands over the

heads of some of the handsomest men; on which they betrayed symptoms of great uneasiness and distress, and informed us of the taboo. This ordinance appears to have its foundation in personal security. No one ventures, in consequence, to fall upon another in his sleep, or to seize another by the head.

Eighth. Every child from the moment of its birth inherits from its parents at least one bread-fruit tree, and this tree is tabooed even to the father and mother. If the parents are so poor that they have not a tree to settle upon the child, one is planted for it immediately: by this means a provision is made for the maintenance of the child, since one or two bread-fruit trees is sufficient to support a man the whole year round.

Ninth. The great calebashes, *crescentia-cujete,* which serve as vessels for holding water, are tabooed to each individual of either sex. The women therefore do not touch those that belong to the men, even to hang them up in the house.

Tenth. If any thing be stolen from another, a hog for instance, and the person robbed has a suspicion by whom the act was committed, in revenge he taboos the hogs, or other possessions, of the supposed thief. He gives the swine or trees names, by which, according to the ideas of the people, they are bewitched or enchanted; and by this means the suspected person is sometimes compelled to leave the place and all his possessions, and settle elsewhere. The swine that have been thus bewitched, *natetu,* must never be killed. Every person of either sex can bewitch the finest of his trees, when they become tabooed: their property is thus rendered secure.

Eleventh. The cloth that is wound round the waist of every body is tabooed. This means that it must not be used by another, or be hung up in the house with other things, but must lie upon the ground, or be put upon a stick in a corner of the room: an idea of cleanliness seems to be attached to this regulation.

Twelfth. The habitation is tabooed to water, or rather water is tabooed to the habitation. Nobody, therefore, thinks of washing in the house; nor must a drop of water be thrown upon the stones, or upon the mats. The house is by this means always kept dry.

Thirteenth. The best runners on stilts, who perform at the public dancing festivals, are tabooed for three days before; they do not, in consequence, go out, are well fed, and have no intercourse with their wives. This is probably with a view to increasing their strength.

Fourteenth. That part of the dancing-place which is allotted for the music, that is for several drums, with a number of singers and screamers, is tabooed to the women, because these gay, restless creatures might by their vivacity disturb the music.

Fifteenth. The husband's fire is tabooed to the wife; that is to say, the latter must not cook at a fire made by the former, or eat of the food cooked at it. The husband, on the contrary, may at his pleasure eat any thing cooked by the wife.

Sixteenth. If a husband in the evening prepares a mess of

bananas and cocoa-nuts, and leaves it to roast all night in the stone oven, he is tabooed, and must keep away from his wife, or the dish will be good for nothing.

Seventeenth. If a swine happen to lie asleep across the foot-path he is tabooed, and nobody must step over him, or wake him, but must go round: this is probably because the rest of so important an animal must not be disturbed, and that he will be the fatter for sleeping.

Eighteenth. Though swine's flesh is in general tabooed to the women, if a husband presents his wife with a hog, which happens very rarely, she cooks it herself, and may invite her female friends to partake of it. Or if a husband presents his wife with a sucking pig, and it is brought up by her entirely, when it is grown up so that she kills and cooks it, the feast is tabooed to the husband: she may then, without any farther consent from him, dispose of it solely according to her pleasure.

Nineteenth. Almost all fish are at the time when the bread-fruit is not ripe tabooed, and must not be eaten. A superstitious idea prevails, that by transgressing this law all the young bread-fruit would fall from the trees, which must inevitably occasion a scarcity. This connexion of fish with the bread-fruit is wholly inexplicable. Perhaps fish may be considered as unwholesome at this time of the year, and therefore the inhabitants are by such a taboo restrained from eating them; or it may be that this is their spawning time, and it is intended by such an ordinance to prevent their natural increase being interrupted by their being taken at this period. It seems

strange, however, that as soon as the bread-fruit is ripe, and there is great plenty of it, the taboo upon the fish ceases, and the people may catch whatever they please.

Twentieth. If a woman be preparing cocoa-nut oil, during the time she is thus occupied, that is for five days, or perhaps more, she is tabooed, and must have no intercourse with her husband, otherwise no oil will be procured. The cocoa-oil prepared by the wife is tabooed to the husband, and *vice-versa*.

Whoever transgresses against a taboo is a *kikino*, that is, a criminal, and cannot escape the just punishment of his offence: this is the immediate or more remote influence of the evil spirit *Atuan*, and the priest *Taua*; the certain consequences of which are sickness or sudden death. If any one shall speak profanely of the Tauas, they instantly impart the affront to the spirits in their service, and a sudden death or curse is the inevitable consequence. From hence it will be readily inferred that people frequently die here suddenly, without any previous illness, perhaps of apoplexies. This seems the more probable, as according to the ideas of these people, and to what Roberts and Cabri said, when a taboo has been transgressed, the faces are distorted by the spirits, and lameness in the hands and feet is brought on.

Such, and similar prejudices and ideas serve as the foundation of all the institutions, laws, and religion of the people of these islands.

CHAPTER VII.

Continuation of the Manners and Customs of the People of Nukahiwa.—Their Anthropophagism.—Their Wars.—Marriages.—Births.—Funeral Ceremonies.—Magic.—Circumcision.—Dancing Festivals.—Music.—Running on Stilts.—Swimming.—Ornaments.—Household Utensils.—Playthings.—Canoes.—Miscellaneous Observations.

I COME now to some other manners and customs among the people of Nukahiwa, and, by the description of particular facts, hope to throw a farther light over their character and habits.

There is no creature upon the earth, in every climate, and in every zone, who bears such an enmity to its own species as man. Let us only cast our eyes over the history of the globe, in the most barren wastes, and in the most fertile countries, in the smallest islands, or on the most extensive continents, among the most savage as well as the most cultivated nations, in short, in every part of the world, man everywhere seeks to destroy his own species: he is everywhere by nature harsh and cruel. The observations we made upon the inhabitants of these newly-discovered islands, who never, to the best of our knowledge, had any intercourse with civilized nations, and who may be considered as children of nature, and in their original condition, afford remarkable examples in confirmation of this hypothesis.

The sweet and tender feelings of affection and love, of friendship and attachment, even that of parents towards their children, and of children towards their parents, I have, alas! very seldom found among a rude and uncivilized people. The African hordes not only bring their prisoners taken in battle, but their own children to market. The same thing is done by the Kirgis, the Kalmuks, and many other inhabitants of the north-west coast of America; and here, at Nukahiwa, a woman would very readily have given a child at her breast, which had been asked by us in jest, in exchange for a piece of iron.

Our passions are, through a higher degree of cultivation, through reason, through more refined habits, and above all, through religion, kept under some restraint; but where these and conscience have no influence, man is hard-hearted, and capable of the most horrible actions, without appearing to have any idea that he is doing ill. In this point of view I can explain very easily to myself how it is possible that the people of Nukahiwa, as well as many other savage nations, eat their enemies slain or taken in battle, or in a time of scarcity kill and eat even their own wives and children. It is an old and deeply rooted custom, which has been handed down from father to son, and which they therefore regard with as little horror, and think as little about, as we do of killing and eating an ox: we are, indeed, regarded by several Asiatic nations with scarcely less horror for eating the flesh of animals, than cannibal nations are by us for eating human flesh. Before I enter more particularly into the anthropophagism of these islanders, I will hazard some general remarks upon the sub-

ject, as it appears to me a matter of sufficient importance to be investigated somewhat minutely *.

Many persons of speculative and philosophic minds doubt, but upon insufficient grounds, the truth of anthropophagism. It is, however, incontrovertible, that almost all nations of the world have at one period or other been guilty of this crime. Incredible as it may appear, there have been, and are still, particularly in South-America, and in the interior of Africa, as well as upon its western coasts, people who feed upon human flesh merely on account of its delicacy, and as the height of *gourmandise*. These nations not only eat the prisoners they take in war, but their own wives and children; they even buy and sell human flesh publicly. To them we are indebted for the information that white men are finer flavoured than negroes, and that Englishmen are preferable to Frenchmen. Farther, the flesh of young girls and women, particularly of new-born children, far exceeds in delicacy that of the finest youths, or grown men. Finally, they tell us that the inside of the hand and the sole of the foot are the nicest parts of the human body.

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* During my stay at Lisbon between 1797 and 1802, I had the opportunity of examining a manuscript of J. de Loureiro, the well-known author of the *Flora Cochin-Chinensis*. Some of the very interesting and original remarks made by him upon the subject which I am about to investigate have remained strongly impressed upon my mind, and I will venture to incorporate them with my own, as well as others taken from the treatise of the ingenious Professor Meiners, of Gottingen, *De Anthropophagia et diversis ejus causis*.

The motives that lead men to this unnatural practice appear to be some one or other of the following:

First. Extreme scarcity, when there is so great a want of food that no other means of supporting life, are attainable.

This motive is the most general one, and is the most excusable, especially if only dead corpses are eaten; for it must be pretty indifferent to a lump of clay, whether it be devoured by worms, by animals, or by its fellow-creatures. But although such reasoning may appear very plausible, a reflection may be made, which will shew that even upon this ground the practice cannot be vindicated. Loureiro relates, that upon the occasion of a great scarcity in India, when some hundred thousand persons died of hunger, so that the streets and highways were strewed with dead bodies, and there were hardly sufficient numbers left, or strength enough remaining in them, to bury the dead, many persons took the desperate resolution of saving their own lives by devouring those who had already fallen victims to the calamity. Some of these, when the scarcity was over, and they were no longer urged to it by necessity, had acquired such an irresistible desire for this food, that they would even way-lay the living to kill and eat them. Among others, a person who lived in a forest upon the side of a mountain, contrived a sling, which he threw round the necks of persons passing along, and drew them into the forest, where he satiated his appetite upon them. He continued this practice for some time, till he was detected, when he was seized and put to death.

On the same occasion, and urged by a similar appetite, a woman used to carry away children who had strayed from their parents, or the people who had the care of them. She stopped their mouths and noses with clay, by which means they were suffocated, and she confessed that she eat them. This was done, as she declared, at first from hunger, but afterwards from an insatiable longing: what she could not eat fresh, she salted and kept for future eating. From these and other examples, it is clear that human flesh is found so grateful, that those who have once eaten it can with difficulty abstain from it; and from this circumstance a strong conclusion may be drawn against the morality of even eating a corpse in times of the greatest scarcity, or pressed by the most gnawing hunger.

There are many undeniable instances of anthopophagism, not only among barbarous, but even among civilized nations. One of the most remarkable, as well on account of the antiquity of the circumstance as of the number implicated in it, is to be found in the third book of Herodotus. "Cambyses, King of Persia," he says, "incensed at the contemptuous answer sent him by the King of Æthiopia, on the subject of the Icthyophagi, his ambassadors, put himself at the head of a numerous army, determined to avenge the affront. He set forwards for Æthiopia; but as his route lay over long sandy deserts, his army began to be distressed for want of food. At first they appeased their hunger by killing their horses and beasts of burden, and then eat the plants that grew in the way; but as the latter were very thinly scattered over the deserts of Africa, they were at last constrained to kill every tenth man for the nourishment of the rest. In this way the greatest part of the army

was destroyed: the king was in consequence compelled to abandon the enterprize, and return home with the small remains of it."

The men of Nukahiwa, as Roberts and Cabri assured us, will, in times of scarcity, kill and eat their wives and children, but not unless pressed to it by the utmost necessity. The rich islanders, that is, those who possess a superabundance of provisions, appear exempted from being made the sacrifice of such a calamity; at least, in that which happened not many months before our arrival, no one of Katanuah's family had been slaughtered. On the contrary, he, from his own stores, supported twenty-six persons. It seems, therefore, a reasonable presumption that the tattooing and feasting societies had their origin in an endeavour to suppress, as much as possible, this horrid and unnatural practice.

Secondly. Another motive for anthropophagism is the unruly and inordinate desires to which man is too prone to give way.

The Americans, particularly in Mexico, certainly were not in want of the means of living, yet they perpetually offered up human victims in great numbers; and although this was done under the pretence of its being acceptable to their gods, the principal end seems to have been to gratify their appetites. On that account alone, without any pretence of religion, the Tahuyas of Brazil, and other South-American nations, used to fatten the unhappy victims that fell into their hands for some months before they were to be killed.

The Jaygas, a savage nation of Africa, which are spread over the sandy deserts as far as the Hottentot borders near the Cape of Good Hope, have a similar custom. The Anzigos, likewise an African nation, who inhabit the borders of the kingdom of Congo, kill and eat not only the prisoners they take from other nations, but also their own countrymen, first feeding them well, and even giving them dainties, that their flesh may be the more delicate and finely-flavoured; it is then publicly sold in the market.

Pliny relates, that the greater part of the Scythian and Tartar tribes in Asia were anthropophagists; and we are assured by the latest navigators that the same is the case with regard to almost all the South-Sea islanders. In Europe it is true, to the best of our knowledge, this practice does not now exist any where; but Pliny says, that in ancient times human flesh was eaten by the Lestrigons, a people of Italy. The same is asserted by Strabo of the Hibernians, whom we commonly call Irishmen; and Cœlius Rhodriginus says, that it was the practice also among their neighbours the Scotch. It is extremely probable that all our forefathers, when they were at the lowest step of civilization, were anthropophagists.

Thirdly. Another motive assigned for this practice, and the most extraordinary of all, since it appears the most contrary to nature and sound reason, is to be found among some ancient tribes. Under the pretence of humanity, man becomes inhuman: in the persuasion that he is performing an act of love and truth, he assumes the part of an enemy, of a monster of cruelty.

What is more valuable than life? And whose lives ought we to be so anxious to preserve as those of our parents and relations? Yet the Massagetæ, an eastern nation of antiquity, inhabiting the farther side of the Caspian Sea, against whom, according to Herodotus, Cyrus undertook a campaign, were strangers to a duty so implanted in our nature. Of these barbarous people, Herodotus says, in the first book of his history, that when any of them arrived at a decrepit old age, their sons and other relations united to put the poor old people to death. They then mixed their flesh with the entrails of other animals, and made a great feast, at which they were extremely joyous, boasting that they had interred their relation in their own entrails, the most honourable and respectful manner in which he could be disposed of. We find the same thing confirmed by other writers, particularly Pomponius Mela. He says, speaking of a Scythian tribe, whom he calls the Essedonians, and who lived upon the borders of the Palus Mæotis: "*Essedones funera parentum læti et victimis ac festo coitu familiarium excipiunt, corpora ipsa laniata et cæsis pecorum visceribus immixta epulando consumunt.**" The Massagetæ and Essedonians were therefore agreed in eating their nearest relations amid rejoicings at a jovial feast. It may be made a question whether our German saying of "*eating any body through love,*" may not have arisen from a tradition referring to those ancient times; since it is certain that our forefathers, equally with the above-mentioned tribes, followed this custom.

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* The Essedonians rejoice at the decease of their parents, and banquet upon their bodies, with their acquaintance, at a festive meeting, cutting them to pieces, and mixing them up with the entrails of beasts.

Fourthly. A farther motive for anthropophagism is hatred, contempt, and a thirst of revenge.

In Cochin-China, it was ordered by law, that all rebels, when their guilt was established, should be put to death, and their flesh eaten by the faithful subjects, particularly those immediately about the king. At the time when J. de Loureiro was in the country, such an execution took place. The male culprits were beheaded, the female ones were strangled, according to the sentence passed; the soldiers on guard about the palace then each of them cut off a piece of flesh from the dead bodies, and sticking it in an unripe lemon, swallowed it raw. As the size of the piece of flesh was however not defined, and the nation seemed to feel great horror at the sentence, the most cunning took an opportunity of letting the piece of flesh slip out between their fingers, and swallowed only the lemon.

Nearly at the same time the people of Cochin-China were making war upon some mountaineers called Moïs, who live to the west of their country, and often make hasty inroads into it. The general marched with an army to the mountains; but as he could not reach the enemy on account of the inaccessible nature of the ground, from anger and revenge, he ordered two prisoners, who had been taken, to be put to death, and compelled his soldiers to eat them. The same Loureiro, being in the year 1777 on board an English ship of war in the harbour of Teirao, in order to leave Cochin-China, a party of rebels came down under the conduct of a celebrated leader, by name Nhae, and having seized upon several persons, particularly one who was much in the king's confidence, and who had been a

great enemy to them, as a proof of their hatred they tore out his liver, and eat it. The Cochin-Chinese give a proof how much they are addicted to this kind of outrage, by saying, when they wish to express their hatred of a person very strongly, "*I wish I could eat his liver or his flesh.*"

Among many other nations, a common way of expressing an eager desire of revenge is to wish that they could drink the blood of their enemies; and our German expression, to be *blood-thirsty*, comes perhaps from the time when our forefathers, out of revenge, literally assuaged their thirst with the blood of their enemies instead of grapes.

The Frenchman Cabri, whom we found upon the island of Nukahiwa, and who indeed had lost all appearance of an European education, asserted that he had never eaten the enemies whom he had taken, only *exchanged them for swine*; and Roberts supported his assertion. Notwithstanding this, I am disposed to think that a man, who had in other respects incorporated himself so entirely with the natives, who might be said to be both morally and physically transformed into a savage, who himself confessed that he went out hunting on purpose to catch men, and exchange them for swine, and thought this excellent pastime,—I cannot help, I say, being much disposed to think that such a man was very capable, when he had caught his prey, of eating it in company with his new brethren. He would even have made himself an object of ridicule if he had left this dainty, procured with so much labour, to be eaten by his comrades alone; and though Roberts exculpated him from such a crime, this is not convincing; for Cabri was cun-

ning enough not to have informed his enemy of the banquet, or invited him to it, and the thing might therefore be done without his knowledge.

It is a well-established fact, that the people of Nukahiwa eat their friends if pressed by hunger, and their enemies from hatred or custom. The Tauas, or priests, do still more: they often regale themselves with human flesh merely from the delight they take in it. For this purpose they make a semblance as if they were under the influence of a spirit, and after various grimaces and contortions, appear to fall into a deep sleep. This they take care shall always be done in such places and on such occasions as that there may be abundance of spectators. After sleeping a short time, they wake suddenly, and relate to the people around what the spirit has dictated to them in their dreams. The command sometimes happens to be, that a woman or a man, a tattooed or an untattooed person, a fat or a lean one, an old man or a youth out of the next valley, or from the next river, must be seized and brought to them. The people to whom this is related immediately post themselves in some ambush near a foot-path, or a river that abounds with fish, and the consequence is, that the first person who comes that way, bearing any resemblance to the description given as seen in the dream, is taken, and brought to the Taua's morai, and eaten in company with his taboo society. It depends also frequently upon the Taua to determine whether any enemies shall be taken prisoners, and how many.

If a Taua be ill, one, two, or three inhabitants of an enemy's

valley, according to the degree of his illness, are taken prisoners, to be sacrificed as offerings to his luxurious appetite. Does the Taua recover, 'tis well; if not, the sacrifice must be repeated; and if he dies at last, the whole valley participate in the event; a war is commenced, and as many prisoners as can be laid hold on are seized, not by secret ambushes, but by open violence, being considered as enemies merely because they inhabited the other side of the river. If only a single man or woman be taken, the victim is carried to the morai, and eaten there.

The conqueror, or hero, who kills an enemy, has the head as his portion; he cuts it off immediately, parts the skull asunder at the sutures, and swallows the blood and brains upon the spot. The skull is afterwards cleaned from the flesh, ornamented with hog's bristles, and the under jaw fastened to it ingeniously with threads from the cocoa-nut. It then serves at future opportunities as a token of valour, being for that purpose fastened to the cloth which is worn round the waist. During our stay we had several opportunities of examining these skulls.

Deeply-rooted prejudices, and the desire of human flesh, seem the principal causes of the enmities and wars so frequent among these people. I cannot, however, say that the conflicts are in general very terrible, since the contending parties rarely fight with equal numbers. Thirst of conquest, pride of ancestry, claims upon a whole valley or a piece of land, seldom or never seem to be the causes that occasions wars among them.

When they are going publicly to battle, they appear with

their hands and feet ornamented with feathers, and a sort of veil on their heads made of cocoa-nut threads woven together, which a stranger would rather suppose to be intended as an article of finery than worn as a part of the accoutrements of war. The most distinguished heroes have then the skull of the enemy formerly slain bound to the hip or the foot. In their hands they carry lances, javelins, and clubs of casuarina-wood. During the fight, they spring and jump about, making many movements, by which they endeavour to throw the javelins, or sling stones, and often quit the field when they have only slain one of their adversaries. According to the account of our Frenchman, from whom our principal information with regard to the martial prowess of these people was derived, it appeared as if their fights were very like the mock combats sometimes performed by our youths. When they lurk after an enemy singly, it is done commonly in bad weather, during a heavy rain, as then a greater number of people are employed in fishing, and the enemy cannot so easily see and hear the hero in his ambush. Whether, in times of scarcity, they seek out their enemies to prey upon them, I do not know; but it would appear wholly strange and inexplicable, if, when pressed by hunger, they should rather sacrifice their own wives and children than endeavour to seize neighbours with whom they are at enmity.

When a woman is near child-birth, a small *taboo-house* is built in the neighbourhood of the dwelling; this custom seems to originate in cleanliness. The mother, or some other near relation, manages the business of the delivery, at which none but women are allowed to be present. A large piece of the cloth

which they make from the paper-mulberry-tree is spread upon the ground, and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered. The mother goes out immediately after the birth, and the first place she goes to is the nearest stream, the child being carried thither also, but not by herself, and there both are well washed. Decorum requires that a hog should be killed upon this occasion; and some days after, when the navel-string falls, another is killed. The former is generally eaten by the father alone, but the near friends are invited to partake of the latter.

The delivery is easy, and commonly takes place in half an hour; very rarely indeed does it last an hour. Some instances do however occur of severe labours, arising from the unnatural situation of the child, or the opposition of some part of the extremities. The mother almost universally takes care of the child herself, though sometimes, when she is very much occupied, she will consign it for a short time to the care of another. No particular length of time is fixed for suckling it; in general, children are not weaned till they can go alone, and many not till they can speak. Some are early fed with other food, which generally consists of popoi; or in a few months after the birth, raw fish is given them.

Young unmarried girls may unhindered, unpunished, and without dishonouring their families, yield to their propensities to gallantry; but as soon as they enter into the state of matrimony, all intercourse with any other men, except their husbands, is strictly forbidden. As the slave of her husband, the infidelity of a wife is then punished with stripes, or she

is discarded; the seducer is secretly punished at the pleasure of the husband, but never publicly. This is a plain proof that real matrimonial compacts exist here, and that the husbands are no strangers to jealousy; that is to say, if Cabri's information be accurate.

As soon as a man and woman have reciprocally agreed to live with each other, presents are exchanged between the bridegroom and the parents of the bride. The marriage lasts as long as harmony and good-will subsist between the parties; but if either wishes to be released from the compact, they are free. The children are taken care of by both parties, and remain either with the father or mother, as the matter can be arranged between themselves. This point, however, I am inclined to believe is seldom brought much into question, since the most perfect indifference seems commonly to reign between parents and children.

If the daughter of a person of distinction marries, a number of swine are killed, and all the friends and acquaintance are invited to the feast. Every guest at the nuptials has then a right, with the consent of the bride, to share the pleasures of the nuptial night with the bridegroom. The feasting commonly lasts two or three days, till all the swine are eaten, and from that time the wife must abstain from all intercourse with any other man except her husband. If she transgresses obstinately in this respect, the latter has a right to make himself amends by presenting her, against her will, to any body who will take her. Rich men may have at their pleasure as many wives as they chuse, or can maintain, but it is more usual to have only one.

When any one dies, the corpse is immediately washed clean, and laid upon a sort of bier made of bamboo-canes, and covered with a piece of new cloth; the body is also covered with several pieces of new cloth. At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted, the Taua and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo-place.

The Taua brings with him at least four large drums, and performs the funeral ceremonies. They consist in his babbling out a long oration in a language perfectly incomprehensible, the drums roaring during the whole time that he is speaking: probably this noise is made to prevent the evil spirits doing any mischief to the deceased. The guests then begin to eat the swine, the popoi, and the bread-fruit, and do not discontinue the banquet till every morsel is dispatched. The Taua has the heads of the swine for his portion, and the hind-quarter of a hog must be reserved for the chief, who is invited to all funerals in his valley; if he does not attend the feast himself, it must be sent to his house; he commonly, therefore, finds it more for his advantage not to appear. The nearest relations must, during this time, watch by the corpse day and night, and rub it well every day with cocoa-nut oil. This lasts sometimes for weeks, but the oil preserves the corpse from corruption, and in the end changes it to an absolute mummy. At length the body is wrapped in cloth, which has first been steeped in this oil, and is placed upon a bier in the morai or cemetery of

the family. This, it has been already observed, is tabooed to women.

A similar care of the dead is to be remarked among almost all savage nations, even among those where no traces of religion are to be discovered, though the shewing such distinction to the dead would almost lead to the supposition that they have a kind of dark confused ideas of an hereafter. It is a great object among the enemies from the neighbouring valleys to endeavour to steal away a corpse, and they conceive that they have performed a most heroic deed if this be accomplished. In order to prevent it, if an irruption of the enemy be apprehended, the bodies are immediately taken away from the morai, and deposited in the ground near it.

Among the many kinds of magic or enchantment practised by individuals here, as well as by the Tauas, one of the most remarkable is the art of making another person ill. For this purpose a preparation is required, called here a kacha, the composing of which is one of the most important secrets among them. The person who would fabricate one, must first wash his whole body perfectly clean; for three days he must not eat, he must drink very little, and must have no intercourse with the female sex. All the time he is preparing the kacha he must live in a taboo-place, that is to say, a morai or popoi-taboo house. The kacha itself is a little purse or bag made with the threads of cocoa-nuts and other threads woven together, in which the skin of a fresh-killed lizard, various sorts of plants, a little stone of a particular form, a small piece of bamboo-cane, and a number of other things, are tied up together.

But the principal thing is to seek out some one among the enemies of the man they would afflict with illness, and procure from him some of his hair, the remains of something he has been eating, and some earth on which he has spit or made water, with a little piece of the cloth that he wraps round his waist; without these ingredients the kacha would have no effect.

Three of these enchanted bags are commonly made: when ready they must be well perfumed, and buried separately in the ground, in some remote spot. If in a short time after the intended effect is produced, and the person is ill, he, who always believes that his illness proceeds from enchantment, endeavours to discover, but never without the assistance of a Taua, who has done the mischief. Then the person upon whom the suspicion falls is brought to confession by means of a taboo; that is to say, if he be really the composer of the charm, he must when questioned acknowledge it, else he is guilty of transgressing a taboo, and immediate death, according to his own belief, would be the consequence. When the confession is made, he is presented by the sick man with one or more hogs, to induce him to break the enchantment; this consists in digging up the kachas. If the first present of swine be not sufficient, so that the patient does not recover, he must renew his bribe; and if the second will not do, he must try a third; the last kacha is then taken out of the ground. If the enchanter be sufficiently paid, the patient recovers, if not, there is no hope for him, for the spirit then supports the enemy, and nothing can appease him.

The fear of enchantment and the influence of spirits is the

great rein by which the passions of these people are kept under any kind of restraint, Roberts assured us, that he often threatened them with setting his spirit to work, and that by such a menace he could generally make them do whatever he wanted, because they were afraid that he would bring a number of European ships among them, and put an end in a moment to their very existence.

The Tauas, according to the popular belief, are, from their vast knowledge of magic, enabled to discover the origin of many diseases. When any one finds himself indisposed, he sends for a Taua, who strokes his hand three times over the patient's breast, and pretends as if by this means he forces away the spirit. Cabri, indeed, assured me with the utmost seriousness, so deeply had superstition taken possession of his mind, that he himself had heard the spirit in the palm of the Taua's hand, where he sometimes whistles very loud. He added, that when the Taua asks why he has made the man ill, the spirit answers in a language only known to the Taua; but, according to his account, the reason given generally seems to be, that the man has transgressed a taboo, perhaps taken some bread-fruit or cocoa-nuts from a tabooed tree. It then remains for him to dictate what number of swine must be given by the offender to atone for his transgression, and to restore the taboo, without which he cannot recover. These peace-offerings are carried to the Taua's morai, where they are eaten to the restoration of the patient. The number of hogs at which the fine is set is commonly in proportion to the wealth of him who is to pay them.

Circumcision is universal among the men, and is generally performed when the youth is just approaching the age of manhood. Till the parts are entirely healed, the person who performs the operation is tabooed, and is feasted abundantly with swine's flesh; at the conclusion, he is presented with a hog. This operation seems performed under the idea of cleanliness.

In days of plenty, these gay people have a variety of amusements of different kinds. At the time of year when the bread-fruit is ripe, so that there is great abundance of it, the chiefs and principal people of the valley make popular festivals: for this purpose they collect swine, cocoa-nuts, bananas, and many kinds of roots, so as to feast the people for some time. The principal of these assemblies are the dancing festivals. The performers in the dances make many springs and pantomimic gestures, with quick movements of the hands and arms, without moving much from one spot. It seems as if the people of Nukahiwa, and the same may be said with regard to many other uncivilized nations, mean to represent in their pantomimic dances most of the common actions of life, as fishing, slinging stones, running on stilts, swimming, and the like.

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and of some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other

times without at least the *teuweu* round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people. The same circumstance was observed by Captain Cook at the dances in Otaheite. Cabri assured us, that only those girls, wives, and widows danced, whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance.

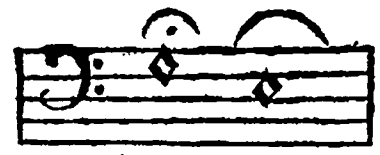
The place in which the company dance is in the most level part of the valley: it is paved with large broad flat stones, put together so close and even, that one could almost believe it to be done by an European workman: the place is seldom less than a hundred fathom long, and is tabooed. At the times of the greatest festivity, all enmities with the neighbouring vallies are laid aside, and the inhabitants are invited to participate in the gaiety. Great circumspection, however, is used with the stranger guests as to every thing tabooed. They, on their part, never appear unarmed, and keep all together on one side of the dancing place, that in case any unpleasant circumstance should occur, they may be ready to stand upon their defence. They commonly have with them a sling for stones, but it is bound

about the head so as rather to have the appearance of an ornament than a weapon of defence. It is indeed true, that these guests are not always secure from an attack, since it is not unprecedented to make use of a feast only as a cunning artifice to draw the victims into a snare, and seize them the more securely. If a Taua chuses to be influenced by the spirit, or to fall into a trance, it is a sufficient reason for all conviviality to cease, and for hostilities to be recommenced.

The music at these festivals consists of a wild sort of cry, and the beating of several drums, some of them very large. They have the form of an upright cylinder or cask, and are four feet, or four feet and a half high, with a diameter of a foot and a half or two feet; over the top is stretched the skin of a shark: the workmanship is extremely neat. The place where the music is ranged, I have already observed, is tabooed to the women. Counsellor Tilesius, who unites with extraordinary natural talents great knowledge in many branches of the fine arts, has favoured me with the following remarks upon the music of these islanders. I am the more obliged to him for them, since I am not myself a votary of Apollo.

It is very remarkable, he says, that almost all the songs of uncultivated people, and even the music of European nations not very far advanced in civilization, is composed chiefly of semi-tones. It is the peculiar characteristic of the music of Nukahiwa, that it dwells principally upon quarter-tones, not going beyond the minor third from e to g, except that it sometimes sinks into d. The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The

music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Κυριε ελέισον, which is still sung in many German churches, in the same manner as the monotonous *oras* of the monks. The rising from *e* to *g*, and sinking again from *g* to *e*, I have expressed by half tones, that is, by *f* and *f* sharp; but they must be quarter tones, for though the notes are droned out, this difference is very discernible. At every pause in a word or a strophe, which is expressed by this mark ⁀, the singers are silent for some seconds, and then begin again, the voices rising by degrees from *e* to *g*. This I have endeavoured to express by a diagonal line.



This peculiarity in the cannibals of Nukahiwa, in these rude and wild children of nature, who certainly have no traces of musical or any other species of cultivation, that they prefer the minor third, cannot undoubtedly proceed from any other cause than that it appears to them easier and more natural. How to account for the general preference given to the minor key does not appear easy, and I have never read any thing satisfactory on the subject from the most scientific musicians. In the songs of the Russian sailors, which sound so pleasant at a distance, I always observed a preference for the major-tones, in which they almost all fall three to four bars. They are regulated, however, apparently by the same art; since, although many are set to minor tones, here and there evident transitions are observable into the major-tones to

which they are allied; and though after two or three bars they return again to the minor-tones, yet the whole produces a gay and lively effect. But as these songs are composed with much more art, and harmonized for several voices; as they are always set to a quick and lively time, and as the singers themselves evince much more notion of musical science, they are not at all to be compared with the rude songs of the savages, nor do their minor-tones make any mournful or melancholy impression. Their appropriate major-tones, and the animation with which the songs are sung, give the whole much more life, and produce cheerfulness and gaiety; they are, in fact, an effusion of gaiety in the singers. The case is very different with the single melody of the national songs of Nukahiwa; it serves for deaths, marriages, war songs, drinking, &c. and is sung on all occasions.

In what is here subjoined by way of commentary upon this text, it is merely intended to notice some circumstances which may satisfactorily explain the above phenomena. In demonstrating the contrariety of feelings which compose the character of these savages, a clue may perhaps be furnished to the nature of their national songs. But as many things, which I shall presume psychologically with respect to them, may appear to be included in the sense of the text, they will, in case my remarks upon the national character and situation of these uncultivated islanders be well founded, only be a confirmation of them.

Probably at first the people of Nukahiwa only sung their songs on their return from the fight, particularly when they

returned as victors, having not lost more than one or two men, while the enemy had lost ten. Perhaps it was originally hunger or necessity, the want of recruiting their strength after their exertions, the example of their enemies, revenge, or the idea of availing themselves of the right of retaliation, that brought them to the resolution of eating human flesh. Their Tauas, those crafty subtle refuse of the people, in the sequel, requiring more frequent repetitions of like banquets, might afterwards lead to their being introduced upon a variety of occasions both religious and irreligious; and encouraging the simplicity and propensity to superstition and marvels among their dupes, they might thus lead them to having recourse perpetually to human sacrifices. Become in this way familiar with them, the savages soon appeared under the horrible form of cannibals.

At many of their assemblies and public festivals, the songs are accompanied by a very loud measured sound, which they produce by pressing the bare left arm hard upon the body, and with the right-hand striking the cavity thus made between the ribs and the inside of the elbow-joint. These loud strokes fall in a certain measure for the most part thus:

In the mean while, others strike the shoulder with the hollow of the bare hand, while at the same time, particularly when the feast and dance is upon a solemn occasion, drums are added, and struck with the same measure as the hands. After this grotesque music, which is followed by the solemn-

choral minor-tones, the whole assembly begin to dance in a place allotted for the purpose.

The cylinder of the drum is made of the hollow trunk of a tree, and it has holes at the lower, which is the smaller end, like the sounding board of a stringed instrument. According to the greater or less degree of tension in the skin, and to the size of the trunk, the tones vary in their pitch, but they are not regulated upon any principle; the drums are used principally at funerals, but never with the dancing. These drums, and the war-trumpet, which, together with the cries of the warriors, urge the people on to battle, are the only musical instruments in Nukahiwa. The war-trumpet consists of a large shell, the Triton's horn, *murex tritonis*, which is ornamented with the hair of a slaughtered enemy; at the small end is fixed the shell of an oil-nut as a mouth-piece. It has very much the sound of the herdsman's horn, and as far as I could learn, is never uesd but in war.

The following remarks are made by Counsellor Tilesius upon one of the songs of the people of Nukahiwa. "The subject of the song is a typical representation of a warlike scene. One of the people sees in the night a fire upon an enemy's island, and asks his comrade *where the fire is?* The other answers, *upon Tauata*. This excites the idea of the right of retaliation exercised over enemies either captured or slain, and fire is required to dress the repast intended to be made upon the enemy. They rejoice in the valour of their heroes, with all the circumstances attending it, but then intervenes a feeling of compassion at the melancholy consequences, and the impres-

sion which the death of the slain must make upon his wife and children, upon his parents and family. The number of days designated at the close indicate perhaps the length of time with which they are to be fed with human flesh. It appears to me that this song displays much of the national character of these people; of the strange mixture of good and bad combined in it, of desire of human flesh, of cruelty and compassion."

This song being sung in the night, united with the measured clapping, and the sight of the fire which forms the basis of it, makes in the distance so wild, so half melancholy, so desponding an impression, that any one might imagine he heard his funereal knell. During a whole night that I was on shore, such, and not more agreeable, were my feelings on hearing this song unceasingly sung by these open-hearted appearing men; the striking upon the arm, and the hollow sounds from the hand upon the shoulder, had exactly the effect of the strokes of a passing-bell.

The song is subjoined, as I received it from the Frenchman Cabri, and it may possibly be right as here given. When, however, I afterwards occupied myself much with making a translation of it word for word, and compared it with the vocabulary of the language which I had collected, it appeared to me in many parts erroneous. If my literal translation be correct, the proofs of which rest upon the critical remarks I have subjoined, I cannot concur with Counsellor Tilesius as to the mixture of good and bad, of cruelty and compassion, which he finds in the national character as displayed by this song. I am rather of opinion that they have no feeling of compassion,

at least not in this case; they do not seem to think they are doing any thing wrong, and appear only to rejoice that they have killed an enemy, and are in a situation to roast and eat him, instead of being roasted and eaten themselves.

NUKAHIWA TEXT.	CABRI'S TRANSLATION.	CRITICAL TRANSLATION.
1. Hia-t-eama äh?	Where is the light?	Where is the light?
2. I Tauata oh.	On Tauata.	On Tauata.
3. t' eama äh?	Wherefore the light?	The light wherefore?
4. tau enata oh.	To roast the enemy.	Here is a man.
5 Hia ehāhe äh?	Let us make fire.	Where is fire?
6. Tai eama oh.	We have fire.	Here light.
7. Tau enata äh.	We will roast him.	Here is the man.
8. enata oh.	We have him.	The man.
9. Ōtĕmăō.	He would fly.	The flying-fish.
10. ah mate mate äh.	Now is he dead.	Is he dead?
11. itŭētŭĕ äh.	The sister weeps.	Does he weep?
12. titi hei äh.	His parents weep.	Is he angry?
13. mate moi äh.	His daughters weep.	Is the daughter dead?
14. Atahi äh, &c.	1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th.	

Critical Remarks upon the above.

1. *Ihea,* or *hia,* means where: *eama,* the light. The *t* appears only to be inserted for the sake of the sound. *Ah* is often the sign of a question.

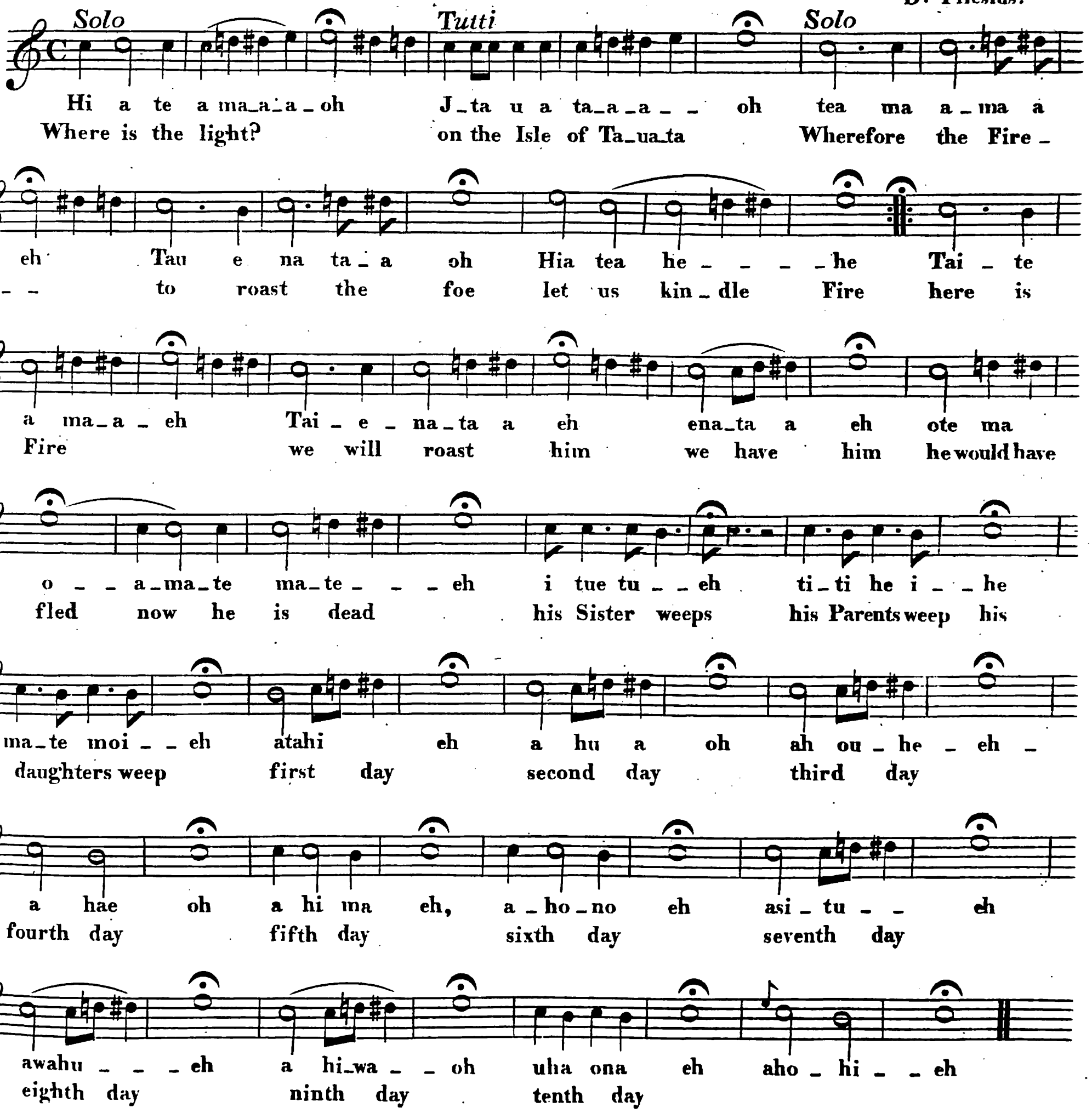
2. Tauata is the island of St. Christina, one of Washington's Islands.

3. Is in fact the repetition of the first line, and may also be *where is the light?* or *the fire?*

Song of the Natives of Nukahiwa.

Choral. Melancolico, unisono retardando.

D.r Tilesius.



4. *Tau* must mean to roast. Unfortunately I have not the word in my vocabulary, and I therefore cannot ascertain it with certainty: *enata* is a man, a human being. Perhaps *tau* and *tai* are the same; the latter means *here*; therefore this may be, here is already a man, or an enemy, taken; and as soon as these islanders have taken a man, the next idea that naturally presents itself to them is to roast him.

5. *Hia* should here, as in the first line, be *ihea*.

6. *Tai*, here; *eama*, the light.

7. Perhaps this *tau* ought again to be *tai*. Here is the fire; here is the man, who being taken, is naturally to be roasted and eaten.

8. This repetition is probably increase of joy.

9. Probably figurative. As we have often taken the flying-fish in their flight, so is this man our prey.

10. This may mean *he is dead*, or *is he dead?* The last interpretation seems to me the most probable, on account of the questions which immediately follow.

11. *Ue*, or *ŭwäh*, means to weep. It is more probable that the question here is of the slaughtered enemy than of the relations. Cabri translated this line different ways at different times: once, *the stone has hit*, another time, *the man is taken*; in both cases it is very natural that the victim should weep. Of a

sister, in their language *toahine*, there is no mention here, but there certainly is of weeping, which most naturally refers to the enemy, and thus stands properly enough as an antithesis to the tenth line, which inquires, *is he dead?* or, *does he live?* If the stone had hit hard, it was very probable that weeping would be the consequence.

12. *Titi* must be a man's name: *hei* means angry, incensed. An enemy wounded by a stone or a lance, sometimes, as it should appear, breaks away, and endeavours to save himself by flight.

13. *Moi* means the daughter, *mate*, dead; *äh* may again only indicate a question. *Moi* is, perhaps, properly applied to the female sex, and the question means, whether any one, either man or woman, fell a victim to the combat.

14. Here follow the numbers from one to ten, according to the fancy. The proper sense and signification of this I do not know, unless the number of enemies slain or taken is indicated by it.

Next to dancing, one of the favourite amusements among these people is running on stilts, and perhaps no nation upon earth can do this with so much dexterity as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands. At their great public festivals they run in this way for wagers, in which each tries to cross the other, and throw him down; if this be accomplished, the

person thrown becomes the laughing-stock of the whole company. We were the more astonished at the dexterity shewn by them as they run on the dancing-place, which, being paved with smooth stones, must greatly increase the difficulty: children are thoroughly habituated to this exercise, even by the time they are eight or ten years old. Pleasure seems to be the principal object of it; or, if it should be alleged that the frequency of inundations, and the necessity of keeping up an intercourse with each other, has led them to it, I answer, that people who always go naked, and are swimming about all day long, have no great reason to be afraid of wetting their feet, and cannot therefore make use of such a means of keeping them dry from necessity.

The dexterity of these people in swimming is another thing that excited no small astonishment in us. It is not easy to conceive, at least for Europeans to conceive, how men have accustomed themselves half to live in the water. They seem to be able to do just as they please there: they will remain nearly in the same place for a long time together, as if they were standing upright, so that the head and shoulders are above the water, guiding themselves solely by the feet. They will shell and eat a cocoa-nut in the water, or bring a number of things for barter tied together at the end of a stick, which they hold up high above the water, to keep them from being wetted. I have seen them swim with little children on their shoulders, or throw themselves from high steep rocks into the sea; and they would much rather swim over a creek than go a step round to get to the other side. Some of them would swim about the ship for the greatest part of the day, without

ever appearing tired. Mufau, who has been mentioned before as such a particularly tall fine-made man, though he had never till now been on board an European ship, has of his own accord run up the main-mast many times together, and thrown himself from it into the sea, to the great astonishment of the spectators. He had actually gone up one day with the intention of throwing himself from the topmost gallery, but Captain Krusenstern called him back, and would not permit it. It was impossible to see, without equal shuddering and astonishment, how he would spring from such a height, and balance himself in the air for some seconds with his feet drawn up against his body, so as to keep his head up: from the force of the fall, and the great weight of his body, he came with so violent a plunge into the water, that several seconds elapsed before he appeared again upon its surface.

These people have a great variety of personal ornaments, but none which appear worn as a particular mark of rank or distinction. The head is ornamented partly with a bandeau, partly with feathers and mother-of-pearl wrought into different forms. They often cut off all the hair, except from two small circular spots just above the ears, and then tie the long hair from these spots into bunches, which give them at a little distance very much the appearance of having horns *; the same custom is almost universal among the Chinese children. Holes are made in the ears so large, that a body of three or four lines in diameter may be run through it. A muscle-shell of an ounce weight,

* The manner in which this is done may be seen by the plate to page 119, of a young man partially tattooed.

to which is fastened the fang of a hog somewhat polished, or a light oval piece of bread-fruit wood, is the great ear ornament. Large iron nails, a little wooden stick about two inches long, and various other trifles, are also stuck into the ears.

A very favourite ornament for the neck is a sort of gorget, which has the shape of a horse-shoe, and is made of several rows of little pieces of bread-fruit wood strung together. To these are fastened, by means of a sort of resin which comes from the same tree, a number of those red and black seeds of the *abrus precatorius*, which the ladies in Europe use so much for necklaces. Hog's fangs or pieces of bone, or muscle-shells of a particular kind strung together in rows with the threads of the cocoa-nut, are very common as necklaces. For want of some of these objects of art I have seen many of the islanders hang about their necks, or stick into their ears, a little fish, a crab, a flower, a muscle, or perhaps any present they received from us, as a nail or a knife.

Red feathers, or feathers naturally mottled, for they seem easily to discern any colour given them by art, are esteemed by them of great value. Katanuah, who was not in general very ready to part with his swine, yet gave us one for a small parrot which we had brought with us from Brazil. The *hope-moa* is one of the most favourite ornaments: this is a bunch of hair which the men cut off from the heads of their wives, and fasten behind them. The feather-rings made from the tail of the tropic-bird, which are worn by the dancers, have been already mentioned. To procure these feathers, the people climb up the steep rocks at night, and take the birds while

they are asleep. They pluck the feathers out of the tail without killing the bird, that they may be able to repeat the same operation when the feathers are grown again.

Their manner of preparing the cloth from the bark of the paper-mulberry-tree differs very little from the description given by Captain Cook as practised in Otaheite. This is done entirely by the women; the making the household utensils and weapons of war is the principal business of the men. The latter are wrought with great care and taste; the lances, the spears, and the clubs, are ornamented with carved work, or with the hair of the enemy woven together very ingeniously. The slings are made from the threads of the cocoa-nuts and other plants which did not come under my observation, perhaps a sort of nettle, or the *phormium tenax* of Forster. About the morais figures are to be seen, evidently intended to represent the human form, but which shew that the carvers of them have made no great progress in the art of sculpture. Much more pains is bestowed upon fishing-nets than upon the hooks for angling; the latter are simple, and made out of the shell of the mother-of-pearl muscle. The fans for the sun or wind evince considerable neatness and ingenuity. The calabashes, which are used for household purposes, are ornamented with human and other bones, and with net-work. A sort of dishes, resembling troughs, are made for the food; on these are carved little figures of human faces, of fish, and of birds.

Under the title of playthings may be mentioned one which consists of a stick about a foot long and an inch thick. A hole is bored in it at one end, through which is run a peg five or six

inches in length, and at the point of the peg is stuck a little ball of cocoa-thread. The stick is then struck with another, so that the ball is thrown up into the air, and the dexterity of the thing is to catch it again upon the point of the peg. It is very probable that they have many other objects of amusement of a similar kind, which may be ranked as playthings, but no others came under my observation.

The people of Nukahiwa are, in comparison with other South-Sea islanders, very backward in the art of boat-building. The canoes are from twenty to thirty feet long, but they do not exceed a foot in breadth, and will not carry more than six or seven men. To prevent their being overset, a sort of balancing pole is used, such as is often to be seen among other nations. The whole canoe is mean, and very badly constructed. The planks to raise the sides are fastened on with cocoa-nut thread; the joints and crevices are then stopped up close with moss, and rubbed well over with resin from the bread-fruit tree. In case the boat is overset or is leaky, all who are in it spring out, swim round it, and shovel the water out with their hands, so that they can soon get into it again without danger, and continue rowing. The oars and rudder are of better workmanship than the canoe.

MISCELLANEOUS OBSERVATIONS.

Whatever these people begged of us, as bread, biscuit, sugar, they put to their noses, and smelt at it like apes. I had many times occasion to observe that their smell seemed par-

ticularly acute. They were extremely fond of sugar, but disliked the salted meat very much.

As they have no clothes, consequently no pockets in which they can put things, they would often carry trifling articles in their mouths. I was once observed by a man seeking for little pocket crabs under the stones upon the beach, when he immediately took six of them alive out of his mouth, which he had absolutely caught with his mouth.

There are many other ways in which they display extraordinary activity of body besides those that have already been noticed. They climb the highest trees with incredible celerity, not as we do, with the knees pressed close to the trunk, but rather like apes, with the toes spread out: probably their long and strong nails assist them in this very much. They will climb the steepest rocks with extreme facility; in running, they are not equally expert.

If they mean to give a refusal, or a negative answer, they stretch out their tongues. Pointing with the index finger is a demonstration of friendship. When two friends meet, they press the points of the noses together; this stands with them in the place of a kiss, to the sweet sensation of which they seem entire strangers.

The people of distinction here, as is the case in many Asiatic nations, suffer the nails on the fingers to grow very long, that it may be evident they are not accustomed to hard labour. They use their toes with extraordinary dexterity. I have seen

them on board the ship take up a piece of iron with their toes, and hand it, if I may use that expression, to some of their comrades who were swimming about the ship.

To make the cocoa-nut oil, they scrape the kernels of a great number of cocoa-nuts, which they put upon banana-leaves, and let it lie out in the sun for four or five days. They then press the oil from an equal number of fresh cocoa-nuts over the scrapings, and let it lie in the sun again for two or three days; by repeating this several times, a quantity of good oil is procured. It is kept for use in the hollow of bamboo canes.

The teeth from the upper jaws of the sharks serve here, as in the Sandwich and other South-Sea islands, for knives, or even for razors; those of the under jaw are used as a substitute for gimlets and awls to bore holes, for which purpose they are fastened into a wooden handle.

Small pieces of coral, of madrepores, and millepores, serve to scrape and work the implements made of the hard casuarina-wood; they have the effect of a saw; the skin of the shark is used to polish the wood. Bows and arrows, which are so much used among many nations, seem here to be wholly unknown.

The father of Katanuah, a very old man, was reputed to have a great deal of medical knowledge. Sea-water taken internally seems to be one of their most favourite medicines.

Twin-births, as Cabri assured us, are by no means uncommon here.

Swine and rats are the only domestic quadrupeds of these islands; the latter are caught by the people with their hands, and given to the swine for food. In times of scarcity they are eaten by the people themselves, and are very well flavoured. We saw many hogs, particularly in the valley of Schegua, as large as European ones, but their owners would not exchange or sell them, at least at the price we chose to offer.

Roberts had two dogs, which were called by the inhabitants, who have no such animals among them, by the same appellation they give to swine. A male and female goat, to which probably they give the name of horned swine, had been brought from Santa Christina to Nukahiwa, but as they were in a distant valley we did not see them. We never saw either wild or tame cats, though it is not improbable that there may be wild ones who feed upon the rats.

Poultry are not much in request as an article of food, but those that have a beautiful plumage are highly valued for the sake of the feathers: they are, from time to time, plucked quite bare. Fleas seem to be wholly unknown here.

These are the principal observations I was enabled to make during a stay of ten days at the island of Nukahiwa. Whoever feels particularly interested in the group of islands to which this belongs, will find in the voyages of Cook, Forster,

Le Marchand, Vancouver, Wilson, and Captain Krusenstern, many very interesting particulars which I have omitted to avoid repetition.

With the assistance of Roberts and Cabri I had an opportunity, which does not often occur, of obtaining a tolerable vocabulary of their language. This I have thought of sufficient importance to subjoin at the end of the work.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Nukahiwa.—Arrival at Owhyhee.—Remarks upon that Island.—Reunion with the Neva.—Voyage to Kamschatka.—Arrival, and Stay there.

During our stay at Nukahiwa, we had, to our great regret, not been able to procure many swine by way of barter. A part of the inhabitants set too high a price upon them, and others would not part with them at any price, chusing to reserve them for their own banquetings and revellings. We provided ourselves, however, plentifully with cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and nourishing roots, and left the island in the best health possible, with the pleasing hope that in a few weeks we should find at the Sandwich Islands ample compensation for our present privation of animal food.

We had collected as large a stock of wood and good water as Captain Krusenstern judged necessary: in this business, Roberts, Cabri, and several of the natives, rendered us very important services. The latter were richly paid by some pieces of iron hoops from old casks of about an inch long each, and the two former by some linen, knives, hatchets, and other useful objects. From the first of our arrival we were upon the best terms possible with the islanders, and had gained, as I dare hope, their perfect esteem and confidence; nay, I will flatter

myself that we even left upon their minds impressions which may be advantageous to future navigators visiting the island. At our departure we had no reason to complain of the behaviour of these men; and we quitted them with the impression that if, in some respects, they were to be regarded as cruel in their dispositions, and as just objects of horror, yet in others they were friendly and kind-hearted.

The Neva, from which we had been separated on the twenty-fourth of March in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn, to our very great joy arrived at Nukahiwa on the eleventh of May. The captain told us that he had waited for us three days at Easter Island, but on account of the strong west wind was prevented landed there; consequently, except some batatas and bananas which the islanders had brought in a canoe, no refreshment had been procured.

On the sixteenth of May, both ships prepared to put to sea; and on the seventeenth, in the morning, every thing being ready, the anchor was weighed. The wind came in little gales from the high hills that surround the harbour, and changed almost every moment, so that the ship was often laid on her side, and we made very little way. Towards ten o'clock, a brisk gale came on from the sea, which impelled the waves with great force into the harbour; and our vessel, overpowered by them, was driven by degrees more and more towards the south-west shore. Carried, at length, to within a hundred and twenty fathom of some rugged rocks, our situation became extremely dangerous; happily, however, we found anchorage. This, united with the extreme attention of our excellent commander,

and the activity of the officers and crew, rescued us from the danger of being driven upon the rocks we were now so near, and of being wrecked upon an island of anthropophagists. Our sheet-anchor was immediately thrown out, and the Neva, upon a signal given, sent her boat to assist in placing us sooner in security from the rocks. A great number of the inhabitants assembled upon the shore, many of whom appeared to be armed. Few, however, had probably an accurate idea of our danger, for one of them, in company with a woman, threw himself from a steep rock into the tossing waves, where the water dashed up to the height of twenty feet, offering us, as usual, the favours of the lady, who was most probably his wife. Another came swimming merrily round the ship, but as nobody condescended to pay attention to him, he soon turned back, with a bough of banana in his hand, which had accidentally fallen overboard.

About four in the afternoon we were in the midst of the bay safely at anchor, and rescued entirely from the danger with which we had been menaced. The variable weather, the heavy showers of rain, the continued strong gale of wind, and above all, the reflection that the crew had been working very hard all day in an atmosphere of twenty-two degrees of heat, determined Captain Krusenstern to give them a night's rest.

Towards evening, Cabri and Roberts came on board to bid us once more adieu; the former also begged some farther European trifles for himself and his wife. He assured us that he had seen the danger our ship was in from the eastern side of the bay, and had immediately spread the news in the valley, as he conceived our destruction inevitable, and he had col-

lected such a number of islanders with the sole view of placing us and all our treasures in perfect security, in case of the expected shipwreck. As the night closed in, Roberts was sent on shore in a little boat, and we advised Cabri also to avail himself of the same opportunity for returning, since, if the wind should prove favourable, we might perhaps sail in the night. He, however, chose to remain on board, and assured us that from the mouth of the bay he could at any moment swim to the nearest shore.

Early in the morning of the eighteenth the anchor was again weighed. We were scarcely between the two islands that lie at the mouth of the harbour when there arose suddenly so strong and unequal a gale, accompanied with rain, that the whole crew were again in motion, more sail was spread, and the cable of the sheet-anchor was cut, that we might gain the open sea as fast as possible. At this critical moment Cabri begged to be set on shore in a boat, as it was impossible, while the sea was so high, to reach the island by swimming. Every one, however, was too much occupied with the safety of the ship to pay any attention to his request, and he begged equally in vain for a plank, by the assistance of which he might get on shore. He was therefore constrained, between the rolling of the sea, and the every moment increasing distance from the shore, to remain with us, and leave this fairy island. Thus was Roberts freed from the object of his determined enmity, and Cabri separated from his wife and children. He seemed, however, soon to reconcile himself to his fate, and was extremely useful as a sailor. For the rest, he was but a *mauvais-sujet*, very

ready in laying plans for stealing, lying, and cheating, and not less adroit in the execution of them.

We now directed our course towards the Sandwich Islands and Kamschatka. The wind was brisk, and after a few days, that is, on the twenty-fifth of May in the afternoon, we crossed the Line in longitude 146° 31′ west of Greenwich. The heat was, during this day, at 22°, in the night it fell to 21°. On the twenty-seventh of May, being then in 2° 10′ northern latitude, and in 146° 50′ western longitude, we remarked a bough with green leaves floating on the water, and at the same time saw an unusually large flight of tropic-birds, as well as some other sea-birds, and some fish; a trifling change in the trade-wind was also perceptible. All these things gave reason to suppose that we were in the neighbourhood of some hitherto unknown island, but we were not so fortunate as to discover it.

On the seventh of June, being in latitude 19° 34′ north, we came in sight of the eastern point of the island of Owhyhee, then at the distance of thirty-six sea miles. This island, the largest of the group called the Sandwich Islands, is celebrated from its having been the place where the great navigator Cook so unfortunately lost his life. Vancouver, his worthy disciple, gave the world a few years after a complete map of these islands.

Captain Krusenstern was desirous of reaching Nangasaki, a great trading town of Japan, before the end of September,

hoping, by thus hastening his voyage, to avoid the change of the north-easterly monsoon, which often takes place about the middle of that month. In order, therefore, to gain time, he resolved not to anchor in Caracacoa Bay, but without any delay to institute a traffic with the islanders for such objects as he wanted, so that in a few days he might be amply provided with swine and provisions of all kinds. With this view he cruized till the tenth along the southern coast of the island; but to our very great concern, during that time so few of the inhabitants made their appearance, and they demanded so high a price for whatever they brought, that he resolved to leave the island, and make the best of his way to Kamschatka. This he was the better enabled to do from the excellent state of health of his whole crew.

The few islanders we had an opportunity of observing were all naked, dirty, of a middling stature, not well made, and with skins of a dark dingy brown; they were covered with bruises and sores, probably the effect either of drinking kava, or of a well-known disease very common among them. Most of the men had lost their front teeth, which they said had been knocked out in battle by the slings. They were very good swimmers. Their arms and sides were tattooed in figures of lizards, goats, musquets, and other things, but by no means so well executed as the figures we had seen at Nukahiwa. The ill impression made upon us by these people was so much the more forcible, as but a very short time before, only on the seventeenth of May, we had left an island, the inhabitants of which, as to their stature and admirable proportions, are certainly to be ranked among the handsomest people upon the

globe. For the rest, the Sandwich islanders, probably from their more frequent intercourse with European nations, appear to have much greater affinity with them than the people of Nukahiwa. Cabri was so little pleased with either the men or the women, that he could not resolve to live among them, and earnestly entreated Captain Krusenstern, who would have set him on shore here, to carry him on to Kamschatka. The language of Owhyhee seems to differ very much from that of Nukahiwa, since Cabri, who spoke the latter fluently, could not make himself understood here. By the assistance of some English words we succeeded better.

The canoes of these islands are light, and very neatly constructed; they prove that the people have made a much greater progress in naval architecture than those of Nukahiwa; they go out to sea in them many miles. The coast, in the part about which we cruized, is pleasant and well-cultivated: we observed many groves of bananas and cocoa-nuts. Our attention was particularly attracted by the majestic mountain Mowna Roa. According to former observations, its point should be two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight toises above the level of the sea, but our indefatigable astronomer, Doctor Horner, calculated it at only two thousand two hundred and fifty-four.

This lofty mountain, which is between three and four hundred toises higher than the Peak of Teneriffe, rises so gradually from the sea-shore to its summit, that it has a very remarkable and most pleasing appearance; in no other place can any one ascend to so great a height with so little difficulty. A part

of this facility arises from the warmth of the climate; since, notwithstanding its great height, even the very summit scarcely reaches the snow mark at so short a distance from the equator. At the time of year when we saw it, the summit was entirely free from snow. How many unknown plants might here be discovered, and what contributions might be collected towards the geography and natural history of plants! It were much to be wished that some zealous naturalist would remain at least a year upon this island to study these subjects.

We quitted Owhyhee on the tenth of June, without having been able to obtain the least information with respect to the present state of the island. As I afterwards passed the winter of 1805 and 1806 upon the north-west coast of America, I had then an opportunity of learning some particulars, which will perhaps be better given in this place.

The group of the Sandwich Islands is very commodious for all ships going to the north-west coast of America, to the Aleutian Islands, or to Kamschatka, to touch at; it has very secure bays. Here may be procured abundance of swine, bread-fruit, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, yams, batatas, salt, wood, water, and other things particularly desirable for ship stores. The ships of the United States of America touch here almost every year, in their way to the north-west coast of their continent. The object of these voyages made by the Americans is to collect the sea-otter skins, which are so highly valued by the Chinese, and carry them to Canton. For these skins they give iron wares, cloth, knives, hatchets, kitchen utensils, rice, molasses, biscuit, powder, and flints. This trade has been

carried on principally, since the English, as well as the Spaniards, have deserted Nootka Sound, and given up their former establishments there. The exchange must be extremely profitable, since not less than seven or eight ships annually go to Nootka, Queen Charlotte's, and Norfolk Sound. If they do not get a good cargo of sea-otter skins for Canton, they go in October or November to Columbo river, or more commonly to the Sandwich Islands, and winter there, so that they may be ready the beginning of March to go again to the north-west coast, and complete their lading.

The number of ships that visit Caracacoa Bay, and the intercourse that takes place between them and the natives, has had already so great an influence upon the civilization of these islands, that they may be said to have advanced in it with giant strides, and Owhyhee is likely to take the lead among the South Sea islands, in becoming a polished and civilized country.

Their king, Tomoomah, from his constant intercourse with the sea-officers of the American States, and particularly under the instruction of Mr. Young and Mr. Davie, who have already lived with him some years, and are, as it were, his ministers, has introduced many European customs, and has brought the English language so much into use, that most of the inhabitants of the island of any rank or distinction can now speak English. Tomoomah has found means to subject all the islands to his jurisdiction, so that he is become sole sovereign of the whole group. He was soon made to comprehend the value of silver, and to prefer selling the products

of his country to the ships that visited it for Spanish dollars or piastres. As soon as he had got a tolerable sum together, he bought a ship of an American merchant, and manned it partly with his own people, and partly with foreign sailors, of whom there are many now living in Owhyhee. The seamen of the United States like so well to revel in a superfluity of the productions of nature without much labour, and to have handsome young girls at their disposal, that a ship scarcely ever touches here without leaving one or more of its sailors behind; the king, however, will not permit any one to stay who has not a good character from his captain. Through the instruction of these guests, the islanders are become very fond of a seafaring life, and they make excellent sailors. While I was on the north-west coast of America, I saw and talked with several natives of Owhyhee serving as sailors on board vessels from Boston, who received as pay ten or twelve piastres per month.

They have got to make cordage of all kinds, and fishing nets in so much perfection in Owhyhee, probably from the threads of the *phormium verax*, that ships are supplied with them, and they are considered as more durable for tackling than the European cordage.

Tomoomah, in every thing he does, shews a strong understanding, and great activity of mind. He has increased his power at sea so much within a short time, that in the year 1806 he had fifteen ships in his possession, among which were some three-masted vessels, brigs, and cutters. In the same year he made known to the agent of the Russio-American trading company, Von Baranoff, at New Archangel in Norfolk

Sound, that he understood from persons trading to that coast how much the Russian establishment had sometimes suffered in winter from a scarcity of provisions; that he would therefore gladly send a ship every year with swine, salt, batatas, and other articles of food, if they would in exchange let him have sea-otter skins at a fair price; and these he purposed to send upon speculation to Canton*.

But the thing which more than any other occupies his attention is ship-building, and he already can point out with great accuracy and judgment the excellencies and faults in the construction of a vessel. All tools and implements belonging to ship-building are therefore considered by him as of particular value, and are the most advantageous articles of traffic that can be carried to the island. Any sailor, who is at the same time a ship-carpenter, is particularly welcome; he is immediately presented with lands, and almost any thing that he wants.

A few years ago a most extraordinary and valuable discovery was made at Owhyhee, of a sort of wood growing there, which it is said the worms, that do so much mischief in these waters by boring into the ships, will not touch. This, if ever duly established, will render the sheathing vessels with copper, an otherwise absolutely necessary precaution, wholly superfluous. Among the products of Owhyhee is the sugar-cane. If

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* This intercouse, as I have learnt since my return to St. Petersburgh, has absolutely commenced. The Imperial Russian trading company not only sent a ship from Norfolk Sound to Owhyhee to trade with the king for provisions, but even bought a cutter of him.

this were cultivated to any degree of perfection, in time Kamschatka, and indeed all Siberia, might be supplied with sugar from hence.

The wars, and political relations of Europe, have of late years so entirely engrossed the attention of all ranks and classes of people, that even the speculative eye of the merchant has been turned from other objects and chained to these alone. But if ever the freedom of the seas be re-established, and ships of all nations be allowed to range at large as heretofore, then it may be hoped that the advantages which Cook, La Perouse, Meares, Portlock, Vancouver, Le Marchand, Broughton, Captain Krusenstern, and many others, have pointed out as easily to be derived from trading with these islands, will not remain wholly neglected.

On the tenth of June, at six in the evening, we took leave of our companion the Neva, from which we were now to be separated, with a reciprocal exchange of three cheers. Captain Lisiansky was destined to sail with this ship to the north-west coast of America. As he was not so much pressed for time as ourselves, he determined to cast anchor for some days in Caracacoa Bay to refresh his crew. Captain Krusenstern, however, judged it necessary to take a decisive resolution; and since in four days we had not been able to obtain any provisions from the coast, he determined to lose no more time in uncertain attempts, but to make the best of his way without any farther delay, to Kamschatka.

Nothing remarkable occurred during the first days of this

voyage. Our kitchen was very simple; for the table of the officers, as well as of the sailors, was served only with salted meat and biscuit; to which was added, through the medium of the latter, a sort of small beetle, the *dermestes niceus*. In fact, these insects had nestled themselves in such abundance among our stock of biscuit, that we were obliged to examine every morsel very accurately before we could venture to put it into our mouths.

The uncommon number of birds that we saw when we were in 17° north latitude, and 169° 30′ western longitude, attracted our attention very much, and excited again a hope that we might discover some unknown island: this hope, however, as in the former instance, proved abortive. The geographical sailor would render a very great service in taking for the subject of his inquiries, the vast waste of sea between the western coast of America and Japan, with the islands that lie to the south of Japan, or in other words, between the twenty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of northern latitude; and in giving rules whereby navigators might understand accurately the signs of being in the neighbourhood of land. There can be scarcely any doubt that not only here but elsewhere, a vast many undiscovered islands still exist; but where they are must be the objeet of future examinations. I do not know of any navigators going from the north-west coast of America to Canton, that have not discovered, some in one place, some in another, signs of land at no great distance: to the best of my knowledge, however, nothing has yet been discovered in the parallel between the eighteenth and twenty-sixth degrees of northern latitude, but some low sand islands, which render the

navigation very dangerous. From comparing the testimonies of all who have hitherto run this course, deductions may be made which will lead future navigators to take a different direction, whence, doubtless, fresh discoveries will arise. In my voyage from Norfolk Sound to the coast of New Albion, in 1806, from latitude 37° to 39° north, and longitude 227° to 228° west, I observed almost daily tokens of land not very far off. But of this more in the sequel.

The twenty-seventh of June was in many respects a very remarkable day to us. We crossed the Tropic of Cancer in 181° 50′ western longitude, the sun being then in its zenith. The degree of heat was from twenty-one to twenty-two. The air being uncommonly calm, and the sea uncommonly smooth, our worthy captain lent Dr. Horner and myself one of the boats, for the purpose of making our respective observations; the Doctor's, upon the temperature, the transparency, the currents, and the saltness of the sea; and mine upon the natural history of such objects as might come within my reach.

According to the observations made by the Doctor, the warmth of the sea upon its surface was then 20° 5′; but at the depth of a hundred and twenty-five fathom it was only 13° 3′. The difference in the temperature of the water, between the surface and twenty-five fathom depth, was only 1°; between the surface and fifty fathom, 3° 2′; and between the surface and a hundred and twenty-five fathom, 7° 2′.

The number of zoophytes and mollusca, of beroes, of salpœ, of Medusæ, of seasquills, of *cyclops mulleri*, of *zoëa latifer*, of

pelagica, and various other microscopic objects, which I found, astonished me exceedingly. I also found innumerable shoals of the *physalis pelagica*, and *medusa velella*; which, according to my ideas, varied only from those in the Atlantic Ocean by their being so much smaller: they were scarcely an inch in diameter.

Early in the morning we saw a very large dog-fish, *squalus glaucias*, near the ship. Though it appeared to be hungry, and to follow us only to catch at any objects of food that might come in its way, it would not at first bite when we threw out the angle: at length, however, it could not resist the attraction of the bait, and was drawn on board, with many shouts, and vast delight. It measured seven feet and a half in length, and weighed two hundred pounds. While we were all standing over our prize, contemplating it with rapture, a second was observed close to us. We had again recourse to the angle, and the creature was so extremely hungry that he caught at it with the utmost eagerness. We were so much the more rejoiced at this capture, as we obtained by it a small supply of fresh food. Although the flesh of all the shark tribe is hard, dry, and tasteless, yet we agreed unanimously, as we feasted upon it the same evening, that it was extremely well-flavoured. Some of the sailors, however, were soon after taken with a violent vomiting; but I am rather inclined to ascribe this to intemperance in the quantity they had eaten, or to some other casual circumstance, than to the nature of the fish. I have very often seen it brought to market, both at Lisbon and Teneriffe, and sold to the poor for food.

In 21° northern latitude we lost the trade-wind, and with it the pleasant sailing we had enjoyed between the tropics. Cloudy weather with fresh variable winds, and constant changes in the temperature of the atmosphere, accompanied us the rest of the way to Kamschatka. On the last day of this month, in latitude 30o, we saw such an immense shoal of dolphins, that the foam occasioned by them appeared at a little distance like the sea breaking over rocks.

On the third of July, when we were in latitude 36° north, and in longitude 191° 13′ west, Captain Krusenstern directed his course due west, in hopes of falling in with the *Rica de Oro*, and *Rica de Plata*, or the Gold and Silver Islands: their situation is variously defined even in the best maps, and they have many times been sought in vain. The atmosphere was cloudy, and in the afternoon a strong east wind rose, which, though at first favourable to us, soon increased to a storm. In a night so extremely dark that we could scarcely see the length of the ship round us, with reefed sails we went at the rate of nine miles an hour; so that we were very fortunate in not running upon the rocks of any *Gold* or *Silver* shore.

On the following day, the fourth of July, the wind changed; notwithstanding which the weather still continued cloudy; and as Captain Krusenstern thought the certain loss of time of more importance than any uncertain pursuit, he judged it better to abandon researches, the event of which was so extremely doubtful. To what this experienced navigator says in his excellent account of our voyage, with regard to these islands, I am enabled to add that the Dutch interpreters at Nangasaki,

whom I often questioned upon this subject, were extremely well acquainted with the names, and represented them as lying about four or five days sail from the south-west coast of Japan. As the Japanese, however, understand nothing at all of latitude or longitude, it was very difficult to learn any thing definite upon the subject.

On the fifth of July, in latitude 38° 32′, longitude 194° 30′, we saw a turtle, without, however, any other signs appearing of land being near. On the sixth, in latitude 40° 34′, longitude 195° 35′, we observed a great many whales, and on the seventh, some ducks, with an old trunk of a tree: every day the signs of being not very far from land increased upon us. On the eleventh, in latitude 49° 16′, longitude 199° 49′, we saw about the ship a great number of sea-mews, *larus*, auks, *alca*, peterels, *procellaria*, and albatrosses, *diomedea exulans*. The peterels in their long slender wings, though not in the manner of their flight, somewhat resemble larks or swallows.

On the thirteenth in the morning land was descried from the mast-head: the sound had in it something heavenly to the ears of people who had been five months upon the sea, with only the variation of the few short excursions we made on shore during the ten days we staid at Nukahiwa: the land we saw might, moreover, in some respects be regarded as our native shores. A calm prevented our making much way on the following day; and we contemplated with a longing eye the promontory of Schibunskoy-Noss, which lay before us. We were in latitude 53° 6′ north, and in longitude 200°, nearly the situation of the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The high ridges of mountains, the peaks covered with eternal snow, the flaming volcanoes, presented an appearance wholly new to us; and as we were so far advanced in summer, we could not help doubting whether it really was snow with which we saw the upper half of the mountains covered*. How little soever we were at first pleased with the prospect presented to us, and how much soever our minds were prejudiced by the ill reports generally made of this country, yet the nearer we approached to the coast, the more we were disposed to conceive a better opinion of it. On the fifteenth in the morning a brisk gale sprung up, and the green forests with which the lower mountains were covered, surprised us with their beauty and pleasant appearance. Since we quitted Brazil we had seen no country which presented to us views so fine as this ill-famed peninsula. The fine woods of birch, and the grassy hills in the foreground, resembled an European landscape so much, that we really could almost believe ourselves in our native country; even the high Alps in the back ground, which had made so unpleasant an impression upon our minds the day before, were now admired as grand features adding much to the general effect.

Towards noon we had reached the entrance of the great bay of Awatscha, in which, assisted by the excellent charts of Cook and Saritscheff, we proceeded forwards without any difficulty.

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* As the line of perpetual snow is 46°, which gives in Europe fourteen hundred and sixty toises above the level of the sea, I believe the medium height of these mountains in Kamschatka may be taken at a thousand toises. Some peaks in this peninsula, particularly that of Glutscheffskaia, I should estimate at two thousand toises.

The clouds of sea-mews which covered the rugged rocks around, seemed to give us a hearty welcome. As the cry of this bird has a strong resemblance to the human voice, some of our company thought that it was the inhabitants calling to us from the nearest hills. Besides the mews, there was an immense number of auks, ducks, pelicans, and other birds not known to us.

We had but just entered Awatscha bay, when we saw a boat with an officer rowing towards us. As soon as he heard who we were, he told us that they had some time before heard from St. Petersburgh of our voyage, and of the probability of our visiting this country. He immediately hastened back to the town to give information of our arrival, so that when we entered the harbour we were welcomed with the thunder of the cannon. We returned the salute with the like number of guns from our vessel. At one o'clock we cast anchor, after a voyage of thirty-five days from the island of Owhyhee.

Petropaulowsk lies upon a creek in the northern part of Awatscha bay. The harbour is separated from the bay by a neck of land, which shelters and protects it from all winds. The town stands in a small valley, at the northern extremity of which is a large fresh-water lake. The houses, not more than thirty in number, are all constructed of wood, and, as in all other parts of the Russian empire, are composed of beams, or trunks of trees laid one over the other. The garrison consists of a hundred and fifty soldiers, a company of artillerymen, and some Cossacks. Here live, besides, the commissary of the Russio-American trading company, and a clergyman, though

there is no church. The harbour, according to the testimony of all seamen, is one of the best to be found upon the globe; and it is highly probable that by increasing industry, and a more active intercourse with China, Japan, America, the Aleutian Isles, and other islands in the South-Sea, St. Peter and St. Paul, may in time become the centre of a very profitable trade, and rise into a flourishing and populous town. The climate of Kamschatka is better than what is to be found in the same degree of latitude in Siberia; but about St. Peter and St. Paul the air is colder than in some of the more northern parts of the peninsula.

The harbour is open for the ingress and egress of vessels from April till November: the bay is but seldom even partially frozen, never entirely. Snow, it is true, is universal in the neighbourhood of the harbour, more than in any other part, so that the low dwellings are entirely covered with it; but it melts early, and is soon absorbed by the ground, which it protects from being ever more than slightly frozen. At the end of April, or in the very coldest seasons, at the beginning of May, spring may be expected, and the cattle, of which indeed there is no great abundance, are turned out to grass. Very little ground is tilled here: it is pretended that the sea air is injurious to the growth of corn, but I suspect this to be only an excuse for laziness. Potatoes, turnips, radishes, and many other culinary vegetables, which thrive here extremely well, are, notwithstanding, cultivated very sparingly. We were besides informed that husbandry, as well as the breeding of cattle, has made a very great progress in the interior of the country; that is to say, about Wirchnoi, Glutscheffskaia, and other parts.

Major Krupskoy, commandant of the place at Petropaulowsk, gave us the best reception which his situation would permit. The commander-in-chief of the peninsula, Major-General Von Koscheleff, Chief of Battalion, does not live here, but at Nischney Kamschatka, the capital of the province, seven hundred versts from hence. The ambassador to the court of Japan, Von Resanoff, who wished most earnestly for an interview with him, dispatched a messenger to request that he would come down to the harbour as soon as possible; this circumstance, which, from the distance, occasioned a very great loss of time to us, made an essential difference in the future progress of our voyage.

Captain Krusenstern immediately began to unload the stores which were sent from Cronstadt for the use of Kamschatka, that at our arrival in Japan there might be nothing on board except the presents destined for that place; thus, as he hoped, obviating every appearance to this suspicious nation, of the expedition being sent for purposes of trade. A part of the soldiers and inhabitants of the place assisted, that the unloading might be the more speedily accomplished, and that the vessel might sooner be ready to sail again. Another part, by the orders of Major Krupskoy, applied themselves to fishing and hunting, that we might be well provided with fresh provisions of all sorts.

Counsellor Tilesius and myself had hitherto made very little progress in learning the Russian language, and we felt now, for the first time in our voyage, how great a disadvantage it is to be in a foreign country without understanding the language.

How earnestly soever we entreated the ambassador to procure us a guide for the purpose of accompanying us in an excursion into the country, we were never so fortunate as to have our wishes fulfilled; he had no power over the soldiers, and they were besides for the most part employed on board the ship: there were very few Kamschadales and Cossacks in the place, and those few were sent out on fishing and hunting parties. Alone, and without a guide, we could not venture far from the settlement; the number of bears and wolves, the impenetrable grass almost as high as ourselves, the bogs, the forests, all presented obstacles not to be encountered with safety. We found ourselves, therefore, wholly discouraged in our scientific pursuits, and were obliged to be contented with visiting the little village of Awatscha, about twelve versts from Petropaulowsk, in company with several of our seafaring companions. This place consists of five houses and thirty inhabitants, all Kamschadales, who live by fishing and hunting. The village of Paratunka, the clergyman and inhabitants of which are so well known from the voyages of Captain Cook and La Perouse, and who lived at that time in great affluence, were now no more: the name alone existed; and this is a fate which, alas! has been shared by too many others in the peninsula.

The political situation of the country has indeed changed very much since it was visited by these illustrious navigators. Nischney Kamtschatka is now the principal town, instead of Bolschoiretsk; and instead of a civil government there is now a military one. The Emperor Paul, desirous to restrain the constantly increasing population of the peninsula, some ten or

twelve years before ordered a battalion of eight hundred men thither from the regiment of Irkutsk, as a sort of rural militia to promote husbandry and agriculture. The intention was good, but, as is often the case, it was frustrated by a variety of adverse circumstances.

These troops were carried to their destination at a very great expence, and supported there at a still greater. They were brought from Irkutsk, a distance of six thousand versts, well furnished with clothes, arms, ammunition, and every thing they could want, so that they had nothing to do but to mount guard and watch their magazines. Dirty, slothful, negligent, and entirely ignorant of husbandry, they had been, ever since their first coming, of much more prejudice than use to the country; they had become a heavy burden to the Kamschadales, had drained them in every possible way, and laid the foundation both of physical and moral depravity among them; so that if the government does not speedily interfere, the poor simple natives, who are already reduced from ten thousand to three thousand, will be soon w holly extirpated

On the twelfth of August, the long and impatiently expected General Von Koscheleff arrived at Petropaulowsk. He was accompanied by his younger brother and Captain Foedoroff, with sixty soldiers whom the ambassador had desired to see. The continuation of our voyage to Japan, which had been rendered almost doubtful by the long stay we were obliged to make here, and from the expected speedy change of the monsoon, was at length determined on, and our departure fixed for the twentieth of August. Three of our company, Major Count

Tolstoy, Lieutenant of the Guards of his Imperial Majesty, Doctor Prikin, the Physician to the Embassy, and the Draughtsman to the expedition, Mr. Kurlandzoff, being tired of a seafaring life, chose rather to return by land than to be any longer the sport of the waves. In their place, the brother of General Koscheleff and Captain Foedoroff were taken as cavaliers to the embassy, and it was determined besides to take eight soldiers as a military guard of honour. We had been much indebted to our draughtsman for many interesting sketches which he took while he remained with us.

After the arrival of the General, the town was much more gay and lively. Instead of living almost entirely upon fish, of which we began to be somewhat tired, oxen in plenty were now killed, and we had besides the flesh of wild sheep and rein-deer. We were truly rejoiced to find in the General a man who enlivened our society, who gave us a great deal of interesting information respecting the situation of the peninsula, and who procured us provisions of various sorts with the utmost readiness and dispatch. We obtained, through his interposition, a number of live oxen and a large quantity of salt fish, among which the tschawitscka was by far the best and finest flavoured; pulse, rein-deer, salted geese, and other productions, were brought us from the more distant parts. The quantity and variety of things which we collected all together convinced us that Kamschatka is not so poor and miserable a country as it is usually represented.

The General gave us a ball in a tent which had been set up by the ambassador Von Resanoff. The female part of the

company consisted of Madame Krupskoy, with the wives of the subaltern officers and soldiers, and some Kamschadale women; the latter were dressed after the Russian fashion, in silks, satins, and nankeens. We had here an opportunity of seeing the Kamschadale dance, which consisted of imitations of bears, dogs, and birds. We had indeed ample reason to entertain the utmost gratitude towards General Koscheleff for the readiness he evinced to render us every possible service, and for all the politeness and attention he shewed us.

By the end of August every thing was in readiness to set sail. The ship left the harbour for Awatscha Bay, where it was detained by contrary winds and thick fogs till the sixth of September, but the weather then becoming more favourable, on the seventh, early in the morning, we proceeded on our embassy to Japan.

CHAPTER IX.

Voyage to Japan.—Introduction to the Embassy thither.—Departure from Kamschatka.—Occurrences during the Voyage.—Festival of the Coronation.—Frightful Hurricane.—Arrival at Japan.

THE embassy to Japan was, both in a political and geographical point of view, the most interesting part of our expedition. This island, which is very little known, and of which the little knowledge we have is principally through Kaempfer, Thunberg, and Charlevoix, has for near two centuries shunned almost all intercourse with European and other nations: with the Dutch alone have the Japanese carried on a very insignificant intercourse of trade.

As Japan has no other European neighbour excepting Russia, this kingdom may be said to have, naturally, the strongest claims upon its friendship; and the importance of a regular intercourse with this island did not escape the acute mind of the Empress Catherine. No sooner was she informed that a merchant of Japan, by name Kodai, together with some other persons who had been wrecked some years before upon the Kurile islands, were living in Siberia, than she eagerly embraced the opportunity of shewing them the utmost hospitality. She invited Kodai to St. Petersburgh, and after displaying to him

all the pomp and splendour of her then brilliant court; after heaping upon him every possible token of respect and kindness, gave him a vessel to return to his native country. Upon this he repaired to Ochotsk, and in 1792 was conveyed by a sea officer, Lieutenant Adam Laxmann, son of the celebrated naturalist, to Atkis, a harbour in Matmai, on the north-east coast of Japan. The Governor-General of Siberia sent a letter by Laxmann to the Emperor of Japan, in which, in the name of his imperial mistress, he made known the motive of the voyage, and proposed, in order to promote a closer friendship and union between the two nations, to establish a regular intercourse of trade. Some presents, not of very great value, were also sent in her majesty's name, to the Emperor of Japan, at his capital city of Jedo.

Kodai, who possessed great discernment and penetration of mind, and had during his stay in Russia studied the language very assiduously, now took upon himself, partly from gratitude to his Russian benefactors, partly with a view to his own interest, to serve them during their stay at Atkis as interpreter, in such matters of business as might occur between them and his country. After the lapse of some months, Laxmann received, instead of a letter, or an answer to the Empress, or the Governor-General, a sort of paper of instructions, the contents of which were nearly as follows:

"That from the most remote times to that moment, the laws of the kingdom of Japan had been fixed and irrevocable, and never could be shaken: That he (Laxmann) had come from his own country with people confided to his care, whom chance and the accidents of weather had thrown upon a foreign coast, and

from ignorance had not come to Nangasaki, but to a part of the coast of Japan, where foreign vessels were not permitted to come: this was a thing never before known in the country.

" That it is a law that all ships coming to Japan, how numerous soever they may be, are immediately put under arrest; the rather if they happen to be armed.

" That from the oldest times, the Dutch, as a nation with whom they had always lived in friendship, had been permitted to come to Nangasaki, but never to go into the interior of the country; but he, without having the least acquaintance with Japan, had ventured to come, with the Japanese entrusted to him, in an armed vessel.

" The consequence, in strictness, ought to be that he should be for ever prohibited returning to his own country; but considering that he is a stranger, unacquainted with the laws, and has not knowingly and intentionally acted in opposition to them, his return will be permitted; the rather as he has been deputed by his government, to convey thither some subjects of Japan entrusted to his care, and has fulfilled his mission with so much fidelity and kindness. Permission to return is, however, only granted on condition that he on no account again attempts to run into a forbidden harbour.

" As Japan has never hitherto entered into any friendly intercourse with Russia, and consequently is ignorant of the degree of dignity at which the Russian empire is arrived; and as it is impossible by means of a letter to judge of its greater or

less extent, or to know what customs and usages prevail in the country, no means are therefore presented of judging how far the two countries are agreed in their ideas with regard to respect or contempt being shewn by certain actions*.

" On this ground, and on account of this imperfect knowledge, no answer can be sent to the letter from Russia, except by receiving the people whom chance had sent thither, and on whose account it was written: any farther intercourse with them is not desired.

" As to what concerns future ties of friendship, no treaty upon the subject can be carried on in the harbour of Atkis; and as little can any permission be given for foreigners to come to the capital city of Jedo. Merchants of other nations, after the establishment of friendly relations, can only come to the places pointed out to them.

" For the rest, it is a law to treat all ships of war, let them come to what harbour or landing-place they will, with the utmost strictness, not to enter into any intercourse with them, or receive any excuses they may offer."

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* The government of Japan means here to hint, that according to their customs, it is not allowable for any body to write directly to the Emperor. This law was inculcated very strongly upon Captain Laxmann before he left the country, either verbally or by letter. They hold that nobody, not even the greatest potentate in the world, should address the emperor himself: the minister of the foreign power must write to the minister of Japan, and the latter must communicate the business in question to his sovereign. That the Governor-General of Siberia had therefore written to the emperor, was a crime little short of high treason against the dignity of the latter.

As the last point of instruction, the paper concluded with saying: "You, Laxmann, have leave to come to the harbour of Nangasaki, on producing our permission here remitted to you; but without producing it, you are not permitted to enter even there."

The permission ran nearly in the following terms. "Entrance to the harbour of Nangasaki is permitted to a ship of the great Russian empire; but, as we have already declared, it is strictly forbidden to foreign vessels to land in any other place. We also repeat that the Christian religion cannot be permitted in our kingdom; and we therefore make it a condition that during their stay no act of religious worship is to be performed; and in case any agreement should be entered into in future, that nothing shall be done contrary to our laws as laid down in the above schedule. As our authority for coming on these conditions, we give this our act to Adam Laxmann."

The disturbed state of Europe was the principal reason why so many years had been suffered to elapse, without any use being made of the above permission. It was reserved for the glorious reign of our gracious monarch Alexander the First, at the suggestion of his illustrious minister Count Romanzoff, to undertake a voyage of discovery round the world, and to unite with it an embassy to the island of Japan. There was the greatest reason to hope and expect that the latter would be attended with the happiest consequences, as the permission to enter the harbour of Nangasaki was still in existence. Besides, a few years after the return of Captain Laxmann, that is in 1796, another large vessel from Japan had been wrecked upon

the Aleutian islands, and a fresh reason for the voyage was therefore furnished, to carry back to their native country the unfortunate sufferers who had been rescued from this disaster *. It was under these circumstances that the Count Von Resanoff was appointed to this embassy, for which he was provided with very rich and expensive presents of objects of European arts and manufactures of various kinds.

Thus equipped, on the seventh of September, 1804, we quitted the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul in Kamschatka, and, full of pleasing expectations, directed our course towards Japan.

During the first days of our voyage we had tolerably favourable weather; but on the morning of the eleventh a strong east wind rose, which by two o'clock in the afternoon increased to a violent storm; nor did it abate the whole night through. The waves ran higher than we had yet seen them in any part of our voyage, not excepting in the sailing round Cape Horn. On the following morning the wind suddenly abated, but the waves still ran high, and the ship was so tossed about and buffeted by them, that she seemed like a cork: this we all found not a little

* These Japanese, who lived for some years at Irkutsk, were, at the time when this expedition was in preparation, sent for to St. Petersburgh, and received there with great hospitality. After they had been presented with money, clothes, and watches, all those who had not embraced the Christian religion were declared to be at full liberty to stay in Russia, or to return to their native country, according to their own free choice. Out of fifteen, five only chose to return; the rest went voluntarily back to Irkutsk. One of them, by name Nicolaus Kolotichin, is now professor of the Japanese language at the Gymnasium there, and has six or eight pupils under his instruction.

wearying. We had never experienced such a storm since we quitted the shores of Europe; and although the ship had been carefully caulked while we were at Kamschatka, it leaked so much, that we were obliged to keep the pumps constantly at work. The partition of the cabin by the chimney fell down; and as there was a constant fog, with small rain, the water came through the breach, so as entirely to prevent our drying the books, papers, and clothes, which had been wetted: this made our situation still more uncomfortable. We now saw almost daily small land-birds, and whales in great abundance.

On the fifteenth, at noon, we being then in 39° 57′ northern latitude, 208° 7′ 30″ western longitude, to our inexpressible consolation the weather cleared, and we perceived very sensibly that we had got into a warmer climate. Instead of the cold damp fog, we had now clear dry days, and warm moonlight nights. The thermometer, which had hitherto seldom been above 10°, suddenly rose to 18°, and an invariably fresh and favourable north-east wind carried us on so fast, that we soon lost all apprehension of our voyage being protracted so as to carry us into the stormy season in these seas. We seldom went less than eight or nine miles in an hour.

According to what is stated in numbers of maps, we ought now to have been in the neighbourhood of Vulcan's island, the existence and situation of which Captain Krusenstern was anxious to ascertain with precision. From his researches, it is, however, very clear that this island, said to be in the thirty-seventh degree of northern latitude, and the two hundred and fourteenth of western longitude, will there be sought for in vain.

The same may be said of the *Islas Nuevas* of 1716, of those of 1664, of *Penia de los Picos*, and others; if they exist at all, it is not in the places hitherto assigned them in the maps. To correct errors, and ascertain the non-existence of pretended islands, is of no less importance in geographical concerns than to discover new ones.

On the twenty-seventh of September, the coronation festival of our beloved monarch, his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, was celebrated in these regions so remote from his capital. The ambassador, who had the greatest possible command of his native language, on this occasion made a solemn harangue upon deck to the whole ship's company. To shew his powers of oratory, I here give a translation of it, though I am sensible that much of the strength of the original is lost by its being put into another language.

"RUSSIANS,

"In our voyage round the world, we are at length arrived in the waters of Japan. Love of their country, dignity of soul, talents in business, defiance of danger, perseverance, subordination, mutual esteem, gentleness and forbearance towards each other,—these are the characteristics which distinguish the Russian seaman, these the virtues by which the Russians in general are distinguished.

"YOU, officers of the navy, approved conductors of the HOPE*, well have you deserved the gratitude of your fellow-

* *Nadeschda*, which was the name of our ship, signifies HOPE.

citizens : you have already acquired a degree of renown, of which jealousy itself can never deprive you.

" You, cavaliers, and associates in the embassy, my worthy companions and assistants, still remains to us the accomplishment of the brilliant objects on which we are sent, the opening to our country new sources of wealth and knowledge. ---And you, sailors, cherished children of the sea service, rejoice! The happy end of your diligent exertions is almost attained.

" Long have our hearts and minds been united in serving with zeal and delight the excellent monarch by whom we are deputed to these parts, and may gratitude towards this beloved ruler still strengthen and animate us in the performance of our arduous task. The present is a solemn day to all the sons of Russia, but to none so solemn as to us, who are touching the borders of the Japanese dominions, who are the first to see the glorious Russian flag wave in the harbour of Nangasaki.

" As representative of our most gracious Emperor, and as witness of your great exploits, it was no less flattering to me to share your toils and dangers, than it is now gratifying solemnly to testify the gratitude which awaits you all in future in the bosom of our dear native country.

" I solemnize the festival of Alexander the First's coronation in the waters of Japan, and make it for ever memorable to you as a reward of your services. You have here the like-

ness of our beloved Emperor: wear it as your greatest ornament, as a testimony of the zeal and diligence in his service, through which it has been acquired. Recollect always in beholding it, that this imposes upon you still more strongly the obligation of continuing true to those duties of which your forefathers were so proud, and by which they arrived at the highest pinnacle of fame. You will learn sincerely to bless the times in which the merits of the least among his subjects, even in the remotest regions of the world, do not pass unrewarded from the throne itself."

In repeating these last words, the ambassador decorated every one of the crew with a medal which had been struck for the Emperor's coronation, and on which was his effigy. The ceremony seemed approved by heaven, as the day was more than usually beautiful and serene. At a jovial dinner, the health of our august Emperor was drank, when the sea of Japan resounded for the first time with the thunder of the Russian cannon.

On the twenty-eighth we saw the coast of Japan, then thirty-six miles distant from us, but the wind rose somewhat towards evening, so that we could not approach it. The promontory we beheld, which, upon the best observation we could make, appeared to be in latitude 32° 38′ 33″ north, and longitude 226° 43′ 15″ west, seems to be the southern point of Sikoke*.

* This promontory, according to Klaproth, is called in the Japan language *Scheis-sui-saki*, that is, the Cape of Clear Water.

Contrary winds and a cloudy atmosphere, with heavy showers of rain, prevented us getting nearer to the land.

That excellent seaman and geographer, Captain Von Krusenstern, was now incessantly occupied with endeavouring to ascertain, as accurately as possible, various points relating to the navigation of these seas, almost unknown to, and unfrequented by, European vessels. His contributions towards a more complete geographical knowledge of them is one of the most important parts of his work, one which will be read with particular interest. The maps of Mr. Arrowsmith, though some of the best existing, we here found extremely defective.

On the twenty-ninth, at day-break, we again saw land, but this was a pleasure of short duration. A cloudy horizon, heavy showers of rain which began to fall, and a brisk north-east wind, made the neighbourhood of the coast so dangerous, that Captain Krusenstern judged it expedient to keep as far from it as possible, and to lie to during the night. Soon after, stormy weather came on, which continued nearly twenty-four hours, and only abated about noon on the thirtieth, when the sun, for the first time during several days, burst out. For three days it had now been almost constantly rainy and stormy, so that we had reason, on the first of October, when the wind sunk very much, to hope for a favourable change of weather. At noon, the weather was become so fine, and the sun shone upon us so revivingly, that our captain took a westerly direction, in hopes of gaining the land. We were able to make observations, and found the latitude 31° 7″, the longitude 227° 40′.

Uncommonly high waves from the south-east, and a considerable fall of the barometer, afforded us but an indifferent prospect of good weather. Captain Krusenstern therefore judged it more expedient again to take a southerly direction, and set as much sail as the ship could carry to bear away from the land. To this prudent foresight we probably owed our preservation, as the sequel will shew.

About noon, a great change took place in the atmosphere*: the barometer fell in a very remarkable manner, and the south-east wind grew stronger and stronger at every moment, so that by one o'clock it blew with such violence, that it was not without difficulty and danger the lower sails could be taken in, and although nearly new, they were almost torn to tatters. With undaunted resolution, however, the sailors defied the danger, and wound them up, leaving the upper ones floating to the masts. Till three o'clock, the storm-sail alone could be carried, but with the increasing fury of the winds even that was soon demolished. The barometer was at 28″ 3‴. The waves rolled in frightful masses, rushing one over the other with the swiftness of an arrow; and the heavens were covered with black clouds, so that by half after four we were involved in a dismal dreary night.

The rudder had for some time been left loose, and without any guide: it was wholly impossible to set even a double-reefed

* Here follows a concise description of an almost unparalleled hurricane. In order to be somewhat more complete, I have judged it expedient to join some of the observations made by Captain Krusenstern with my own.

storm-sail, and we became the complete sport of the tossing waves. At every moment we were afraid of seeing the tottering and creaking masts blown overboard, and every stroke of the billows seemed to threaten being the finishing stroke of our existence. The wind rattled among the cordage, and the motion of the ship constantly increased; the water beat over it on all sides, and the crew were almost worn out with incessant pumping.

The barometer kept constantly falling, and about five o'clock the quicksilver sunk entirely below the scale, which was separated at 27″ 6‴. At first, with the rolling of the ship, it appeared every now and then, but we were soon deprived even of this consolation, nor was it to be seen even with the greatest shocks: its lowest stand during the storm may therefore confidently be fixed at 27″; it is possible that it might even be taken lower. At this period the raging of the elements was frightful beyond expression: all nature appeared in commotion and uproar; no words, in short, can give any idea of the scene. Neither officers or crew had any respite from their labours: their utmost activity was necessary to steer the ship clear of the repeated shocks it received. Large chests of arms floated upon the deck: there was no end of the jostling and the noise: the speaking-trumpet could hardly be heard at the distance of three steps, and people were every where running backwards and forwards with lanterns. The sea, rising into mountains, seemed united with the heavens. It was impossible to trace the boundaries between the air, the clouds, and the water. One monstrous wave after another filled the ship, and seemed sinking it into the abyss: all the household utensils lay about

scattered and broken: the guns at the forecastle touched the water, while every comfort or hope of our lives being saved vanished in the idea that we were driving every hour three English miles nearer to the coast, so that in case of the storm continuing, we must in a short time be wrecked without a chance of rescue. Every one seemed silently to take a last farewell of his companions, and resign himself entirely to the will of him in whose hands alone are life and death.

Soon after eight, when the storm was at its height, the wind suddenly ceased for the space of five minutes: this was employed in fastening a reefed storm-sail to the mizen-mast; but it was scarcely accomplished, when again the wind blew with as much violence as ever. Its quarter was, however, changed from east-south-east to west-south-west. With this sudden change a monstrous wave dashed directly against the hinder part of the vessel, tore the gallery away from the left side, broke through the double partition into the captain's cabin, and inundated it so completely, that the water was three feet deep. Expensive books, chairs, tables, maps, presents designed for Japan, mathematical instruments, clothes, swam all together about the cabin, and seemed to give a foretaste of what was soon to follow. It is true, that the sailors were exhorted to take courage, and endeavour to stop the leak; but there was no one I believe who did not think within himself at the time, *"It is, however, in vain!"---"We are notwithstanding lost!"*

Through the sudden and unexpected change of the wind, which now blew with no less violence from a directly opposite

point, we did indeed appear rescued from the danger of being wrecked upon the coast; yet the continued fury of the storm seemed sufficiently to pronounce our sentence. The wind still roared, the masts still shook and creaked, and the billows still rolled over the vessel; however, to our no small joy, about ten o'clock we could again, when the ship heaved very much, perceive the quicksilver in the barometer. Every glimmering of the lamp of life ready to be quenched excites hope; and like the arrival of an old friend, whose presence affords some consolation, we hailed with delight the ray of comfort thus offered to us. It was the most certain assurance that could be given of the declining rage of the storm; and, in fact, by twelve o'clock it began perceptibly to abate. We had, however, scarcely observed this reviving change in the barometer, when we were deprived of our comforter: it was broken by a violent shock from a wave. This loss prevented our seeing the gradual ascent of the quicksilver, and comparing the progress of the variations with that of the abatement of the storm *. The turbulent sea was now every moment less and less furious, and the deathlike apprehensions which had lately filled every bosom subsided gradually as the elements grew more calm.

How transporting to every one was the sight of the sun, as it rose majestically in the morning. Never did its golden rays appear to mortals more noble than they now appeared to us: their revivifying influence impressed our hearts so deeply with gratitude for our preservation, that with one united voice we

* Dr. Horner took the first opportunity of repairing this heavy loss, by a spare tube, with which he had the precaution to provide himself when we were in England.

could not forbear exclaiming, as we beheld the orb just above the horizon, "GREAT AND GLORIOUS ARE THY WORKS, O LORD!"

The vessel, on examination, had not suffered so much as might have been expected: the tackling, however, required a great deal of repair, and the effects of every soul on board were more or less damaged. A great deal of furniture was broken to pieces: clothes, ornamental works, maps, charts, and other papers of importance, were completely soaked through with the sea-water: many of the presents destined for the Emperor of Japan, though in double chests, were wetted: the instruments and arms were injured: the costly gold cloths, velvets, and silks, had not escaped. Such was the spreading out of things to dry upon the deck, that there was scarcely a single spot unoccupied.

It was not till towards noon on the second of October that the sails could again be set: the wind blew gently from the west, and we steered northwards. In the evening we once more saw land in the west-north-west, at a distance of about forty-five sea-miles. On the third, in the afternoon, we were within fifteen or twenty miles of that part of the coast of Japan called Kiusiu. Captain Krusenstern gave the name of Cape Tschirikoff to a high foreland in latitude 32° 14′ 15″ north, and longitude 228° 18′ 30″ west; to another, which lay farther southwards, in latitude 31° 51′, longitude 228° 33′ 30″ he gave the name of Cape Cochrane.

The land we now approached appeared fertile, and afforded some beautiful views. As night closed in, we saw a number

of scattered fires along the coast at no very great distance from each other; we supposed them to be signals, and on our arrival at Nangasaki we found this supposition confirmed.

On the fourth we passed Van Diemen's Straits. The important geographical researches and points established with regard to this part of the southern coast of Japan are given at large in Captain Krusenstern's excellent work, and illustrated with maps. We coasted along the southern shore of the provinces of Oosumi and Satzuma, and were sometimes so near the land that we could distinguish both the buildings and the people. Among a very large number of small fishing-boats and other vessels, not one ventured to approach our ship, notwithstanding that the Japanese we had on board called to them many times loud enough to be heard.

The south-east side of Satzuma presented some very beautiful points of view, appeared extremely well cultivated, and uncommonly populous. We acquired a high idea of the industry and knowledge in husbandry among the Japanese: in this respect the lands left nothing to be wished for. The hills were cultivated in terraces up to the very summits, and avenues of large spreading trees gave the fertile landscape an uncommonly beautiful appearance. On the sixth, we came to a spacious bay: a calm, with a number of rocks and islets which we perceived in the western horizon, determined us not to make the experiment of sailing through it; we therefore turned back towards the south, and coasted round the island of Meac-Sima. A number of boats which we saw in the bay, carefully

avoided, in conformity with the laws of Japan, approaching our ship, or entering into any kind of conversation with us.

On the seventh we steered northwards. Early in the morning we saw the islands of Goto*. In the afternoon we had approached the south-western coast of them within two or three miles: they did not present near so woody an appearance as Satzuma, but they were cultivated to the utmost possible degree: not the least spot of uncultivated land was to be seen. The south-western point of these islands lies in latitude 32° 34′ 50″ north, and longitude 231° 16′ west. In the night the wind permitted our steering to the north-east, and early in the morning of the eighth of October we saw the mountain and the part of Kiusiu, in the neighbourhood of which we knew was to be found the long wished-for harbour of Nangasaki.

At daybreak we saw a fishing-boat, and hailed it. The fishermen were naked, excepting a cap on the head, and a covering round the waist: they had taken off their clothes that they might not be spoiled. In defiance of the interdict, they came up to us, drank some brandy which we gave them, and informed us that four days before intelligence was communicated to Nangasaki, by fires in the night, of a three-masted vessel being off the coast; that at our appearance off the harbour, information of it was conveyed by a post of observation

* Goto, according to Klaproth, signifies, in the corrupt Chinese dialect commonly used in Japan, the Five Islands; and, in fact, this group consists of five large and several very small ones. The island of Firando, which lies the most to the north-west, is not reckoned among them.

upon the nearest hill; and finally, that there were two Dutch vessels in the harbour which had come thither in July. They indicated to us the proper direction to take for entering the harbour, and we proceeded slowly forwards with a faint breeze. About one o'clock we arrived at its mouth.

Soon after, at a signal given, a little boat came out, carrying a white flag with a blue cross, and a number of Japanese characters upon it. Two officers, who were in this boat, seemed inclined to come on board, but they first made a number of very minute inquiries concerning us of our Japanese, descending into the most trivial circumstances. They had frank, open countenances, and appeared to receive us with great friendship and politeness. They inquired who we were? Whence we came? What were our views in coming? Whether the embassy was directed solely to Japan? Whether we were armed, and how many guns we carried? How long we had been upon our voyage, and from what port we came last? Under what flag we sailed?---with a variety of other things of a similar kind. They required to see our permission; and copying it over, asked, why, having had it twelve years, we now for the first time availed ourselves of it? As it had been made known, they said, over the whole kingdom of Japan, that such a permission had been given, for four years after a vessel from Russia was constantly expected; even now, as they assured us, one of the Japanese, who had been brought back by Laxmann, was living at Nangasaki, with the intention of serving as interpreter at the arrival of the Russians*.

* We did not in the sequel find this information confirmed.

But the principal end of all the inquiries seemed to be the desire of ascertaining whether we really were Russians: with this view, they requested at their departure to have a billet written in the Russian language, the contents of which might give satisfaction on this point. Towards two o'clock we reached, with a still feeble wind, the entrance of the inner harbour, on which stands Nangasaki. Between five and six came another boat with two officers, to indicate to us, by order of the governor, the place where we might anchor. They remained with us till about six in the evening, when we cast anchor in the bay of Nangasaki, in thirty-three fathom water, in the neighbourhood of the Papen Mountain, of the Island of Iwo-Sima, and of Cape Facunda, four miles from the nearest land.

The officers sent by the governor would not leave us till we had given them a written testimonial that they had fulfilled the orders with which they were entrusted, and indicated to us the anchoring-place. When we represented to them that we could only write in the Russian language, they assured us, as before, that there were people at Nangasaki who understood that language very well. It appeared, however, subsequently, either that the idea of some of the Japanese brought home by Lieutenant Laxmann being still living at Nangasaki was merely presumed on their part, or else these men were designedly kept out of our way during our stay there.

CHAPTER X.

Stay at Japan.—Occurrences in the Road before the Harbour of Nangasaki.—Anchoring-Place before the Papen Mountain.—Change of the Anchoring-Place.—Occurrences there from the Eighth to the Seventeenth of October.

THE importance and rarity of a party of Russians staying six months at Japan, will, I trust, plead my excuse, at least with most people, if I am somewhat circumstantial in the account of what passed during this period---if I descend sometimes even into minutiæ. Though to some I may appear tedious, I am persuaded that others will be deeply interested in obtaining a more enlarged acquaintance with the spirit and manners of a nation at present so little known among us Europeans, nor will think any circumstances too insignificant that tend to illustrate the national character. Deeply as I feel how unpleasant it is to be lulled to sleep by a tiresome and uninteresting narrative, and desirous, as I have been, to avoid repetition, I am sensible that I have often been drawn into it, but this has arisen from the very nature of the things I had to relate. I can, however, give the reader this consolation, that he may, if he pleases, by turning over the leaves, arrive in a few hours at the result for which we were constrained to wait six long months.

Scarcely had we cast anchor about seven o'clock on the eighth of October, when there appeared, as before, several officers who came to question us anew. At night, not less than twenty large and small boats stationed themselves about our ship, which we could consider in no other light than as guards. One after another, little paper lanterns of a melon-like form passed us, which, numerous as they were, produced a very pretty effect. Towards ten o'clock we observed several boats, some of which had lanterns, distinguished far above any we had seen before by their size and beauty, by having two very bright clear lights, and from being ornamented with transparencies representing coats of arms.

At first we began to think that the governor of Nangasaki was about to honour us with a visit; but we soon after learnt that it was a person of distinction who came on the part of the governor, accompanied by his secretary, to welcome us, and who requested our permission to come on board for that purpose. This being granted, some inferior officers and Dutch interpreters * came to see the cabin in which the illustrious guests, the *Great Men* †, *Opperbanjos*, as the Dutch interpreters called them, were to be received. Soon after appeared the *Great Men* themselves, with a numerous train, among which were several Dutch interpreters. They were received by seven

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* The Dutch interpreters are by birth Japanese, who are paid by the government for learning the Dutch language: they are in number between sixty and seventy, and the Dutch factory cannot transact any business without their intervention.

† In all parts of Asia with which the Chinese have any concern, *Great Man* is a title of high state distinction. In the Japanese language it is *Daisin*, in the Chinese *Dashin*, and in the Mandschurian *Amban*.

men under arms as a guard of honour, and by beat of drum, and were immediately presented to the ambassador in the cabin. All the cavaliers of the embassy, with the officers of the ship, were assembled there to receive them.

The Opperbanjos * and the secretary immediately seated themselves on the sofa with their legs crossed. Some servants remained, although the cabin was extremely well lighted, holding lanterns, and an apparatus for smoking, which consisted of a vessel with hot embers, another with tobacco, and a small one for spitting. The interpreters knelt in a semicircle round the sofa.

We soon discovered that these *Great Men* did not come upon any very particular business: they seemed rather sent as a sort of reconnoitering party, than as being commissioned to welcome the imperial Russian ambassador. They carefully repeated the same questions already put to us, and our answers were immediately committed to writing. Among other things, they particularly inquired concerning the voyage from St. Petersburgh to Nangasaki; whether, in coming from Kamschatka, we had passed between Corea and Japan, or had sailed round the eastern coast of the island; and in how many days we had gone over this course. The answer to this last question they seemed to consider as of particular importance. They farther desired to see the original permission; and ended

* The title of *Banjos* has the same signification as a *Great Man*, or a statesman of high dignity. I could never clearly understand whence this word was derived, since, as far as I know, it is neither Dutch, Japanese, or Mandschurian.

by making us acquainted with a custom in Japan, that all our powder, cannon, muskets, and swords, should be given up to be kept in trust for us till our departure. They promised, moreover, that we should have a supply of refreshments the next day.

The ambassador now entreated that he might have a speedy audience of the governor, to shew him the permission himself; and consented that the powder and fire-arms should be given up, but not the side arms of the officers and soldiers. He also entreated to have a safer anchoring-place assigned us within the harbour, as we were there much incommoded by the wind. To this request he was promised an answer the next day.

After we had been fatigued with questions and answers for more than an hour, the Opperbanjos begged that the chief of the Dutch factory, Mynheer Doeff, and some persons belonging to him, might have permission to visit us. We were not a little surprised at this request, since it appeared to us that these gentlemen, who sat in a boat near the ship, had more reason to ask such a permission of the Japanese than of us.

Scarcely had the chief, with his secretary, and the captains of the two Dutch ships then in the harbour, by name Musquetier and Bellmar, entered the cabin, than the interpreters were called upon one after the other to make a compliment from them to the *Great Man*, or Opperbanjos. They were obliged to bow the head during the ceremony, and to remain in this inclined attitude till the interpreter told them the compliment was finished. When the interpreters, who, it has been already

said, were all kneeling in the cabin, began a conversation with one of the *Great Men*, they were obliged to throw themselves upon their hands as well as knees, and remain with the head bent down till the conversation was concluded; they then drew in their breath with a kind of hissing noise. The *Great Man* spoke so extremely low, that it seemed to us impossible he should be heard or understood: it was such a gentle lisp, that it scarcely made any impression upon our organs of hearing. The usual answer of the interpreters consisted only in *ay*, *ay*, which signified yes, or I understand. After midnight the whole company returned home.

On the morning of the ninth of October nothing occurred worthy of notice; we remarked upon the number of boats ornamented with different flags that surrounded us. In many of them were bows and arrows, and in some the imperial Japanese sailors, who were distinguished by garments of large blue and white check. In the afternoon a little boat brought us fresh provisions, which consisted of fowls, ducks, radishes, rice, and fish. Soon after came a Dutch interpreter, and announced to us that some very *Great Men* were coming: these were the treasurer, who was of equal rank with the governor, a secretary of the governor, and a *Banjos*, who were all sent to welcome us in the name of the Japanese government.

About five o'clock in the evening, we observed a large boat with a blue and white awning, decorated with many flags, and other tokens of distinction, towed towards us by several others, to the stroke of the kettle-drums, and to a loud, measured sort of cry. At their arrival, the *Great Men* sent to say that they

could not come on board our vessel till the ambassador, the captain, and some of the officers, came out to welcome them. To this the ambassador replied, that it would be inconsistent with his dignity to go out himself to receive them, but that if they required it, he would send some of his cavaliers to bid them welcome in his name. After some messages backwards and forwards, they said they should be satisfied if the ambassador would only come out to the forecastle of the vessel to meet them. Some officers then went and greeted the *Great Men* with an European bow, and returned back to the ship. The ambassador at the same time appeared at the forecastle, and received the magistrates, while the drums beat, and other military honours were paid them. The treasurer and secretary, on their arrival in the cabin, seated themselves upon the sofa, and the Banjos sat down in a chair, all three in the European fashion, not with their legs crossed like our visitors the evening before. They were attended, however, by people carrying the same smoking apparatus, and the interpreters placed themselves upon their knees, in a semicircle round them, to wait their commands.

The principal motive of the present visit was to regulate the following points. First, the Japanese required, on the strength of a very ancient law in the country, that all arms, that is to say cannon, muskets, pistols, swords, and sabres, should be delivered up immediately to the government, to be kept in trust for us till our departure.

To this the ambassador consented, with the restrictions: First, that himself and the officers should be allowed to retain

their swords, as a necessary part of the uniform, which could not be laid aside without degradation to themselves; and secondly, that a guard of honour, of seven men, should in like manner be allowed to retain their arms; the Emperor of Russia having appointed such a guard for his ambassador, without which he was not to appear.

To the first condition a ready consent was given, but the second was the source of much difficulty. The interpreters earnestly entreated the ambassador to forego this condition, as it was absolutely contrary to the laws of their country: not even the first princes of the land were permitted to appear anywhere with exposed fire-arms; they must always be shut up in a case. The Japanese offered him the largest guard of honour after their own manner; but they assured him that the people would be very much astonished to see foreigners in their country with arms in their hands; that such a thing was entirely unheard of, and that it was a request the court could not possibly receive. As, however, notwithstanding these representations, the ambassador adhered to his demand, no answer could then be given: farther orders must first be received: most probably a courier must be sent to Jedo for instructions.

The original of the permission granted to Lieutenant Laxmann, is required in the name of the governor. Granted.

The letter from the Emperor of Russia to the Emperor of Japan is requested, and the ambassador is assured that it is impossible the ship can be admitted into the harbour of Nangasaki till the governor is perfectly instructed in the contents

of that letter. The ambassador, upon this request, gave a copy of the letter to the Banjos and interpreters to read, that they might make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the contents, and observed, that his sovereign had strictly enjoined him to give the original into the emperor's own hands, and the copy to the governor of Nangasaki.

The *Great Men* examined the letter attentively: it was written in the Russian, the Japanese, and the Mandschurian languages; but they soon assured the ambassador that they could not understand a word of it, since the hand-writing was very bad, and the language only that in vulgar use; that the governor himself must have it, to make himself accurately acquainted with the contents, and to obtain a complete knowledge of the views of the embassy. Baron Von Resanoff then renewed his request to be admitted by the governor to a speedy audience, assuring the *Great Men* that he would then fully explain the contents of the paper, and the views with which he had been sent by his master on the embassy. As to the very particular anxiety expressed with regard to the contents of the letter, he could only say that it stated briefly the great desire entertained by the Imperial Sovereign of all the Russias to enter into a strict union of friendship, and intercourse of trade with the Emperor of Japan. The ambassador was then asked what were to be the conditions of this alliance: to which he replied, that he was the efficient representative of his sovereign, endowed with full powers to arrange the conditions according to circumstances, and so as to establish a firm and lasting friendship between the two countries. This seemed to make a strong impression upon the visitors.

The request to have a more secure anchoring place allotted for the vessel was accompanied with the assurance that if the Japnese government had any distrust of the views and purposes with which the embassy was sent, they were very ready to depart again immediately. They must only in that case request, as an act of friendship, to have a place allotted where the ship, which had been exceedingly damaged by the late storm, could be repaired, so as to put to sea again with safety. On this it was agreed that the vessel should be allowed to anchor west of the Papen mountain, as soon as the powder and arms were given up: they were accordingly surrendered at that moment, as there were a great number of small boats about ready to take charge of them.

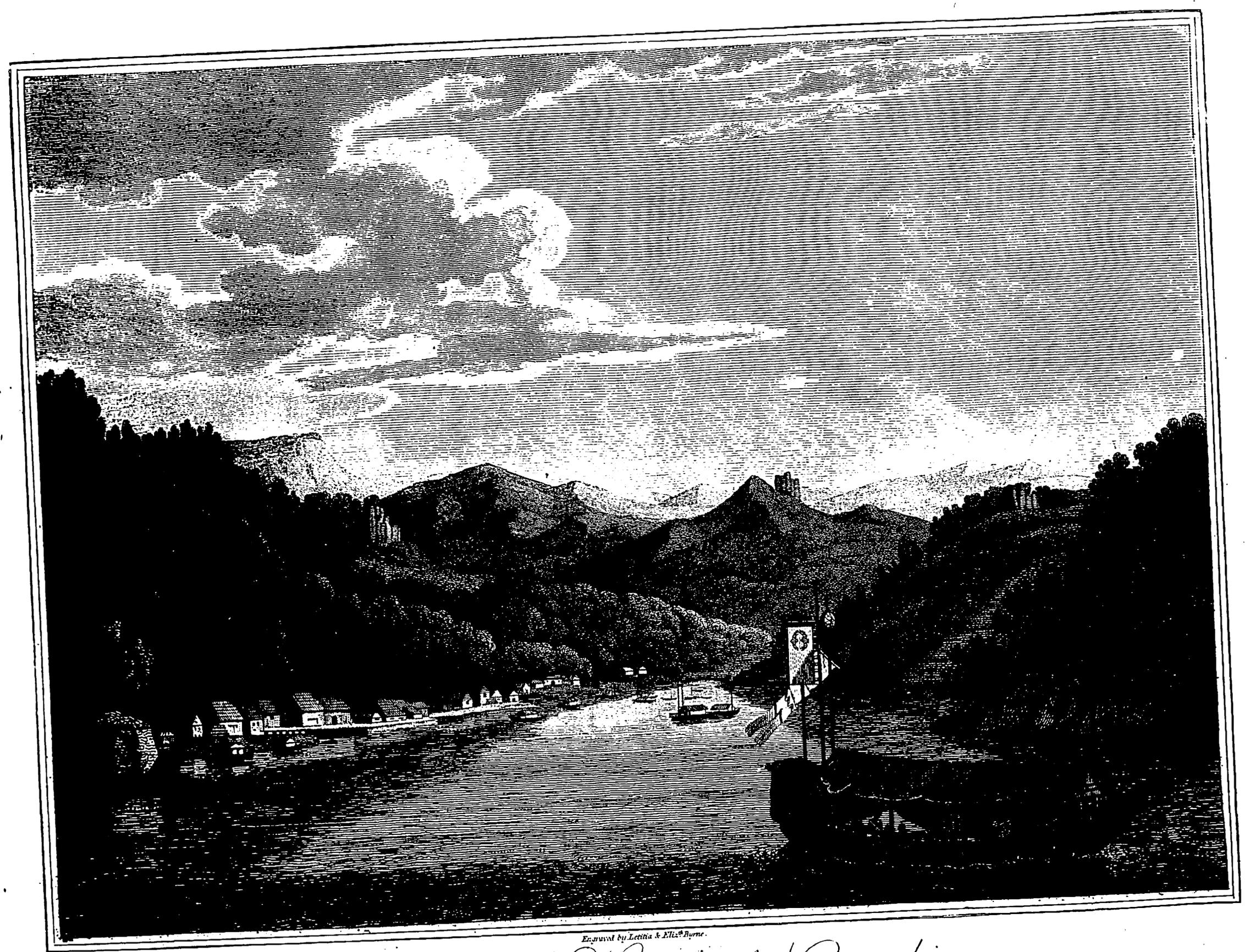
As it was now dark, the state officers, during the time that the powder was removed, went on board their own vessel to eat their supper, giving orders that we should be towed to our station by a proper number of boats. The manner in which this was performed excited our utmost astonishment. Sixty barks were divided into five rows, and each was tied to the other with strong cords: thus was the vessel towed along with the utmost order and regularity, and in two hours carried to its new station.

Permission was on this day given to the chief of the Dutch factory, Mynheer Doeff, and to the two Dutch captains, Musquetier and Bellmar, with a Dutch traveller, Baron Von Pabst, to come and visit us. They offered us their services, as they understood German, French, and English, and we could only

speak broken Dutch, in any matters of business during our stay, in which they could be useful to us.

As Mynheer Doeff entered the cabin, he was immediately turning to the ambassador to pay him the proper salutation; but the interpreters took him politely by the arm, turned him aside gently, and said that he must first make a compliment to the *Great Men*. This was done in a very demeaning manner, according to our ideas, as he stood for some time before them with his head bent downwards, and his arms hanging perpendicularly by his sides, not daring on any account to raise his head. As, however, he thought, after awhile, he had kept it in this position long enough, he turned it half round on one side, and asked the interpreter, *Kan ik wederom opstaan?* May I raise it up again? A like compliment must also be paid to the secretary and the Banjos; and then he was permitted to pay his respects to the ambassador.

Towards eleven o'clock, the treasurer and secretary took their leave; but before their departure the Dutchmen were again required to pay a compliment to the *Great Men*. Baron Pabst, who before did not seem to think this attitude of submission altogether consistent with the Dutch character, wanted to have stolen unseen out of the cabin, and escaped the compliment; but the vigilant interpreters called after him: "Sir! Mynheer Pabst! you cannot go till you have made the *Great Men* a compliment." He was therefore obliged to return, and submit to the humiliating custom. This was the only opportunity we ever had of enjoying the society of these cultivated



Engraved by Letitia & Eliz.th Byrne.

View from the Harbour of Nangasaki.

Published May 1st 1813 by Henry Colburne, Conduit Street, London.

Dutchmen, though we had sufficient reason afterwards to be assured that they were very excellent men: they were never, on any future occasion, permitted to visit us. About one o'clock they left us, in company with the Banjos.

On the tenth, in the morning, we were at anchor at a little distance to the west of the Papen mountain. The country before us was extremely beautiful: the hills were cultivated up to their very summits: fertile fields in the form of terraces ornamented the entire declivity, and they were broken by spots of pasture, intermingled with little woods or groves. Many villages and single houses added to the variety of the scene, and the activity of the industrious husbandmen gave it great life and animation. On the nearest shore we observed several walls thrown up, which, with the houses and gardens within them, were decorated with flags of various colours: these we were informed were batteries or fortresses. We had now thirty-three guardships, or boats, about us: three of them had orders to keep close to us, and be ready to receive our commands in case we wanted provisions, interpreters, or any thing else necessary to our comfort.

Towards five in the evening we again observed the Japanese flotilla; that is, a large boat ornamented with garlands, towed towards us to the beat of the drum, and measured cry of the rowers. In it was a Banjos, with his secretary and some interpreters. The train, upon the whole, did not consist of as many persons as usual.

The principal purpose of their visit was to inquire again concerning the contents of the paper addressed to the court of Japan; and, since the day before the ambassador had said that he must deliver the copy himself into the hands of the Governor of Nangasaki, the interpreters now requested that he would make them acquainted with it word for word, as a courier was about to be dispatched to Jedo with the intelligence of our arrival. Baron Von Resanoff then gave the copy to the Banjos, that he might read it; but he said, as the *Great Men* had said the day before, that the writing was extremely bad, and the language for the most part entirely unintelligible.

The interpreters then desired to be made acquainted with the proper sense of the principal topics contained in it, that all misunderstanding or ambiguity might be avoided; and as each period was read to them, they repeated it three or four times over before they wrote it down, that they might give the words with as much accuracy as possible. It imported, "That the Baron Von Resanoff was sent by the most puissant Emperor of all the Russias as his representative to the Emperor of Japan, to thank him for the permission given to send a Russian ship to Nangasaki, and at the same time to propose a lasting union of friendship and good-will between the two countries; that the Russian Emperor, for the benefit of his subjects, particularly of those in the neighbourhood of Japan, that is, the inhabitants of his possessions on the western coast of North America, those of Kamschatka, and of the Aleutian and Kurile islands, wished to establish an intercourse of trade with the Japanese, which he trusted would also be of advantage to the latter, by giving them the means of procuring objects of utility from his extensive

dominions; he had for this purpose given orders, that in every part of these dominions, and at all times, the Japanese should be received in the most friendly manner. That four Japanese, who had been wrecked upon the Russian territories, and wished to return back to their native land, were now restored; that the Emperor of Russia returns thanks to the Emperor of Japan, for the politeness shewn to Lieutenant Laxmann, in 1792, and sends him some presents, which, though not of any great value, yet, as being objects of Russian manufactures, and specimens of Russian industry, will furnish the means of judging of the situation of the arts in Russia, and what objects may be useful and agreeable to the Japanese."

The principal of these presents were a very curious clock, in the form of an elephant, in the oriental taste, ornamented with precious stones, and a great deal of costly workmanship; two very large looking-glasses, each plate being fifteen feet long, and six broad, with a number of smaller glasses; a very expensive and nicely-selected black fox-skin cloak, and an ermine cloak; vases of fossil ivory, made at Archangel; beautiful muskets, pistols, and sabres; a number of articles in steel, manufactured at Tula; superb glass lustres and vases; table services of fine glass and porcelain; tapestries, and other carpetings; the portrait of the Russian Emperor, by Madame Le Brun; marble vases, damasks, velvets, and other silk goods of different kinds; fine furs, printed cottons, and cloths; gold and silver watches; a complete electrical machine*; a

* This was the object which more than any other attracted the attention, and excited the astonishment of the Japanese. Very rarely did a Banjos, or any other *Great Man*, come to visit us, without desiring to feel the effect of the electricity, or to see some experiments.

very fine microscope; galvanic plates; with many other objects, valued upon the whole at about three hundred thousand roubles.

After the letter had been read, an opportunity was taken to complain of the conduct and behaviour of the Japanese we had brought with us, who, since we had been at anchor in the bay, had refused all service. They were immediately summoned before the Banjos, who reproved them very severely, representing to them the extreme ingratitude of their conduct, since they had been so many years fed and supported in Russia, had received kindnesses in every possible way, and at last had been brought back to their native shores at so great an expence; that in behaving as they did they brought shame upon the whole country.

When the principal business was over, and the commission on the part of the governor was fully executed, as the *Great Men* had shewn much politeness and courtesy in their behaviour, and in the manner they had preferred their request, the ambassador, not to be behind-hand with them in good manners, voluntarily gave them the copy of the letter to the Emperor of Japan, which the day before he had so positively refused, that they might carry it to the governor to read. This appeared to give inexpressible pleasure: the utmost satisfaction was visible in the features of every one, and what before was ceremony, seemed now to be converted into the confidence of friendship.

The interpreters next made many inquiries concerning the

various objects of which the trade proposed was to consist: these were all written down in a little pocket-book. Whether they were asked from mere curiósity, or in consequence of a commission from the government, did not appear. Among other inquiries made were the following. What productions Russia could and would bring to Japan as objects of trade? Whether Russia could furnish sugar, rye, skins, medicines, and many other articles? How many ships she could and would send annually to Japan? whether four, five, or even more? Whence the ships would come, whether from Kamschatka or from Europe? How long the ships would be in coming? What was the best time of year for going from Japan to Kamschatka? All these questions were on our side answered only in general terms. The ambassador said that it was impossible to enter into such a variety of matters all at once; that they must be the subject of subsequent conversations. With this reply they appeared satisfied, and changing the conversation, began to talk upon indifferent subjects.

Among other topics introduced, they seemed particularly anxious to understand the relative geographical situations of Kamschatka and Japan. That Russia had possessions in America appeared to them very extraordinary. They begged to look over some of our maps, and evinced considerable knowledge in geography. A general map of the world was produced, when the Opperbanjos with his finger marked out the way we had come as we ourselves described it: he was very inquisitive to know why we had coasted round the eastern side of their island, and had not come to Nangasaki through the sea of Corea.

The ambassador on this took occasion to produce a little pocket globe, by Adams of London, which occasioned uncommon pleasure among our visitors. That the earth was round they knew very well; but to see it represented in this manner seemed wholly new to them. The Banjos was short-sighted, and used very bad spectacles: an excellent English pair were offered him, but he declined accepting them, since he must first, he said, ask permission of the governor; without that, no one could accept even the most trifling present. In the mean time he begged the ambassador to lay the spectacles by till the governor's pleasure upon the subject could be ascertained.

Some of the interpreters, though not officially employed for the purpose, were very desirous of learning the Russian language: the first thing they inquired was, how they were to ask in Russian, *What do you call this?* On being informed, they inquired the names of various objects, desired to know the numerals, the Russian for *good* and *bad*, for *good-morning*, and *farewell*, and immediately began to make use of the information they had obtained. The inquisitiveness, the readiness at learning, and the memory of these people, surprised us exceedingly. At length the Banjos told us that the next day was a great festival (a *kermes*, as the Dutch call it), and on that account nobody could come to us: on the following day, however, the Governor of Nangasaki would hope to have received his full instructions, as he expected the return of the messenger from Jedo, but till then he must entreat that we would be content to remain at anchor where we then were: all farther deliberations and arrangements for the satisfaction of our wishes must be deferred to that time. If, however, we would imme-

diately unpack and look over the presents that might happen to be damaged, they could without delay bring a large boat alongside the ship to receive them. To this proposal no answer was made. Towards eight o'clock in the evening the Banjos said, that as they had disturbed us, and robbed us of our rest for several evenings, they would not then incommode us any longer. They accordingly returned to their boat, and were towed back with the usual ceremonies.

The eleventh of October was, as they had informed us, a great festival, so that we were left entirely to ourselves the whole day. We thought there were more watch-boats about us than usual. We made our remarks to each other upon the nation with whom we were endeavouring to form new connexions, upon their excessive closeness, upon the circumspection with which every step was taken: it seemed as if the least error would cost the life even of the persons highest in rank. Every thought, every question, every word, was weighed in the nicest manner, and appeared to have some particular aim in view.

At daybreak on the twelfth, five Chinese junks, which had been at anchor on the other side of the Papen mountain, put to sea: they were towed out by Japanese boats nearly to the place where we lay. The cries of the numerous crews, their helplessness, the time and trouble it cost them to make very little way, and to spread out a sail only of matting, as well as the heavy wretched manner in which the vessels were constructed, gave us a convincing proof how much the Chinese are behind-hand with a great many other nations in the

art of ship-building. These vessels can only sail before the wind, and they were obliged therefore twice, upon trifling changes, which to an European would have been nothing, to put back again into the harbour, till at length, by means of a continued north-east wind, they succeeded in getting out to sea.

About eleven o'clock this day we saw the boat of a *Great Man* coming towards us with flags flying and drums beating, and towed along by a great number of other boats. The governor had sent two secretaries of state, who, with many excuses, brought back the copy of the letter which, two days before, had been received with so much pleasure, begging to have a true and literal translation of it in the Dutch language. They observed, that the letters and words were indeed Japanese, but that it was impossible to understand the meaning*, nor could the least connexion be made out by any means whatever. To save ourselves any farther trouble and vexation about this matter, we explained every sentence as well as we could; but, unfortunately, not one among our whole party could properly be said to understand the Dutch language. The great readiness of comprehension, which I have already mentioned that we had remarked among the interpreters, was now of the utmost assistance to us.

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* This letter had been translated from the Russian language into the Japanese, by one of the people of Japan already mentioned, who was living at Irkutsk. The translator, however, it must be confessed, had been formerly only a fisherman, from whom no great correctness of style was to be expected.

When the translation was completed, it was evident the Japanese had acquired a different idea of the views with which our embassy was sent. For instance, in the Japanese translation of the letter, the ambassador was designated as a chamberlain, and his office was represented as being similar to that of a little country prince; but when they learnt the real rank and dignity of his person, they examined very attentively the key of his office, and the ribband of his order; and asked with great naïveté whether the Emperor of Russia could confer upon foreign monarchs, for example, upon the Emperor of Japan, or the Governor of Nangasaki, such an order. But though they had now a so much higher idea of the rank of our ambassador, they expressed great surprise that the Emperor of Russia should have written the letter himself, a thing never done by the Emperor of Japan. Even the name of the reigning emperor, they said, was in their country kept a profound secret; the subjects never knew, till his death, how the person who had reigned over them was called.

The Japanese whom we had brought with us were then presented to the *Great Man,* dressed in their silk clothes of Russian manufacture; and each shewed the silver watch and the twenty ducats with which he had been presented by the Russian monarch. The interpreters begged us to instruct them in the Russian language, and offered to instruct us without any expense in the Japanese. We found the people of distinction here uniformly polite and courteous in their manners: but for their language and costume, we might have supposed ourselves among the most polished Europeans.

About five o'clock in the evening all business was concluded. The next day, the thirteenth, they told us would be again a festival or kermes, therefore nobody would visit us; but the following morning we might depend upon their bringing answers to several of our questions. The Chinese junks, on account of contrary winds, returned into harbour again this afternoon. We were all the next day surrounded by a vast number of boats; and we observed, that when the guard was relieved, the crown sailors changed their clothes, and appeared in their usual dresses, so that they evidently wore their uniforms only when they were in actual service.

On the fourteenth, a strong north wind arose, which increased by degrees very much. The little open boats were constrained to quit their stations about our ship, and take shelter behind the Papen mountain. From the great cries and noise made by the boatmen, they seemed to have thought their lives in imminent danger. Many trading vessels ran into the harbour at this moment, perhaps also to seek shelter. On account of this wind, we did not receive any fresh provisions the whole day: we were obliged to be contented with our salted ship meat.

In the morning of the fifteenth a supply was brought us, with many excuses that they had not been able to come the preceding day. It consisted of sweet potatoes, turnips, radishes, pork, fish, bread, and rice. About eleven o'clock, the weather being calm, the Banjos, with his train, arrived. The ambassador, wearied with so many ceremonials, and the perpetual repetition of the same questions, received the *Great*

Man now somewhat coldly, and said he was not very well. The Banjos brought information of the arrival of a new governor at Nangasaki, who, together with the old, promised that the vessel should soon be admitted into the harbour, and that in future we should never fail of having a supply of provisions: they both assured the ambassador of their high esteem and friendship, and entreated him to have patience yet for a short time. If he had been an insignificant personage, like Lieutenant Laxmann, he would have been in the harbour long ago; but for so *Great a Man* they must wait the commands of the court as to the manner in which he was to be received, and make the necessary preparations, that every thing might be suitable to his rank and dignity. The ambassador pressed earnestly, partly on account of his own indisposition, partly for the sake of repairing the ship, to have a safer anchorage allotted as soon as possible, and the interpreter promised to bring an answer to this request the next morning.

In the general conversation that ensued, the interpreters said that both the governors had a just idea of the greatness and dignity of the Imperial Russian representative, and on that account had given orders to all the princes of the country, as well as to the inhabitants of Nangasaki and the neighbourhood, not only to make known the arrival of so distinguished a personage from Russia, but had also strictly commanded that this *Great Man* and all Russians should be received with the utmost respect and esteem, and that every occasion of giving them displeasure should be carefully avoided. All the princes and people of distinction of the country, they said, had been summoned to Nangasaki, to be present at the reception of the

ambassador, and the town itself was to be cleaned for the occasion *. At the same time they gave us to understand that the boats by which our ship was always surrounded were intended as a guard of honour. Towards noon they left us, repeating their promise that an answer should be brought the next day respecting the change of anchorage.

It was now very fine clear weather, and an immense number of pleasure boats, without flags, were rowing about, most of them filled with women, who appeared, as we thought, to be of rank: they seemed attracted by curiosity to come and examine our ship. They were obliged, however, to keep without the line of our guard of honour. The Chinese junks, which had endeavoured this day once more to put to sea, did not succeed any better than before, and returned again into the harbour. Very unexpectedly, the half-feigned indisposition of the ambassador produced a most happy effect; for this evening, about nine o'clock, came the interpreters with the joyful intelligence from both the governors, that the next morning early we should have a better anchoring-place. They were sent that evening, they said, with the information, that the ambassador's mind might be at ease upon the subject; and they were moreover commissioned to say, that both the governors were extremely concerned at the ambassador's indisposition.

On the sixteenth, about eight o'clock in the morning, we saw coming towards us not less than a hundred of the little

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* I do not know what was meant by this, since the streets, not only of this town, but of all the towns in the island, are always kept remarkably clean.

towing boats, all with the same flags. They stopped by one or other of our guard boats, there to wait further orders. At ten o'clock came some Banjos with the usual ceremonies, who lamented very much, in the name of the two governors, the ambassador's indisposition, and offered him every possible service, even the attendance of the Japanese physicians, if that would be agreeable to him *. At the same time they informed us that the ship would be that day removed to a safer anchorage on the eastern side of the Papen mountain; and as an excuse for not carrying it into the inner harbour, which the ambassador had earnestly requested, they said that it would be by no means shewing proper respect to an Imperial Russian ship of war, with a person of so much distinction on board, that it should be anchored among trading vessels; that the Dutch ships would, however, leave the harbour very soon, and our ship should then be anchored alone where they were now lying.

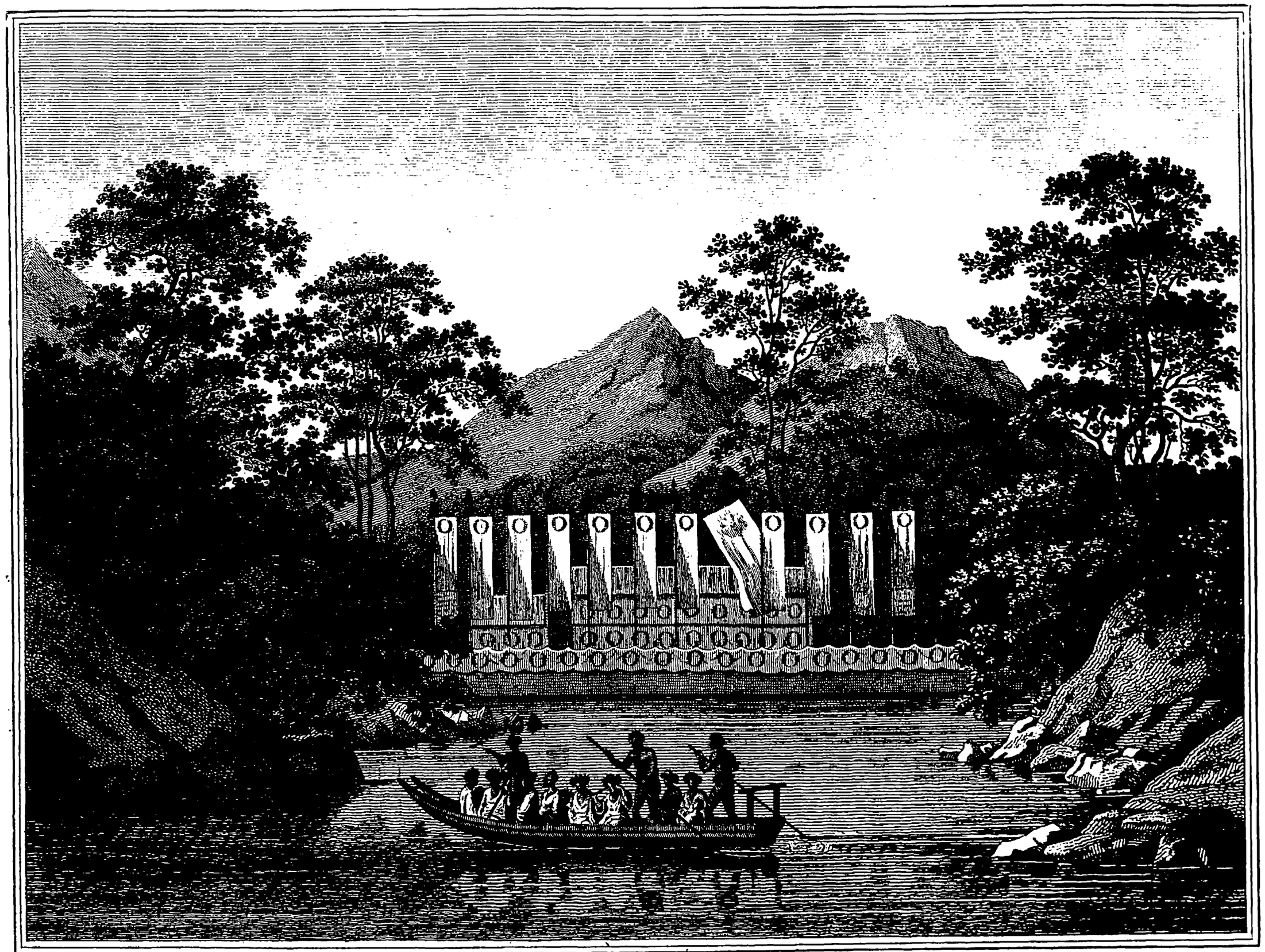
As we could not perfectly enter into this reasoning, as it indeed seemed only laughable to us, one of the interpreters added, that some of the great princes of the country, who had been summoned to meet the ambassador, were not yet arrived. He was going to have proceeded farther, when a very remarkable sign being given by one of the others, he stopped short. It may here be mentioned by the way, that at almost every visit made us, new people came, *Great Men* as well as interpreters. This is most probably to be ascribed to the suspi-

* This circumstance, as will be explained in the sequel, is well worthy of remark.

cious nature of the government, which thinks it is by this means more secure, that no secret intelligence shall be carried on. Every new officer and interpreter is a sort of check upon the former, and by comparing the answers, the fidelity of each reporter is ascertained with the greater certainty.

About twelve o'clock the anchor was weighed, and we were towed to the other side of the Papen mountain: here, for the first time, we saw the town of Nangasaki at the distance of some miles. The Banjos remained on board during this change of place. Geography appeared particularly to attract their attention: they were very desirous, as had been all our former visitors, of obtaining all possible information respecting the situation, extent of territory, and population of the great Russian empire; they followed our route upon the maps, and inquired very minutely into the distances from one place to another. They begged to see the little pocket globe, which had been so much talked of in all companies at Nangasaki, and made a great many inquiries respecting the arts and manufactures in Russia, specimens of which were shewn them. They admired the astronomical instruments: and, notwithstanding that they had no idea of the use of them, from curiosity would see the sun. I the rather mention this circumstance, in order to correct an erroneous idea which prevails very generally, that the Japanese, from a religious prejudice, will not look either at the sun or the stars.

Having come to an anchor in our new situation about one o'clock, the Banjos took their leave. An incredible number of



Engraved by Letitia & Eliz.th Byrne.

A Japanese Fortress

Published May 1.1803 by Henry Gleam, Goshat Street London.

boats of all sizes, full of company of both sexes, but particularly of the fair sex, came out from the town in the afternoon to satisfy their curiosity with a sight of the great Russian ship, but none were allowed to come within the line of our guard of honour. On the declivity of a neighbouring hill we saw a house surrounded with palisades, and with a screen before it, which we were told was an imperial guard-house. At night this guard-house, with the boats around us, were lighted with a great number of lanterns, which made a very brilliant illumination

CHAPTER XI.

Road behind the Papen Mountain.—Occurrences there from the Seventeenth of October till the Ninth of November.—Anchoring-Place before the Imperial Guard-House, and Negociations there.—Departure from the Anchoring-Place, and Entrance into Megasaki.

From the seventeenth to the twenty-first nothing particular occurred. Parties of pleasure came every day from the town to contemplate the Russian ship. The boat of the Prince of Fisi was distinguished above all the others for its superior splendor. As an indication that he was himself on board, it was decorated with a variety of flags, staves, bows and arrows, muskets, and other insignia of honour: the muskets were all in ornamented cases. A large drum, with a sound as if muffled, and the measured cry of the rowers, were to be heard at a considerable distance.

The number of people thus attracted to stare at us were no less entertaining to us than we were to them. Sometimes we saw a boat filled with children, from ten to fourteen years old, so that it seemed as if a whole school had been brought out to be treated with a sight of the Russians. In others were women, who, to judge by the richness of their clothing, must have been of high rank. There were

mothers with infants at the breast, and young girls with stringed instruments; in some of the boats the people had telescopes, which were handed from one to the other; in short, old and young, married and unmarried, all came to gratify their curiosity. Among the women, the married were easily to be distinguished from the unmarried by the black front teeth, which, from their exceeding delight, and laughing so frequently, were often shewn to our great disgust. As long as a girl remains unmarried the teeth are not blacked.

The neighbouring country, too, was become exceedingly animated. Numbers of parties were made from the town to the shore near the part where we lay, and a little temple at the foot of a hill close by was the perpetual resort of company. It was no less amusing to observe these land parties than those on the water. The company would sit in groups to eat rice or other provisions which they had brought with them, then visit the temple, or walk about, and this for the greater part of the day. The provisions were commonly brought in beautiful little japanned boxes, and were eaten with a couple of little sticks instead of forks.

On the twenty-first the thermometer was as low as 10°; and accustomed as we had been for some time to a much greater degree of heat, we found this very cold. Although the weather was fine and clear, few boats were to be seen. Towards the afternoon an interpreter came to the ship, but as he had no Banjos with him, he did not dare to venture on board. In order, therefore, to discharge his commission, he begged that

somebody from us would come into his boat. He then drew a paper from his bosom, containing the following instructions and propositions on the part of the governor.

First. As the Dutch vessels would leave their anchoring-place the next day, and as it was an ancient custom that all Dutch ships at their departure should salute the imperial Japanese fortress, the governor thought it proper we should be informed of it, that we might understand the reason of so many cannon being fired.

Secondly. We were requested not to send any boat or bark either to the Dutch ships or to the neighbouring uninhabited island. A like request was made to the Dutch.

Thirdly. All provisions that we wished to have should be sent us free of cost. It was not allowable for any one to sell things for money, and the governor therefore had to beg pardon of the ambassador, that the Japanese tobacco-pipes, which he had requested some days before, had not been sent to him. According to his instructions from the court, he could not permit any stranger to purchase the most trifling article; he must, therefore, entreat our patience till he received his farther instructions from Jedo.

Our patience, however, as it appeared from the interpreter, would not in this instance be very slightly taxed, since he reported that the courier might very possibly not return for five-and-twenty or thirty days. The ambassador availed himself of

the interpreter to send a message to the governor, requesting that he might be permitted to dispatch letters to his own country by the Dutch ships that were about to sail.

These Dutch ships quitted Desima the same day, and came to anchor nearer to us. They each saluted the imperial Japanese fortress with a hundred and fifty guns, fired at unequal intervals, but not a single gun was returned by the fortress. This led us to presume that the Japanese really have no cannon. The fine weather, and perhaps also the movement of the Dutch ships, again brought out parties to the amount of some thousands of persons as we judged, and the neighbouring temple was crowded, particularly by handsome women. In the darkness of the night, the illumination of the harbour, and the guard-house upon the shore, was really a very beautiful sight. I counted within the circle more than four hundred lanterns.

On the twenty-third the ambassador sent a message to the governor, requesting to speak with a Banjos. Accordingly the next day towards noon two came, accompanied by two interpreters, to hear what he wished to say. The ambassador then told them, that he was very anxious to have an interview with the commanders of the Dutch ships; at least, he begged that Captain Krusenstern might be permitted to visit them before their departure, as he held it his duty towards his own sovereign not to omit such an opportunity of informing him that the vessel was happily arrived at Japan.

In the second place, the ambassador said, he could not perceive, without some displeasure, that the Dutch ships, which

were only trading vessels, were allowed to fire a gun every morning and evening, and that this privilege was denied to a Russian ship of war, under the pretence that it was contrary to the laws of Japan. That this was an offence to the Russian flag, and he therefore demanded the same privilege allowed to the Dutch.

With regard to what had been said of supplying our ship with provisions free of expense, he had many acknowledgments to make for such an instance of liberality. He did not, however, wish this to be done, and the rather, as our supply of provisions had been brought very irregularly; the day before, for example, we had not received any supply at all. He would, therefore, consider it as an act of friendship to be permitted to purchase provisions, and to order them at regular stated periods.

He said, moreover, that he was exceedingly hurt at finding himself for a week past totally neglected; he had not experienced the friendship which his Imperial Russian Majesty, whose representative he was, had a right to expect from the Japanese; and neither himself, nor any other Russian, would have come to Japan, if they had expected such treatment. After having overcome great toils and dangers to arrive there, he was now not received as a friend, but rather detained as a criminal and state prisoner. During fourteen months that he had been at sea, he had led a kind of life to which he was wholly unaccustomed, and his health had suffered by it very much; he must, therefore, earnestly entreat that himself, and some of his officers, might be permitted occa-

sionally to go on shore, though it were only on an uninhabited island near, to walk about and take the exercise essential for his recovery: this his physician had said was absolutely necessary. He also again repeated the request that some house on shore might be allotted him, where he could unpack and put in order the presents destined for the Emperor of Japan, and that a convenient place might be allotted for repairing the damages done to the ship in the violent storm we had experienced.

To this latter clause the interpreter answered, that he was commissioned by both the governors to say, that the ambassador must surely think they had no ears. His wishes to live on shore, to unpack the presents, and to repair the ship, were sufficiently known to them, but they were themselves in the greatest embarrassment, and could not do any thing contrary to the established laws. They must therefore once more entreat him to have patience till the answer from Jedo could arrive, when they hoped for the most ample instructions upon every point that had been brought into discussion.

All these representations were faithfully written down by the interpreters, and the interview concluded with the ambassador expressing a wish to be visited from time to time by some of the Japanese, if it was only for the pleasure it afforded him to hear of the governor's health. The interpreters seemed to feel that the ambassador had not expressed so much displeasure without just cause, and endeavoured to excuse all by urging the singular constitutions of their country, and the unchangeable nature of their laws. On being questioned farther as to the time when the answer might be expected from Jedo, they frankly owned that the couriers had been dispatched

on the eleventh and the thirteenth, and that it must be at least from twenty-seven to thirty days before the answer could be received. The length of time astonished us exceedingly, and made us so much the more urgent to have permission sometimes to go on shore in the neighbourhood of our anchoring-place.

Among other things, the interpreters now asked when the ambassador would give up the Japanese he had brought from Russia? To this he replied, that at the first audience granted him he should deliver them up with his own hands to the governor, conformably to the commission he had received. With regard to the letters the ambassador wished to send to Europe, they begged to know the size and number of them.

On the same day in the afternoon we observed a very large, high, and handsome boat, with thirty-six or thirty-eight rowers, and towed by a great number of boats, coming towards our ship. It had only one very deep red flag, with a round white pattern in the middle, and was besides decorated with some staves of honour. The rowers were all in garments of dark blue, with a blue and white check over the breast and back. Our guard-ships said that it was the boat of Prince Tschingodsi, nephew to the Emperor of Japan, with his Highness himself on board: it was accompanied by several other boats: the measured cry of the rowers was to be heard at a very great distance: the appearance of the whole together was really grand and commanding.

About eight o'clock in the evening came a supply of pro-

visions, but not till we had sent after them to Nangasaki, desiring at the same time to speak with an interpreter. Many excuses were now made that the things had not been sent earlier in the day; but the people said that Prince Tschingodsi had arrived in the morning, and it was necessary to prepare for his reception: this had put a stop to all other business.

On the twenty-sixth, about two o'clock, the interpreters came, accompanied by two officers, who brought the answers to some of the points which had been mentioned the day before. To that about sending letters to Europe by the Dutch ships, the answer was, that although it was entirely contrary to the laws of Japan to admit of any interchange of letters between foreign nations coming into the harbour, and consequently that no Chinese had ever been allowed to send letters by Dutch vessels going from thence to China; nor had any Dutch been permitted to send letters by vessels from China, going to Europe; yet the governor, out of particular respect for the Russian ambassador, would permit him to send two unsealed letters by the Dutch ships. This proposal was not very well received by the ambassador, and he represented in strong terms the impropriety of sending his Emperor unsealed dispatches. It was, therefore, at length agreed that the letters were to be submitted to the inspection of the Governor of Nangasaki, who, after he had read them, should send them back by a Banjos, when they might be sealed by the ambassador in his presence, and then returned to the governor, to be by him remitted to the Dutch officers. If these letters were prepared by the morrow, they might be submitted immediately to the governor, who would return them the same day.

As to the request for permission to go on shore, the answer was, that it was strictly forbidden to any stranger to land without a special permission from the Emperor: the illness, however, of the ambassador should make an exception to this rule; and the governor, out of particular respect and esteem for him, would appoint a place on the nearest part of the shore, where he might walk. With this view the interpreter indicated two places which could be seen from the ship, giving the ambassador his choice between them. The choice being made, a delay of a few days was requested, that the place, which was upon a large island, might be made ready, and a small house run up for shelter to the ambassador in case of rain, and that a pallisade might be formed of bamboo canes, to keep the populace off from incommoding his excellency: the true reason of this was, however, evidently to prevent the Russians going beyond the narrow limits prescribed to them.

With respect to the delay in sending provisions, many excuses were made, concluding with a promise that there should not in future be any reason for complaints on this subject. We, however, afterwards learnt that the pretence of every body having been occupied with the arrival of Prince Tschingodsi was a mere fiction; that his court only had arrived; he himself was not expected of some days. An answer to the requisition of being allowed to fire the morning and evening gun was promised the next day. In the meantime we observed that this evening the Dutch did not fire as before.

On the twenty-seventh at day-break we saw a great many men at work at the place destined for our walk. In the after-

noon the interpreters came for the letters, when they inquired very minutely into the contents, writing down the translation as they were informed of them. They promised at the same time to bring them back the next morning, that the ambassador might seal them in the presence of the Banjos*. We were also informed that the place where we were to walk would be ready for us on the morrow, and we should have permission to go on shore.

On the following day, in the afternoon, came two Banjos with some interpreters, and brought back the ambassador's letter to be sealed. It was inclosed in a little box made expressly for the purpose, extremely neat, bound round with a silk ribband, and fastened with a clasp. A little strip of paper over the clasp marked the place where the seal was to be affixed, and the clasp could not be opened without tearing it. The letter was sealed in presence of the Banjos, and consigned again to him to be forwarded to the Dutch Captains. The *Great Man* said, before he departed, that our walk would be ready that evening or early the next morning, and assured us that the permission to go on shore was a deviation from the common rule, granted solely out of respect and esteem for the ambassador, because the indifferent state of his health required it.

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* A single letter only was therefore sent by us from Nangasaki to Europe, and that with much difficulty, and before we had set our feet on Japanese ground. A year after, however, letters dated from Japan, purporting to be from us, and giving an account of the manners and customs of the Japanese, appeared in several German publications. But these fictions, imposed upon the public as originals, were compilations from Charlevoix, Thunberg, and Kaempfer. This was carrying the *licentia poetica* somewhat too far.

We had remarked people constantly at work upon the place for the last two days, nay even all night, and saw, to our great astonishment, early this morning, a small wooden house run up, which had been entirely completed in the night. The officers were permitted to wear their swords on shore, but were forbidden to carry a gun with them to shoot birds. This last prohibition appeared to us very curious, since as we were already deprived of our powder, there would have been no particular utility in carrying a gun.

On the twenty-ninth, about four o'clock in the afternoon, came two Banjos with the interpreters, to impart the joyful tidings that the walk was ready for the ambassador, and that they were ordered to conduct him thither: for the future, they added, he would be at liberty to go whenever he chose, only giving notice beforehand to the officer upon guard, that he might first examine whether the walk was clean and fit for his reception: in fact, this notice was required that time might be given to order the proper guard to the place. Another condition, clothed in the form of a request, was, that the ambassador would never take more than nine officers on shore with him, and that none of the sailors should be allowed to go: also, that nobody should think of staying on shore during the night. The Banjos moreover brought a letter from Mynheer Doeff, the Dutch factor, to the ambassador, acknowledging the receipt of the dispatch for the Russian Emperor, and promising to forward it from Batavia to Europe by the first possible opportunity.

On this the ambassador with some officers descended into the boat, to tread for the first time on Japanese ground. The

shrouds were manned for the occasion by the sailors, who gave three cheers as the boat moved off. The Opperbanjos, with several guardships and a number of little Japanese boats, followed us. As we drew near to the destined place, which we reached in about ten minutes, we found it small beyond all idea. It was a walk not more than twice the length of our ship, inclosed with a pallisade of bamboo canes: every plant and blade of grass was torn away; the soil was perfectly levelled, and it was strewed over with sand. A small wooden summer-house, open in front, was to serve as our shelter in case of rain; the inner room was raised about two feet, and was covered with thin red carpeting.

According to custom, the ambassador had the Russian standard with the double eagle carried before him, and he sat down in the house upon a chair which had been brought from the ship. Some of the Banjos welcomed him in the name of the governors, and in conformity with Japanese politeness, made him a compliment as from them. This consisted in a strip of white paper about three fingers broad, folded up, and tied together with smaller strips of red and white paper, from each end of which hung little bits of fish, or of catgut. At the same time they brought a small sealed box, containing a number of preserves and other things as refreshments for the ambassador. A number of people had assembled upon a neighbouring hill to stare at us. The Banjos soon took their leave, repeating their request that we would not continue there during the night; and as we should not have found any particular pleasure from taking our repose in a little confined ploughed field, watched on all sides, we were no way disposed to transgress the injunction, but readily returned to the ship.

On the third, the whole day was so cloudy and rainy that we had no visitors from the town, and nothing particular occurred.

It was agreed, that when we wished to go on shore a red flag should be hung out as a signal to the commanding officer on guard. On this day, upon the signal being given, some officers, among whom I made one, went on shore without the ambassador. A number of workmen were extremely busy in building up another small house, adjoining to the former, for our use in a particular way. Boys of only twelve or thirteen years of age were working as carpenters, and were already very expert in their business. The planes, saws, hammers, and other tools used here, are in form and make very different from our European ones, and for the most part much superior to them. The principal object among the Japanese, in all their constructions, is not to waste the wood. We found the people very friendly and courteous. Dr. Horner took the altitude of the sun with an artificial horizon, which the byestanders observed with particular attention; but they remained at a respectful distance, lest they should incommode him. After he had done they had permission to look at the sextant, with which they were extremely delighted. Many of them brought us their fans*, requesting that we would write our names upon them: by way of acknowledgment when this

* A Japanese always carries about him a fan, with a tobacco-pipe, writing implements, and paper. The latter is used instead of a pocket-handkerchief; since they hold it very indelicate, and not cleanly, to carry a linen handkerchief in their pockets, as we do, for such a purpose.

was done, they held the fan to their foreheads, making a low bow. Many of them gave us to understand by signs that they wished the letters made large enough to cover the whole fan. They told us the Japanese names of several objects that we wished to know; and we in return called them by their Russian names.

After a stay of some hours we returned on board, when we heard that in the meantime some Banjos, with their interpreters, had been making a visit to the ship. They came commissioned by the governor to ask why the ambassador did not go oftener on shore, hoping that nothing had displeased him: they were afraid that the people about had been troublesome, or something might perhaps be wanting. To this the ambassador replied that he had nothing to say against the place, but that he should have been glad if they had left a little grass, that he might have had some enjoyment of the beauties of nature. The principal reason, however, why he had not been again on shore was, that he was exceedingly fatigued with the great length of his former walk. The interpreters smiled, made excuses for the governor upon the place being so confined, and immediately offered to do every thing in their power to procure, if possible, a little more liberty for us.

Immediately after dinner came two other magistrates with interpreters. They said that the governor promised all possible assistance in repairing the damages our ship had sustained; he at the same time desired we might be informed that six years before a large Dutch ship had been repaired at Kibatsch; and as the answer from Jedo might now be expected very soon, and

he had not the power of suffering the ship to be repaired at Nangasaki, he wished to know whether it could not be repaired at Kibatsch. He was ready in this case to give us a number of Japanese vessels, in which the presents, the lading, and stores, might be lodged, and another in which the ambassador might live during the time. Every thing might be well considered by us, and the answer deferred to another time.

The Banjos then inquired again what was the reason that the ambassador went on shore so seldom? Whether he would have liked the house better inclosed every way, instead of being open on one side? Whether, in short, he had any faults to find with it, or remarks to make? The ambassador replied, that he would have preferred the little uninhabited Island of Nesidesima, or Rat-Island, which was first offered us, as there was some grass and wood upon it, if he had then known what sort of a place Kibatsch was, which he had chosen: he should be very glad, therefore, of the permission sometimes to visit Nesidesima. To this the Banjos answered, that it had occasioned the governor much difficulty to grant us the place made for us at Kibatsch: he was forced to consult previously with the Princes Fisi and Tschingodsi, before he could venture upon such a step. That must be the case again, and they doubted very much whether the request could be granted, as the trees must be cut away there also, and the place strewed with sand.

On the first of November Captain Von Krusenstern went on shore with some of his officers, and Dr. Horner, to take the altitude of the sun, and to examine whether the Creek at Kibatsch would be convenient for repairing the ship. He found

the greatest depth to be from five to six fathom. The Japanese did not oppose his sounding, but looked on with eager curiosity. Since the day before, the workmen had been extremely busy in ornamenting the summer-house: shutters had been made to the side that was open; they consisted of paper glued together, and were done with a neatness and accuracy that could scarcely be equalled in Europe.

The interpreters came to us on the second, with the information that the governor was afraid such numbers of the lower people who were ill-dressed, coming about the walk out of curiosity, was unpleasant to the ambassador; he had therefore given orders that nobody should in future go near it. This order seemed even to have been extended farther, since for two days no more pleasure-boats had come about our ship; we were therefore deprived of the amusement we had received from the perpetual contemplation of objects wholly new and strange to us. As the ambassador had no inclination to go on shore this day, the Japanese inquired whether he could not give any orders by which the place might be made more to his taste.

Several of our officers went this day to Kibatsch, and found the Japanese very friendly, and appearing to treat them with great confidence. They fully explained the manner in which their guns are fired: this is not with a flint and steel, but with a lighted match. They drew out their pocket-books, and exhibited maps of the neighbouring country: they shewed them their medicine-chests, and many other things that they thought might be interesting and entertaining to them.

On the third, the ambassador went on shore, accompanied by a few Japanese barks, in which were only some subaltern officers. As there was nothing new to be seen in Kibatsch, and as it was impossible to walk much, his excellency did not stay above half an hour, and then returned on board. No visitors of curiosity ventured to come near the ship. Though it was very cloudy and somewhat rainy on the fourth, I went on shore with some of the officers. The intercourse with the Japanese was colder than usual, and their number was small. A young man, who alone appeared at all disposed to be sociable, was called away: we concluded from this circumstance that orders had been given not to keep up any confidential intercourse with us.

On the fifth, the interpreters came with the intelligence that the Dutch ships were at length ready to sail, and that we might take their place in the harbour as soon as they were gone. As to repairing the ship, they said, that perhaps the loading the presents upon several Japanese vessels would occasion too much trouble and loss of time, the governor therefore proposed a Chinese junk, on board of which the ambassador could transfer all the presents and stores, and where he could live himself. To this it was agreed, that as soon as the Dutch ships were gone an answer should be sent; for, as they were not to be later than ten days before they sailed, the ambassador said he would prefer waiting, as there was reason to hope for an answer from Jedo by that time, when he expected permission to live on shore.

With respect to the island of Nesidesima, mentioned on a former occasion, we received on this day a positive refusal of

the request made by the ambassador to be allowed to walk there. As we had observed for several days the manners of the Japanese to be extremely cold towards us, and saw no more boats come out with parties of pleasure, the ambassador alluded to this circumstance, observing that we were deprived of the entertainment we had received from the sight of them: this the interpreters ascribed entirely to chance. On the sixth and seventh nothing occurred worthy of remark.

On the eighth, early in the morning, the Dutch vessels weighed anchor. We cheered them as they passed us, wishing them a prosperous voyage; they did not however answer us, and we had afterwards an apology on this account from the chief of the Dutch factory, Mynheer Doeff, with the assurance that this apparent want of attention to our civilities was to be ascribed entirely to the strict injunctions to this effect which the captains had received from the governor. The ships had but just got round to the other side of the Papen mountain, when, on account of a calm, they were obliged to drop the anchor again.

This afternoon the interpreters brought us intelligence that the next day, about noon, a proper number of towing-boats would be sent to convey us to the place the Dutch had left, and that all possible assistance would be given by the governor in repairing our ship. On the ninth, in the afternoon, came two Banjos, with several interpreters, to attend us to the new anchoring-place just before the imperial guard-house. We were accordingly drawn thither by the towing-boats, and anchored in fifteen fathom water, about three versts from the

town of Nangasaki. On the next morning, for the first time, we saw this town very plain. The Banjos, who accompanied us, were very polite, pleasant, and sociable; they occupied themselves the greater part of the afternoon with examining maps and prints, which seemed to afford them great entertainment. On the tenth, preparations were at length made for repairing the ship. It was agreed that the masts, yards, beams, and other materials, should be carried on shore to Kibatsch, and the governor promised that they should be placed under the care of an extraordinary guard.

The interpreter sent to us on this day spoke more freely than any who had come before: he considered all the strict regulations of the Japanese government as extremely ridiculous, lamented that he was himself a Japanese, and wished very much to travel and see foreign countries. He regretted the short-sightedness of his countrymen, imputed it to the education of the emperor and the great magistrates, and said that the subjects must be blind when the rulers had no clear ideas, and were not in a situation to acquire any. Men, he said, are not born merely to eat and drink, but also to instruct and enlighten themselves. His philosophical dissertation was interspersed with several Japanese proverbs; as, for example, "*The age of man is a hundred years, but his fame is eternal.*"---"*The life of man is short, his name is without end.*" He lamented the many disagreeable circumstances to which the ambassador had been subjected, and endeavouring to console him, likened a man of understanding to water, saying, "*A reasonable man must know how to accommodate himself to all situations and circumstances, like water which takes the form and figure of every*

vessel into which it is poured." This day the Dutch ships sailed out of the harbour.

On the eleventh, the masts and yards of the vessel were, according to agreement, carried on shore: they were conveyed to Kibatsch in our own boats, with our own sailors on board, but were towed by the Japanese. Although more than forty of our people landed on this occasion, they were not attended by a greater number of guards than usual. On the twelfth, several officers went on shore without seeing a single native during the whole time they remained there. The weather was very fine, and for the first time during many days some pleasure-boats with women, attracted by curiosity, made their usual excursions to contemplate the Russian ship.

In the afternoon of the thirteenth some interpreters came on board as we had requested, when we desired permission of the governor to have some of the rye meal we had brought with us made into bread, and baked at Nangasaki. To this request our guests promised an answer in a few days. They announced, that in two or three days a Chinese junk, as had been suggested before, would be ready to take our stores on board; that the next high tide was only waited for, to set it afloat. In the night so strong a wind rose, that the water was swelled very much, which set the junk at liberty. The interpreters came about four o'clock to bring the permission we had requested with regard to our bread, and begged to have one of our anchors for the junk, as the Chinese had only wooden anchors, and they were not by any means to be trusted to. One was accordingly sent, and we were promised that the junk should be brought

the next day. As Kibatsch was now at some distance from us, we requested that a place might be assigned in the neighbourhood, where the cannon and other heavy articles might be deposited.

On the thirteenth the junk was brought alongside of us, when Captain Krusenstern was requested to go on board, and examine whether it would answer our purpose. Several officers accompanied him, and were not a little astonished to see the cabin destined for the Russian ambassador: it was a little mean apartment without a window, so that it had no light except from the door;---for the presents, stores and other things, there was ample room. Captain Krusenstern expressed his dissatisfaction very decidedly, and said he was surprised how it could be possible for reasonable people like the Japanese to offer the Russian ambassador such a habitation: it was scarcely fit for one of their own domestic servants. He declared further, that the repairs of the ship could not be begun till the presents were unloaded, and a proper habitation was assigned to the ambassador: the junk could positively not be accepted for this purpose. Some farther answer relative to these things would therefore be expected from the governor. As to what had been said the day before respecting the distance of Kibatsch, and the consequent inconvenience of sending the cannon and heavy stores thither, a reply was now brought, that the governor would assign a good place for the purpose near the ship, and would provide for a proper guard being appointed to take care of them.

Several officers went on board the junk, to have a nearer

view of this heavy, clumsy, helpless kind of vessel. The interpreters came to inform us that it was not in the power of the governor to assign the ambassador a habitation at Nangasaki, or in any other part, before he had an answer with permission to that effect from Jedo; this, however, he hoped to receive in seven or eight days. It was hereupon determined to send away the junk, and wait on board the ship for this long expected answer, in the hope that then a proper habitation would be assigned us, with a convenient place for stowing the presents. Next morning, therefore, the seventeenth, the junk was towed away, and a short time after, the anchor which had been lent for it was restored.

Till the twenty-fourth nothing worthy of notice occurred. The cold of approaching winter increased daily, and we were sensibly affected by it: the temperature of the air varied from 4° to 12°. The poor Japanese in the fishing-boats, and the sailors in the guard-boats, appeared to feel its severity not a little. Their only covering was a thin cotton garment, and they slept at night in their open boats, upon a straw mat, with nothing to defend them from the cold, except this slender clothing. In the day-time we saw many entirely naked, except the covering round the waist.

This afternoon the interpreters came to us of their own accord, a thing which had not happened of some time: their errand was to inquire, in the name of the two governors, after the ambassador's health. At first they talked only upon indifferent subjects, and their visit seemed to have no particular object: the principal topic of conversation was the coldness of

the weather. They assured us that in a short time it would be much colder, and gave us to understand that at such a time of year it was not healthy to remain on board a ship. The arrival of couriers from Jedo was, however, a subject much nearer to our hearts than the coldness of the weather; we therefore questioned them upon it, and were not a little struck at hearing that one had arrived the day before; he had not, however, brought any intelligence respecting our concerns; indeed, at his departure from Jedo our arrival at Nangasaki was not known. The interpreters concluded with imparting the unwelcome tidings, that it was probable the instructions respecting us might not arrive till a fortnight or three weeks from that time.

As the ambassador was somewhat impatient, the interpreters made him the following proposal. They said, that according to what appeared, his excellency would prefer a small habitation at the very end of Nangasaki, to remaining on board the ship, and they presumed that if he really would be satisfied with this till the arrival of the courier, it would be better to remit a representation upon the subject to the governor. The advanced season of the year, with the coldness of the weather, the ambassador's indifferent state of health, the expediency of unpacking the presents, and the repairs wanting to the ship, might all be urged as reasons for pressing him so much to permit our coming on shore. Upon these grounds, they said, they thought it not improbable that the governor, from his high respect and esteem for the Russian Court, might consent to assign him a habitation without the town; and they were convinced, that as soon as the answer was received from Jedo, a spacious dwelling in the

town would be assigned him, consistent with his rank as the representative of so great a monarch. It was not difficult to see that they were instructed to circumvent the ambassador, if possible, on the subject of his guard; for they added that he would much sooner attain his purpose, if he would leave the soldiers, for whom he had contended as a part of his suite, on board the ship, or suffer them to follow him on shore without arms. The ambassador only replied, that this was a proposal to which he could never consent: he would on no account relinquish the attendance of the guard of honour: the utmost to which he could condescend was, that they should carry their muskets without bayonets.

The interpreters on this quitted us, promising that our proposals, with the conditions annexed, should be faithfully represented to the governor. From all that passed, there appeared very great reason to suppose that the courier who had arrived brought very unsatisfactory answers, and that the governor therefore sought to gain time till the arrival of another. The proposal now made by the interpreter, as if originating entirely with himself, was exactly what we had repeatedly desired, and which the governor had alleged, only a week before, it was not in his power to grant without the emperor's consent.

On the twenty-fifth in the afternoon the interpreters brought the governor's consent to the ambassador's proposal: they observed, however, that in this he took upon himself a very great responsibility. He begged, therefore, for his justification, that the ambassador would make a statement in writing of the necessity of repairing the damages the ship had received in the storm,

and of his being allowed a habitation on shore, on account of the indifferent state of his health. This was done, and it seemed to give the interpreters great satisfaction. The only difficulty now remaining was the military attendance: again the interpreters repeated that this was contrary to all the laws of Japan; that even the greatest princes of the country never appeared armed before the governor; they must therefore once more entreat that the guard might be omitted, or at least that the number might be lessened. The ambassador was, however, inflexible: he said he would positively not go on shore unless attended by his guard of honour; that it would be no less degrading for him to appear without it, than for the officers to appear without side-arms; it was an indispensable appendage to his rank and dignity. The interpreters shook their heads, and said they would impart his determination to the governor. They then drew out plans of the house assigned to him, and of the magazines for the presents, with which he was very well satisfied. Before they departed, he desired to know what number of persons would be permitted to live on shore.

The following day no interpreters appeared: with the assistance of our telescope, however, we examined the place destined for the ambassador, and saw a great many people at work upon it. For several days they were very busy in carrying on their preparations, and by the thirtieth we could perceive a high inclosure made round it with bamboo-canes. The long absence of the interpreters made us somewhat impatient, and our ill-humour was increased by very cold, stormy, disagreeable weather.

On the first of December we saw a grand illumination at Desima, the part inhabited by the Dutch: it consisted of several hundred paper lanterns, which, as far as we could judge, were arranged with a good deal of taste: they produced a very good effect. The Dutch factory, as the interpreters assured us, never omit any opportunity of displaying the grandeur of their East India Company, though their trade hither is very inconsiderable. On the second we still saw the people on shore very busy in preparing the ambassador's house. We anxiously expected the interpreters, to announce that it was finished; and as they had never been near us since the twenty-fifth, they were now invited on board. In the evening Desima was again illuminated. All day, on the third, the interpreters were anxiously expected by us, but they did not appear.

At length, on the fourth, one arrived, and was as usual extremely polite and courteous. He brought many inquiries from both governors respecting the health of the ambassador, and the other gentlemen, and said that the memorial sent by the ambassador, stating the grounds on which he desired to come on shore, had been faithfully delivered. He assured us also that the courier from Jedo was expected every day, and had been a much longer time than usual in returning.

Having observed, as I said above, the inclosure round the house, we could not help asking somewhat sarcastically whether the place we were to inhabit was, like our walk at Kibatsch, to be surrounded with a bamboo fence, that the *Great Man* might not be disturbed by the people. The interpreter could not help smiling, and said he did indeed think that all these regula-

tions of the government were very pitiful; but in fact they were established customs, and must be complied with. He finished by making many inquiries respecting the domestic economy of the house; among others, whether we would have the kitchen furnished with Japanese utensils, or whether we would bring our own from the ship: he observed that they had no chairs or tables, and that we must therefore bring our own. At his departure we entreated him to expedite the business as much as possible, and free us from our long and tedious captivity.

Again several days elapsed without seeing any interpreters, or, consequently, hearing any thing more concerning the arrival of the courier, or the state of preparation which the house had attained. At length, on the tenth, some appeared, and we were all in eager expectation of being satisfied upon one, at least, if not both these points. They began, as usual, with many inquiries from both governors into the state of the ambassador's health, and at length, to our infinite mortification, expressed their extreme sorrow that the house was not ready, nay, they believed that it must be yet four or five days before it could be so. To the question whether no courier was arrived, we received for answer the customary negative. At a former visit of the interpreters, some planks for repairing the ship had been requested: instead of the planks themselves, however, they now brought specimens of different kinds of wood, for the captain to choose which would best suit his purpose.

There was scarcely a soul on board the Nadeschda who did not feel great impatience and indignation at being thus trifled

with: even the ambassador could not refrain from giving vent to his feelings, and saying to the interpreters that we had lost a great deal of time very unnecessarily by these repeated delays; that we must leave Japan in four months at the very farthest, in order to revisit Kamschatka. If we were not returned to Europe by the month of July in the following year, it would be believed in Russia that we had experienced some misfortune, and ships would, probably, be sent out in quest of us. In case they went on lingering in such a way, no time would remain for the embassy to proceed to Jedo, and he should be constrained to demand his dismission. To this one of the interpreters answered, that he comprehended all these things perfectly, and had often represented the same to the governor; but the latter really was not able to take any step without instructions from the Court. "It is laughable," he added, "that Japan, this little country, this little island, makes so much ceremony, and contrives so many difficulties; that in all her manners, even in her ways of thinking, she is little; while Russia, which is a very extensive country, is in all her ways and manners, in all her thoughts and actions, great and noble."

Upon our observing that it was scarcely possible in such a lapse of time that no courier should have returned from Jedo, and that it was well known to us from the descriptions of Japan given by Kaempfer and Thunberg, that a courier could go from Nangasaki to Jedo, and return again, in twenty-one days; the interpreter answered that this was very true, but it must be considered, that in a case of such importance as the present, the whole council of state must be assembled, and the courier could not be dispatched again so hastily.

The interpreter did not leave us till it was quite dark, reiterating at his departure the usual empty promises: assuring us that the house would soon be ready for our reception, and that the planks requisite for mending the ship should speedily be provided.

From the eleventh to the fifteenth of December nothing particular occurred. On the fifteenth we were informed by the interpreters that the house was ready, and that the ambassador would be expected on shore the next day but one. He was commissioned, however, he said, to inquire in the first place whether his excellency would go in one of his own boats, or whether he would accept the boat of the Prince of Fisi for the occasion.

Answer. The latter will be preferred.

Question. How many officers and other persons does the ambassador propose to carry on shore?

Answer. About ten officers, and about fifteen other persons, among whom are included the seven soldiers of the guard of honour, and the four Japanese brought from Russia.

Question. What goods and chattels the ambassador wishes to have with him?

Answer. None, excepting clothes, and the presents for the Emperor of Japan.

Question. When the presents will be carried on shore?

Answer. As soon as the place where they are to be deposited is ready for them.

Question. In what boats will they be carried?

Answer. The assistance of the Japanese ones will be requested.

When these inquiries were concluded, the ambassador proposed that some of his officers should go in the morning and see whether the house was made tolerably convenient, or whether it might not in some sort resemble the Chinese junk. No farther mention was made of the soldiers, but that they might come with the ambassador. In the afternoon we saw a great number of men upon a hill, who were very busy in running up several small houses with screens before them near our dwelling. As these are the fortresses of the country, we conjectured that they must be intended for a Japanese land-guard of honour.

According to their promise, the interpreters came towards noon on the sixteenth, and brought word, that the next morning at seven o'clock the officers would be welcome to go and see the house, and if they found every thing convenient the ambassador would be expected in the evening. To this his excellency objected, that he should scarcely be able to go the next day, since tables, chairs, kitchen utensils, and other furniture, must be carried from the ship, and he must remain

on board till every thing could be arranged. These observations confounded the interpreters not a little. They said that the governor had made preparations for receiving the ambassador the next day; that all the gentlemen of the country and of Nangasaki were informed of it, and that they would consequently be extremely *embarrassed* if his excellency's landing should be deferred. The ambassador observed in reply, that he had for a long time been extremely *embarrassed* with the delays made in granting him permission to go on shore. The observation seemed to be felt very keenly, and the interpreters entreated very earnestly, as a particular favour, that he would not disappoint the governor. They added, that in the hope of his compliance, the governor had ordered a boat to be in readiness with sixty rowers, and a proper retinue of smaller boats to tow it.

It was at length agreed, that at seven the next morning some Banjos should come to accompany five officers to the habitation, that they might inspect every thing, and that the Japanese should be ready immediately on their return to carry thither the furniture and whatever else was wanted by the ambassador, so that he himself might be able to go at the appointed time. In the following days boats were to be furnished to bring the presents on shore, and deposit them in the magazines prepared for their reception.

At day-break, a great number of large and small Japanese boats assembled about our ship, and about eight o'clock came two Opperbanjos and the interpreters. In the first place, the usual ceremonies must be performed: they were conducted into

the cabin, where they turned in due form to the ambassador, and said, that the governor had, upon his own responsibility, without any instructions from Jedo, solely from the respect he felt for the representative of Russia, and because the latter found himself not in good health, assigned him a dwelling on shore, with magazines for other purposes. The place was indeed small, and lay near the water; but this could not be otherwise, since all foreigners coming to Japan must, according to the Japanese laws, be so placed: as soon, however, as the answer from Jedo should be received, a better and more spacious habitation he trusted would be assigned.

Some officers whom I was permitted to accompany were now sent, conformably to the arrangement made the day before, to visit the house. We went in our own boat, attended by some Japanese barks, to Megasaki, for this was the name of the place where the house was; and here we were received by several interpreters, who shewed us about. It was a wooden building, consisting of nine apartments. The floors were all covered with new straw matting, but there was no furniture except some large copper brasiers, intended to serve instead of stoves. The windows were of thin paper, not oiled, and stretched over a very poor and mean frame-work. The magazines for the presents were so spacious, that the half of one made a very convenient habitation for the soldiers and the four Japanese. After we had examined every thing, and expressed our satisfaction in the governor's name to two Banjos whom we also met here, we returned again to the ship. All the things intended to be carried on shore were now sent off, and immediately after dinner the ambassador

with his train, and the military guard of honour, went on board the Prince of Fisi's barge. Though it was made to carry sixty rowers, not an oar was used: it was towed by other boats, since, according to the customs of the country, this was more respectful.

The barge was a hundred and twenty feet long, and was divided in the length by two partitions, forming, as it were, three apartments. The centre one was considered as the room of state; the partitions by which it was divided were hung within with lilac silk, ornamented with the arms of the Prince of Fisi: the outside of the partitions was canvas ornamented with different paintings. The sides of the room within were lacquered, and had the prince's arms inwrought in gold in the manner of mosaic-work: over the room was an awning of very handsome tapestry; and the floor was partly varnished, partly covered with costly carpeting. The whole made a very handsome and shewy appearance. Here sat the ambassador in a chair brought from the ship, and a table before him, on which lay his credentials. The Russian soldiers, one of whom carried the Imperial standard, were in the outer apartments of the barge, where a sort of gallery or deck was raised.

In this way we proceeded to Megasaki, surrounded by an immense number of Japanese barges. As we passed the guard-house and fortifications near which we had lain at anchor, we observed them hung with new cloth, and the usual number of hangings increased. A vast number of soldiers were ranged on the hill above the guard-house: some of them carried muskets, others flags, others standards: all had insignia of

honour of some kind or other in their hands. The interpreters pointed this out to the ambassador, and assured him it was all intended to shew him respect. The neighbouring shore was covered with some thousands of spectators, who followed the barge to the place of its destination; but there they were carefully kept off from pressing upon his excellency, so as to incommode him.

The water was so shallow in the neighbourhood of Megasaki, that the ambassador was obliged to descend into a smaller boat; it was, however, very handsome, and was lackered. The guard of honour and officers of the embassy went first on shore, and were followed by his excellency: he was received by several Opperbanjos and interpreters, with the Japanese guard of honour, and a number of Japanese, who had filled the little place before the house, to shew him all possible deference. The ambassador found his new residence tolerably to his satisfaction, and sent his thanks for it to the governor. The kitchen had been furnished against our arrival: there was a good fire, and venison, with fowls, ducks, and rice, were ready prepared for us.

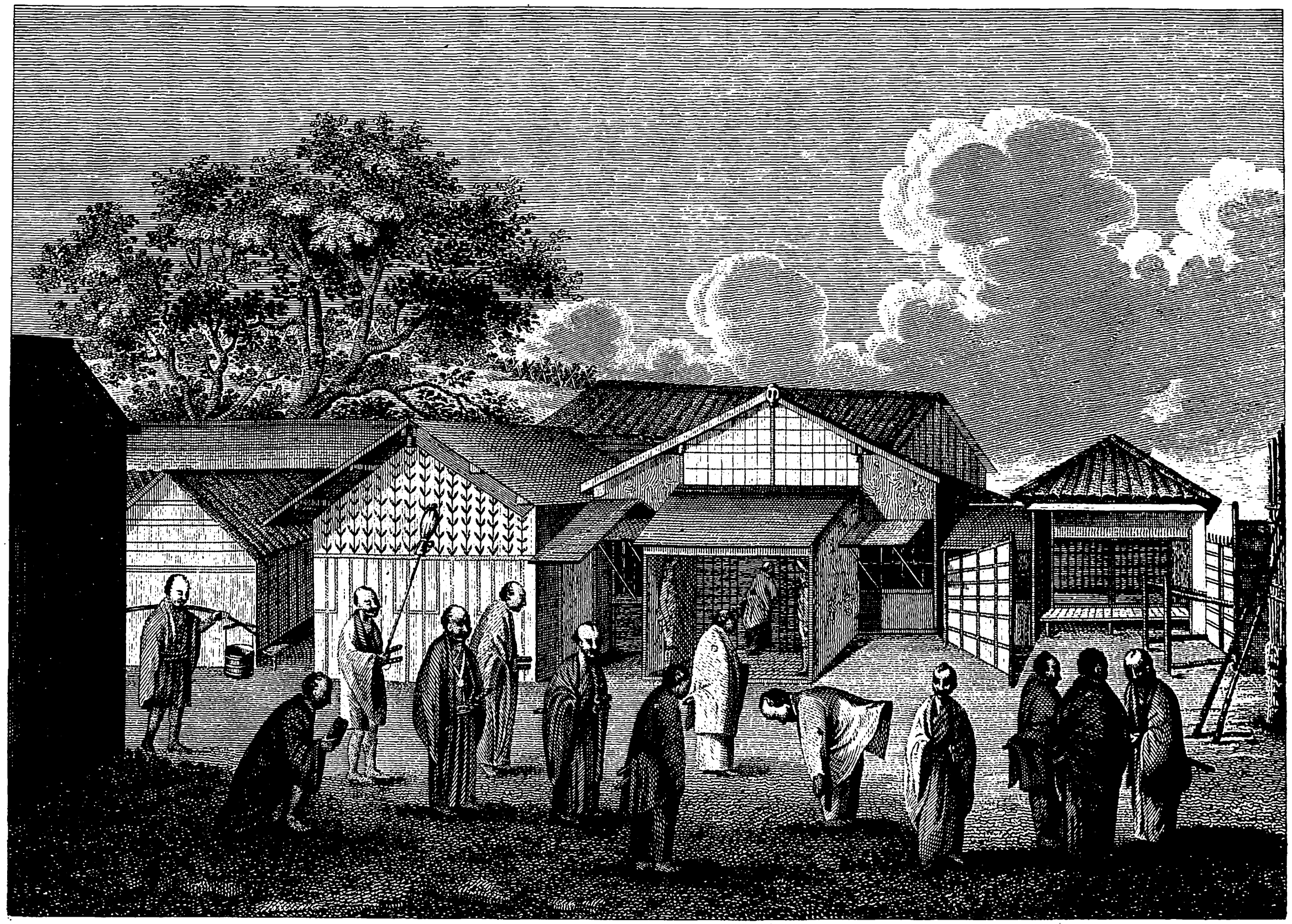
About an hour after the Great Men of Japan, with the interpreters, had left us, and some of the officers of the ship, who accompanied us, had returned on board, the doors of our new habitation were close shut and locked, and we were surrounded with a guard on all sides.

CHAPTER XII.

Stay at Megasaki.—Description of the Habitation there.—Permission given for the Ship to be carried into the Harbour.—One of the Japanese attempts to cut his Throat.—A Balloon sent up, and the Alarm occasioned by it.—Illness of the Ambassador.

Our party were now separated; the ambassador, Major Von Friderici, Counsellor Von Fosse, Captain Foedoroff, Lieutenant Koscheleff, Monsieur Schemelin, commissioner of the Russio-American trading company, and myself, with the guard of honour, and the four Japanese whom we had brought from Russia, lived on shore, while the rest remained on board the Nadeschda. The place we inhabited was surrounded with water on three sides; on the fourth it was joined to the land, forming in this way a sort of quadrangular peninsula. The buildings were ranged round three sides of a court, which might be about fifty paces in length and forty in breadth: on one side was the dwelling-house of the ambassador, on the other two were magazines. The fourth side, by which we might have had a fine prospect upon the sea, was closed by a high double palisade of bamboo-canes, which effectually shut out all prospect.

Two doors led into the court, one of which opened upon the side to the water: this was guarded by the barge of the



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Habitation of the Ambassador at Nagasaki.

Prince of Fisi, already so well known to us; before the other, which led to the town, a double guard was placed, namely, an imperial civil guard, and a military guard of the Prince of Omuru. The first was stationed about three paces from the entrance to our court, and watched also another door at some distance; the second was placed upon a hill which rose behind the station of the civil guard, and commanded our whole court like a tower; it was not, indeed, above a stone's throw from it. Both doors of our habitation were regularly locked and bolted upon us every night.

Nothing particular occurred before the twenty-first. The presents were by degrees carried on shore, the ship continuing at anchor before the imperial guard-house. Every cargo of things brought to Megasaki was inspected by some Banjos and interpreters, and an accurate list taken of them, that no frauds might be committed, and that nothing might be stolen.

On the twenty-second, the interpreters announced to us that an answer had been received the day before from Jedo, and that a *Great Man* would come that day in the name of the governor to communicate it to the ambassador. Several discussions had already taken place how this man was to be received, because, as the interpreters said, he was to impart the determinations of the emperor. The ambassador put an end to all further discussion upon the subject, by saying that he would receive the Opperbanjos with all possible politeness and distinction, and not omit any of the customary tokens of friendship and courtesy. It was consequently decided that the *Great Man* should be received according to our European

customs, the ambassador during the conversation sitting upon a chair, the Opperbanjos upon a sofa.

At the same time the interpreters mentioned, as if casually, in speaking upon the subject of the ceremonies to be observed when the ambassador had his audience of the governor, that all ambassadors from the most ancient times had, according to the oriental usages, knelt to the governor. As a proof that they spoke truth, copies were produced of several official accounts of audiences granted to the oldest Portuguese ambassadors, by which it appeared plainly that they had complied with the custom. The ambassador then said, that it was entirely his wish to return in the most proper manner every instance of politeness he received from the governor, and to regulate his conduct according to the established customs of the country.

The *Great Man* at length appeared with a very consequential air, and announced, in the name of the governor, the arrival of a courier from Jedo, who brought the important permission from the Emperor of Japan for the ship, which had arrived from Russia, to come to Nangasaki. The next day it was in consequence towed into the harbour, and anchored at the distance of a verst and a half from our habitation at Megasaki. At the same time, the guard stationed upon the hill above us was removed: this, as we afterwards learned, was done at the express command of the emperor.

Notwithstanding the number of guards and guard-ships attending upon us, difficulties were still made in allowing a

free communication between those of our party who lived on the land, and those who remained still on the water. We were obliged to notify to the governor when any one wished to come on shore from the ship, or to go on board the ship from our habitation. We made many remonstrances against such a troublesome arrangement, and at length obtained permission for an unrestrained intercourse between the different divisions of our party. A regulation was however made, that in the case of any one wishing to come on shore, or to go on board, notice should be given to the officer on guard by hanging out a red flag, that the double fastenings on the doors, that is to say, those both within and without, might be unclosed. It was besides made an express condition, that neither more nor less than the number of persons originally agreed upon should ever sleep on shore; for this reason it was necessary that we should all pass in review before the officer every evening. On the twenty-fifth, Lieutenant Koscheleff having business on board the ship, which made him wish to remain there all night, we were obliged to send for a sailor to supply his place, that the proper number might appear at the review.

On the thirtieth, the ambassador sent for some interpreters, and informed them that we should want plates of copper, nails, planks, beams, and various other articles for the repair of the ship; he also requested of the governor a small place on the neighbouring shore, where the tackling might be repaired. The interpreters promised every thing that was required, and said the government considered it as a duty to furnish us with whatever was necessary for repairing the ship, free of all expence.

On the thirty-first, the Dutch solemnized the conclusion of the old year. The interpreters were almost all feasted at Desima, and in the evening we saw a grand illumination there. At Megasaki we were obliged to pass the night with our customary patience and philosophy, and to content ourselves with listening, over a quiet glass of punch, to the daily music of locking up our doors. In the night between the first and second of January, the thermometer fell to one degree below the freezing point.

On the third, the interpreters brought us specimens of plates of copper for sheathing our vessel, with copper nails, and other things that we had mentioned for repairing the ship. They told us in confidence, that an order had been issued the day before by the governor for all the boats belonging to Prince Tschingodsi to return home, as Japan was upon the best terms possible with Russia. We indeed saw at least forty boats which had lain before the harbour now under sail, and observed that the arms of the guard-boats of Fisi were laid aside. To the question why we remained still without any answer as to the embassy being admitted to an audience, the interpreter said that the temporal sovereign alone could not determine any thing with regard to it, that he had therefore consulted the Daïri, or spiritual sovereign, but the latter had not as yet given any answer.

Another half month passed without our hearing any thing farther on the subject nearest our hearts. The cold disagreeable weather proved exceedingly injurious to the health of the ambassador; and Mynheer Doeff, who heard how

much he suffered, had a very handsome wadded Japanese nightgown made for him. As, however, it was a Japanese production, he was obliged, before he could send it, to ask the governor's permission: instead of granting the permission, the latter reimbursed the merchant for the expence of the nightgown, and then sent it in his own name to the ambassador.

On the sixteenth, early in the morning, there was a very unusual bustle and confusion in our house; when, on inquiry into the occasion of it, we were informed that one of the Japanese whom we had brought with us had attempted to destroy himself. With this view he had thrust a razor through his mouth into his throat, but was seen in time by the bystanders for them to prevent his completely executing his purpose. A quantity of blood streamed from the mouth of the wounded man, but the Japanese civil officer on duty would by no means consent that I should examine the wound, or give him any medical assistance. The event was announced by the guard, and a Banjos with a physician was sent for, who did not arrive till the afternoon: they then entered into a very minute investigation of the affair, and took down a *procês-verbal* of it, which was carefully sealed up. The wound did not appear to be dangerous. A very handsome lackered chest was carried before the physician, and he took out of this portable apothecary's shop whatever was wanted for his patient. He made a gargle of various kinds of plants, putting into it a powder which immediately dissolved.

In consequence of this event, the ambassador sent to request the governor that he would take all the Japanese, and so prevent

the recurrence of any circumstances equally unpleasant. The governor, however, answered, that he could not comply with this request, because, when on a former occasion application had been made to the ambassador to give them up, he had declined it: he must now, therefore, wait for instructions from Jedo, before he could take any steps in the matter. The ambassador upon this wrote himself to the governor, but with no better success. The Banjos and officers instituted a very minute inquiry into the affair, but nothing more was to be learned excepting that the man had possessed his mind with the idea that in returning to his native country his liberty was forfeited.

At eight o'clock in the evening our doors were very unexpectedly unlocked, and we were visited by a great many Japanese. The interpreters who came with them said that the Banjos only wished to see whether every thing was in order, and that they often made similar visits to the Dutch and Chinese. We could not, in fact, by any means account otherwise for his coming at so unseasonable an hour.

Since the eighteenth, the second door under the care of the civil guard had been left unlocked: it led to a small open place, some hundred paces long, inclosed with bamboo canes on the side towards the town. We availed ourselves of it to walk where we had a freer air, and an extensive view over the water, ascribing the additional liberty thus given us to the ambassador having observed to a Banjos, some days before, that our habitation had rather the appearance of a prison than of the abode of an ambassador from a mighty potentate. On the nineteenth,

late in the evening, a Banjos came again, the same as two days before, to examine our habitation. This time he honoured the ambassador with paying his respects to him, which he said he did by order of the governor, to inform him that the Japanese who had attempted to destroy himself was out of his mind.

On the twenty-second an interpreter was sent for, to take an account of many things requisite for repairing the ship: among other things, we said we were extremely rejoiced that we had for some days been allowed to breathe the fresh air, and walk in the little place before our door. He assured us that this was done without the consent of the governor, and that such a freedom, which we had taken entirely of ourselves, might be extremely injurious to him as well as the officers upon guard. He promised, however, to mention the thing to the governor, and procure us, if possible, a regular permission to walk there. The next day he brought word that we should have every thing mentioned for the repair of the ship, and that the ambassador with his train, and the officers, had leave to walk in the place, but not the soldiers and servants.

The wounded Japanese was now daily visited by a physician and a surgeon, or some of their assistants. The first was distinguished by his head being entirely shaved; the second by having very thick hair: the other civil and military people have the head shaved only upon the crown, but have hair upon the sides of the head and neck.

The interpreters at the same time said that the governor hoped to be able very shortly to rejoice us by the commu-

nication of agreeable news. On the other side of our new walk we now often saw people who came to look at us through the trellis, in the same manner that in Europe we look at wild beasts carried about for a show. Men, women, and children, of all ranks and ages, were gaping on every side. Among others were a number of mendicant monks: they, as well as the physicians, had their heads entirely shaved. Some of the interpreters, who came to us on the twenty-fourth upon business in a variety of ways, told us in confidence that the answer from Jedo was so long in coming, because the Emperor had sent one of his first counsellors to the Daïri, and they not being agreed about the reception of the ambassador, both were practising intrigues to carry the point after their own way: it was hoped, however, that in fifteen or twenty days the decisive answer would arrive.

On the twenty-seventh the ambassador sent for some interpreters, and commissioned them to make known to the governor that his patience and forbearance had reached their highest point. He insisted, he said, upon having a decisive answer, or knowing why he was kept so long waiting for one, and was put off from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, with empty promises. The interpreters told us, as a profound secret, that a council had been assembled at Jedo, who were commissioned by the Emperor to consult together upon the expediency of establishing an intercourse of trade with Russia, and that this was the cause of so many delays.

As the next day was the beginning of the Japanese new year,

on this day, that is the twenty-ninth, two fir-trees were planted before the door of every house, which were surrounded with wooden benches. Over the entrance of the doors was placed a trophy of platted straw-work, representing a lobster, an orange, or a cabbage; many consisted of dried fruit, or of two particular coins, with some salt and rice, a piece of sea-weed, *fucus saccharinus*, or bamboo-canes with the leaves, or fern. The lobster, on account of its powers of re-production, since a whole claw, if torn off, will grow again, and of its fine red colour, is considered by the Japanese as the emblem of health. The orange is called in their language *dai-dai*, the same word which signifies posterity, the increase of which is to be looked forward to in the new year. A cabbage is called in Japanese *sumi*, and the same word signifies riches, of which it is intended as the emblem. The others are things of indispensable necessity to the Japanese, and probably have all similar allusions attached to them.

In the evening the ambassador received a very fine new-year's gift in the Japanese taste: similar presents are sent from one Japanese to another, according to their rank and character. That which the ambassador received was rare even in the country, since similar ones are only sent between the most illustrious and most distinguished people. On a very neatly-made new wooden chest were two large round dishes of cooked rice, and over them a lobster, an orange, a piece of *fucus saccharinus*, some salt chesnuts, figs, grass, several different sorts of leaves, some straw, and, at the top of all, a paper with a compliment, such as was described above *.

* See page 259.

Towards evening came an interpreter with the answer to the questions sent two days before. He assured the ambassador that the governor was inexpressibly concerned at his having been so often deceived in his expectations. He could only suppose that the delay of a decisive answer from Jedo arose from the Emperor's having summoned his uncle, his brother, and another near relation, who lived two hundred miles from the capital, to consult with them about the reception of the embassy: he, however, considered this delay as a favourable omen for the happy issue of the business, as a refusal would probably have been sent long before.

The thirtieth of January was the Japanese New-year's Day. People were making visits to each other till very late in the evening. This lasted for three days. On these and other solemn occasions, the Japanese wear a dress of ceremony; that is to say, from the emperor to the poorest subject, every one has a particular dress worn over the usual one. It is made of a pale blue cotton, and is of the same quality, colour, and make, for every body of all ranks and degrees.

On the first of February an interpreter came in the costume of ceremony: he was sent by the governor, to wish the ambassador a happy new year. He told us that another courier had been dispatched to Jedo the day before, to hasten the answer. On the second, as the last festival-day, a little box was brought full of roasted pease, which were strewed about every corner of the house, to drive away the devil and all evil spirits. On the fourth, the ornaments of the new year were taken away, and little boughs of fruit were set before the entrance of the doors,

as a sign of approaching spring. As the recovery of our wounded Japanese appeared very uncertain, on the fifth a third physician was called in.

The paper of this country being very thin, light, and strong, consequently well adapted to the construction of a Mongolfier, I determined on making one: it was about ten feet in diameter, and fifteen feet high. Some interpreters and several Japanese officers came to us on the sixth, and were highly gratified with the spectacle of the first balloon ever sent up in Japan. It rose to a considerable height, but then got a little rent in the upper part, so that it fell in the town of Nangasaki. From the burning spirit attached to it, the globe began to take fire soon after it had fallen, and so great a quantity of smoke issued from it, that the people had the idea of its being a fire-ball. They immediately extinguished the flame, and carried it to the governor, when the interpreters explained the matter to him. If he had been a less reasonable man, the affair might have been attended with very disagreeable consequences; as it was, he only desired that if I sent up a balloon again I would chuse a time when the wind would carry it towards the sea, and not towards the land.

On the eighth, several interpreters came to take leave of us: they were going to Jedo, to carry the emperor some presents in the name of the Batavian Company. Either these merchants find the journeys too expensive any longer to go themselves on such occasions, or the permission to do so has of late years been refused them.

Information was at this time sent us from the governor, that a very distinguished civil magistrate had set out from Jedo, who would be at Nangasaki in a month, and would bring a decisive answer with respect to the embassy. Sufficient reason was here given to doubt very much whether our expected journey to Jedo would take place. All possible assistance was given us in repairing the ship, and we were even offered voluntarily a more roomy place for carrying on the work in case it was necessary.

On the twelfth and thirteenth, the different articles of the new year's gifts were burnt, and a figure was hung in the middle of the door of every house, which was to prevent the entrance of illness.

Nothing particular occurred till the twentieth. The ambassador found himself much indisposed, complaining of rheumatic pains and oppression upon the chest; he was besides, very naturally, chagrined and mortified, as the representative of a great monarch, to find himself so confined and restrained, as if he had been a state prisoner; this not a little increased his malady. The governor often sent interpreters and Banjos to inquire after his health. His continued indisposition induced him at length to consult the Japanese physician who came every day to visit his wounded countryman; he gave him a faithful account of his ailments, and begged his advice as to the remedies by which they might be cured.

The physician immediately entered upon an examination of his new patient. The most striking part of it was, that he felt

his belly very much, and instead of applying to the pulse, held his head hard against the breast to feel the beating of the heart. The Japanese officers were present, and consented that the physician should give the ambassador some medicines from his chest; they were simples, of which a sort of tea was made to promote perspiration. The same evening some other officers arrived, sent, as they said, by the governor, with a request that these medicines might be returned, and that the ambassador would intimate in writing his wish to be attended by a Japanese physician.

The next morning came an interpreter, to whom the ambassador had the day before given a verbal commission, to request permission of the governor to be attended by a Japanese physician. The answer he brought was, that the person of the ambassador being of so much importance, it was necessary to proceed with caution, lest, if the illness should terminate unhappily, the Russian emperor should demand satisfaction of the Emperor of Japan. He must request, therefore, that the wish to be attended by a Japanese physician should be signified in writing.

Upon this, Major Von Friderici wrote a letter in the name of the ambassador, apologizing that his illness prevented his writing himself. In the evening came several officers and interpreters, who did not require to see the ambassador, but only to speak with some of the officers belonging to the embassy, and with me as principal physician. They were commissioned by the governor to say that he was much surprised at finding the ambassador desirous of consulting a Japanese physician,

since it was universally known how much the Europeans were considered as superior to the people of Japan in medical knowledge, and that there were three doctors in medicine attached to the expedition, (he meant Doctor Espenberg, Doctor Tilesius, and myself.) He must, therefore, suppose the danger to be very great, and could not possibly give the permission desired, unless the ambassador's physician and all the cavaliers of the embassy would declare in writing that it was to the last degree necessary. Neither I nor any other person could say this with a safe conscience, besides it would occasion no small delay, especially as the interpreters did not know, even supposing it done, what answer would be given by the governor. On my assurance, therefore, that a crisis must be expected the following night, and that it would be too late to wait for the morning, they were satisfied.

The next day his excellency found himself so much better, that the attendance of the Japanese physician was no longer desirable. Some of our officers with much difficulty obtained the use of their fowling-pieces for a short time, to clean them, and preserve them from becoming entirely rusty.

On the twenty-seventh some interpreters came on board the Nadeschda, ostensibly to inquire after the health of Captain Krusenstern; but the real motive of their visit seemed to be that they wished to know how the repairs were going on, and to see whether the ship would soon be in a state to sail. They afterwards came to make inquiries after the ambassador. Among other things, they now said the governor had received intelligence by a courier just arrived from Jedo, that a dis-

tinguished civil magistrate would be dispatched by the emperor to Nangasaki upon our business, who would set out on the eighteenth of February. At this the ambassador could not refrain from expressing his astonishment that he was so repeatedly put off with untruths, since on the eighth of February he had been told that this *Great Man* was already upon his route, and would be at Nangasaki in a month.

On the first of March the remainder of the fowling-pieces were brought to us spontaneously to be cleaned, without our having given even a hint upon the subject. From a private conversation with the interpreters, we were led to suppose that every thing respecting the future trade with Russia was already determined upon, and that the magistrate from Jedo would bring with him all the necessary documents, so that no hope seemed to remain of our going ourselves to that capital.

We had now for some time had scarcely any intercourse with the Japanese: some interpreters only came from time to time to inquire after the ambassador's health, and to see the progress made in repairing the ship; but we could learn nothing with respect to the event of our embassy. At length, on the twelfth of March, an interpreter told us that he doubted much whether our journey to Jedo would take place: it seemed probable, he said, that the *Great Man* who was on his route to Nangasaki, and who would arrive in ten days, would be empowered to conclude the business with us, so that we might be ready, conformably with our wishes, to sail in April or May.

In the following days preparations for our departure were set about very seriously: the men began to carry the tackling on board, and put it in order for sailing. With regard to provisions, an interpreter told us that we might have plenty of biscuit, rice, and salt, free of expence, as the government considered it a duty in some measure to repay us for the quantity of provisions we must have consumed in coming from Russia to Japan. On the twenty-sixth a very heavy storm came on, accompanied with showers of rain. The west wind was so powerful, that though our ship was moored with two anchors, it was driven fifty fathom from its place, and was in great danger of running upon a sand-bank. A third anchor was thrown out, when the wind abated, and a smart thunder storm concluded the series of foul weather. It seemed indeed the time of year for tempestuous weather in these parts, as we had had four very stormy days since the seventeenth of March.

CHAPTER XIII.

Recapitulation of what had passed at Nangasaki.—The Arrival of the GREAT MAN *from Jedo announced to the Ambassador.—Discussions concerning the Manner in which the Ambassador was to be received.—His first Audience of Ceremony.—His second Audience for Business.—His third Audience to take Leave.*

IN this way did we pass several months in the place assigned us at Megasaki, shut up under locks and bolts. We had scarcely any intercourse with the Japanese, for even the interpreters could not visit us without a special permission from the governor; they came therefore but seldom, and not unless urged to it by particular business. Our principal occupation during this time was to clear the ship, to bring the presents on shore, and to unpack and set them in order. The repairs of the ship besides occupied our attention; and, strange enough, whatever was wanted in this way we might ask for freely, and it was brought immediately. As to every thing else, provisions excepted, we could not make any purchase without asking permission of the governor, and this was often refused, or if granted, not without great difficulty; even such trifles as a live bird or a tobacco-pipe were sometimes refused. Provisions of every kind were furnished us free of expence. We were put off with fair words from one month to another. All possible free-

dom was promised us as soon as the answer should be received from Jedo, with a free intercourse between the two nations.

After waiting about two months, the arrival of a *Great Man* or messenger from Jedo was announced to us, when the whole matter seemed immediately to assume a new face. Our hopes of a journey to the capital diminished every day; the interpreters examined more minutely than before into the progress made in repairing the ship, and at length nothing remained but the hope of being able to establish a friendly intercourse of trade.

He who would put himself in our place can yet have but a very imperfect idea how disagreeable we found our situation. After encountering many storms, and experiencing much inconvenience, we had at last reached an interesting foreign country, where we hoped to be received, if not as friends, at least as strangers of distinction, entitled to all possible deference and respect. Instead of this, we were treated as criminals or state prisoners, confined in a place at the utmost not exceeding a hundred paces in the square, where we were locked up and watched on every side. This was equally hard and unjust.

Spring was now coming on: all nature began to be alive, and we were shut out entirely from the view of so charming a spectacle by immense barricadoes of bamboo canes;—being deprived besides of our arms, we were wholly at the mercy of this suspicious nation. All means of exerting ourselves for the promotion of science and knowledge were precluded, so that the

mind grew contracted for want of freedom and a wider range in which it might expand itself. The fish alone brought to us as provisions afforded an object for scientific investigation, and by secret promises we at length prevailed upon our caterer to bring us every time different kinds of fish: with these, Counsellor Tilesius and myself sometimes entertained ourselves very agreeably. We were not only precluded from all purchases, but were equally prohibited making the most trifling present to any Japanese. Some insignificant objects, such as Indian ink, a couple of pictures, some fans, tobacco-pipes, &c. were brought us secretly by such of the interpreters as were the most in our confidence; but in so doing they incurred the risk of an examination; and if they had been detected their lives would probably have atoned the misdemeanour.

On the twenty-seventh of March, to our great joy, it was announced to us in due form on the part of the governor, that the *Great Man* from Jedo, with the emperor's answer, was expected at Nangasaki in two days. From our guards we learnt on the thirtieth that this bearer of his master's pleasure had been in the town several days, but it was not till the second of April that the intelligence of his arrival was communicated to us. We also remarked that it was a long time since we had seen any interpreters. At length, on the third, some appeared, who, besides announcing the arrival of the *Great Man*, invited the ambassador to an audience the next day at the governor's house: they said, moreover, that they were commissioned to regulate the ceremonies proper to be observed upon the occasion.

On this subject they informed the ambassador that the next morning, at eight o'clock, an Opperbanjos would come to conduct him to the governor's house. As the way by water was the shortest, it was proposed that he should go in the Prince of Fisi's barge to the great stairs of Ochatto (the Muscle), where he would be received by a civil and military guard, and from thence he would proceed to the governor's in a large Norimon or Sedan-chair, accompanied by several *Great Men*. This distinction, however, must be confined to him alone, the officers of his train must go on foot. They assured him, that the Norimon was very roomy and convenient, and that this mode of conveyance was confined entirely to the Daïmios, the most distinguished personages of the country. When arrived at the governor's house, he would be introduced into a separate chamber by himself, and the officers of his train into another, there to *rest* till the opening of the audience. We observed that they avoided making use of the term *wait*. This was all, they said, done from particular respect, as it was the custom of the country that *Great Men* should at all times be separated from the inferior servants of the government. The ambassador, however, begged to decline this distinction, and requested that his officers might be in the same apartment with himself.

In the Hall of Audience, the interpreters proceeded, the ambassador alone could be permitted to enter, since this was a place sacred only to the very greatest people of the country; and the Dutch never were allowed to come farther than the antiehamber. To this the ambassador made many objections, and after much discussion, this point, together with the

request not to be separated from his officers, were committed to writing, and reserved for the governor's decision.

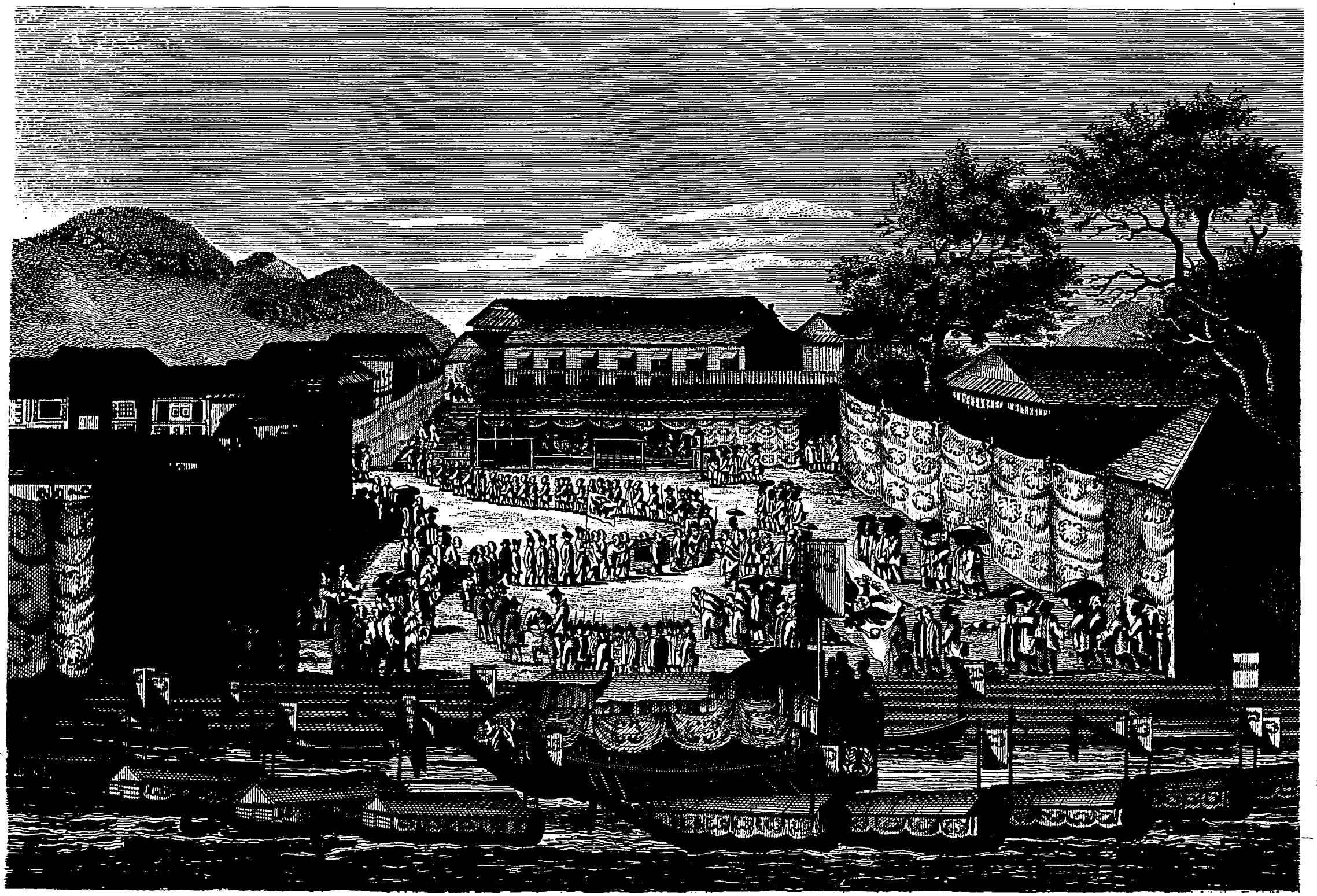
As to the question of compliments, the Japanese required that the ambassador, according to the customs of their country, should kneel to the governor and to the representatives of the emperor, and then bow the head, in the manner that has been mentioned, as a customary token of respect. Both these things the ambassador refused, and declared that he would salute these *Great Men* only after the European fashion, and in the same manner that he would pay his respects to his own emperor. With much difficulty, and after a good deal of discussion, this point was conceded to him. The interpreters farther desired to know in what position the ambassador would remain during the audience. As, according to the oriental custom, the use of chairs was unknown in Japan, and the people sat, or rather knelt, upon the capets and mats, they hoped he would find it convenient to comply with this fashion, one which the greatest princes in the country were bound to observe, and that he would, like the *Great Man* from Jedo and the governor, kneel upon soft stuffed straw mats. This the ambassador at first refused, saying, that he would stand in the same manner as he would do in the presence of his own emperor: on being repeatedly urged upon the subject, however, and on being assured that this would be the most disrespectful thing he could possibly do, he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways. The interpreters also intreated that the ambassador would not think of wearing his sword in the Hall of Audience, assuring him that notwithstanding the *Great People*, as he had seen, usually wear two swords, they were always laid aside in that place.

After many animadversions, the ambassador yielded this point, assuring the interpreters that he did so only as a proof of his great respect for the Emperor of Japan.

The persons selected to attend the ambassador to the audience were Major Von Friderici, Counsellor Von Fosse, Captain Foedoroff, Lieutenant Koscheleff, and myself. It was impossible to make the Japanese consent that the guard of honour, with their muskets, should attend: the utmost to be obtained was, that a soldier should carry the Imperial Russian standard behind the ambassador as a mark of distinction. In the evening the interpreters came with the governor's answer, that the cavaliers of the embassy should be allowed to remain in the same apartment with the ambassador; and two of them should be admitted with him into the Hall of Audience.

On the fourth of April, at eight in the morning, the Banjos and interpreters appeared. The Prince of Fisi's barge, decorated with flags and hangings of silk and cotton, received the ambassador and his train. A number of smaller boats, all carrying the flags of Fisi, accompanied it.

Arrived at the stairs of Ochatto, we landed, and his excellency was received by several Japanese of great distinction. A numerous civil guard was in waiting here, bearing many insignia of honour, and all were kneeling in rows one behind the other. The houses, as well by the water-side as all round the place, with the fortresses and guard-houses, were covered with hangings, on which were the imperial arms and those of Fisi, so that we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor



Engraved by J.Storer.

Landing of the Ambassador and Procession to the Governors House.

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could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged on by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings. We were, however, in the main, unseen by the inhabitants, while our own eyes were equally restrained from making our observations upon them or their town. This was not only the case at the landing-place, but in all the principal streets through which we passed; and if, in some of the cross streets, the hangings did not cover the houses entirely, their place was supplied by straw mats or trellis-work. The reason of this, the interpreters told us, was, that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *Great a Man* as the ambassador face to face.

When we had landed upon the great place of Ochatto our procession was arranged in the following order. First marched about forty persons of various ranks, among whom were several Banjos, every one followed by an attendant: next followed six Imperial soldiers without their muskets, but carrying long staves: after them came the Norimon, in which was the ambassador: it was carried by four persons, and followed by the standard-bearer carrying the Imperial Russian standard: then came the cavaliers of the embassy, with a number of civil magistrates and interpreters: afterwards a guard of sixteen or twenty Japanese soldiers, with an officer on horseback: and lastly, a great number of inferior officers of state and magistrates, with a long train of servants.

The procession passed through several streets, the names of which were, taking them in the order that they came, Hokowra Mass, Omuru Mass, Mottofacata Mass, Foru Mass, Honkose

Mass, Bungo Mass, Satura Mass, Kaschijamma Mass, Jooscha Mass: at the end of the latter is the governor's house. In all the streets were guard-houses ornamented with garlands, some smaller, some larger, some with a civil, some with a military guard. The streets are broad and clean, with wide kennels on each side to carry off the water, but are not all paved. Some have a single row of small stones, others of large square ones, down the middle. Of the houses, as I have already said, we could see little or nothing: they are chiefly of wood, only one story high, and with a great deal of trellis-work about the windows and doors.

At the door of the governor's house we were all obliged, the ambassador not excepted, to take off our shoes, that we might not dirty the straw mats or the finely varnished floors. This is an universal custom, and did not now appear surprising to us, as we had been so long accustomed to see the Banjos and interpreters come into our room at Megasaki without their shoes.

A vast number of officers were in attendance at the governor's house, both within and without. We were carried through a long and wide corridor, the floor of which was highly varnished, into an apartment, which, like our's at Megasaki, was covered with fine straw matting: the walls were ornamented with landscapes extremely well executed, but there was no kind of household furniture, such as tables, chairs, benches, or the like: all the wood-work about the doors and windows was finely polished and varnished. The light came through the adjoining corridors. Glass windows are a thing not to be seen

in Japan; thin paper stretched over the window-frames supplies their place. In the midst of the apartment to which we were now conducted were implements for smoking, consisting of pipes, tobacco-boxes, pans for lighted coal, and spitting vessels. A large porcelain spitting vase stood in one corner of the room. When we had finished smoking, tea was brought us without sugar: the cups were of porcelain, but massive, heavy, of ugly forms, and ill-painted; the tea was, according to the general judgment of our company, by no means good.

After a short half-hour the ambassador was introduced into the Hall of Audience, whither he was accompanied by Major Von Friderici and Lieutenant Koscheleff. The representative of the Japanese Emperor, and the governor, were kneeling nearly in the middle of the hall, and behind them were several persons holding their swords crossed, high over their heads. Thus it appeared that an untruth was told to the ambassador, when he was assured that no swords were allowed at the audience. The ambassador and the officers saluted the *Great Men* according to the European fashion, after which they retreated about six paces, and the interpreters knelt on each side of them. All round the hall were ranged some of the most distinguished persons of the country.

The first questions asked by the governor of the ambassador were, Why, and for what purpose, he had come to Japan? Why the Emperor of Russia had written to the Emperor of Japan, since Lieutenant Laxmann had been explicitly informed that this was forbidden, as contrary to the customs and laws of the country, and as absolutely inconsistent with propriety? Whe-

ther Lieutenant Laxmann had failed in making this known, and whether he was still alive? The governor then remarked, that though in the permission that had been produced leave was given for a trading vessel from Russia to come to Nangasaki for mercantile purposes, no mention whatever was made of an embassy. He concluded with asking the reason why no use had been made of this permission till after such a lapse of years? and why, having been so long neglected, it was at last brought forwards? The audience broke up about one o'clock, when we returned to Megasaki in the same order that we had come.

In the evening some interpreters came to tell the ambassador that he might have a second audience the following day if he wished it. The proposal was accepted; but at half-past seven in the morning it rained so hard that we all thought the audience must be postponed. About nine, however, the weather began to clear, and some Opperbanjos, with the interpreters, came to escort us to the governor's. We were ready to accompany them; but the ambassador thought it right to remark, that his officers could not go on foot, as the day before, since the streets would, in consequence of the heavy rain, be extremely dirty, and the governor's house was quite at the other end of the town. To this the Opperbanjos at first made many objections, but at length they dispatched some persons to the governor, to lay the matter before him, and to desire that Norimons might be prepared for the cavaliers of the embassy, while we were going by water from Megasaki to Ochatto. At the latter place, however, we were obliged to wait two hours on board the barge before we were informed that the five Nori-

mons were ready for the officers. A very heavy shower had fallen in the mean time, accompanied by thunder; but the barge was so well sheltered that we felt no inconvenience from it: we very tranquilly partook of the tea and pipes which had been prepared for us.

The captain of the barge was extremely polite and courteous. He wrote down the names of his guests, to keep them, he said, as a lasting memorial in his family of the honour he had received. We were not less observant of every thing around than the Japanese were of us, and remarked, among other things, a man who concealed himself behind some of his countrymen, and seemed occupied in drawing. We endeavoured to inspire him with confidence, and entreated him to shew us, without fear or diffidence, the interesting objects on which he was employed. He ventured, upon this, to exhibit his works, and we were not a little surprised at the talents displayed in them. He had in a short time taken a sketch of every thing remarkable which he saw about him; as, for instance, the three-cornered hat with feathers, worn by the ambassador, his star, and the ribband of his order, with the different insignia about the uniforms of the officers; their sabres, their swords, and the scabbards; their buttons, scarfs, and keys of office as chamberlains, their watch-strings and seals. The celerity and address with which he sketched, almost at a glance, so many objects entirely new to him, was beyond the talents of most European artists; for they were done with Indian ink, on the fine Chinese silk-paper, as it is called; and what steadiness in the strokes, what lightness of pencil must be required, to give the proper expression in drawing with such materials! The time that we

were detained here must have been of the greatest value to thi man.

About twelve o'clock we were informed that the Norimons were all ready; the procession, therefore, immediately began to move forwards, precisely in the same order as the day before, with the exception of the officers being in these vehicles instead of going on foot. The place, the houses, the streets, were also all in like manner hung with tapestries and matting.

Scarcely had we arrived at the governor's house before the ambassador was invited to the audience, whither he went, accompanied by Counsellor Fosse and Captain Foederoff. He soon returned to us, bringing in his hand a large roll of paper, which had been given him with great ceremony, and with a request that he would have it explained by the interpreters. These latter held up the roll to their foreheads, bowing their heads with profound respect, and then opening it with a sort of awe, said: "This is an extraordinary instance of favour shewn by the Emperor of Japan to the Russian ambassador: the paper contains nothing but friendship; but since it is written in the Japanese language, we are commissioned to explain, orally, the principal articles of its contents. In the sequel all will be faithfully translated, and committed to writing, that it may be understood with the utmost accuracy. This will be no trifling or easy task; for the paper is full of deep thought, and written with much attention and profound learning."

They then proceeded to make known to us the principal articles, which were as follows. "In former times, ships of all

nations were allowed to come freely to Japan, and the Japanese were in the habit of visiting foreign countries with equal freedom. A hundred and fifty years ago, however, an emperor had strictly enjoined his successors never to let the Japanese quit the country, and only to permit the Chinese, the Dutch, and the inhabitants of the Island Riukiu, with the Coreans, to come to Japan. For many years the trade with the latter had been broken off, and only that with the Chinese and Dutch had been kept up. Since that epoch several foreign nations had, at various times, endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan; they were always, however, repulsed, in consequence of the long-established prohibition, and because it was held dangerous to form ties of friendship with an unknown foreign power, which could not be founded on any basis of equality."

The interpreters here made a pause, and then proceeded. "Friendship," they said, "is like a chain, which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionally weak, the latter must of necessity, by use, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.

"Thirteen years before," they continued, "a Russian ship, with Lieutenant Laxmann, came to Japan, and a second was now arrived with an ambassador from the great Russian Emperor. That the one should be received with forbearance, and the other with friendship, could be permitted, and the Emperor

of Japan would gladly do whatever was in his power, consistently with adhering to the laws; he could and would, therefore, consider the arrival of the second Russian ship as a proof of the great friendship borne him by the Emperor of Russia.

"This powerful monarch had sent him an ambassador with a number of costly presents. If they were accepted, the Emperor of Japan must, according to the customs of the country, which are considered as laws, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is a strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.

"Japan has no *great* wants, and has therefore little occasion for foreign productions: her few *real* wants, as well as those that she has contracted by custom, are richly supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things she does not wish to see introduced. It would besides be very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and the foreign sailors; and this is a thing strictly prohibited."

The ambassador now made many protestations that he did not come with any idea of receiving presents in return for what he had brought; and added, that if the Emperor would not accept any presents, he must insist upon paying for the pro-

visions, and materials for repairing the ship, with which we had been furnished. To this the Japanese answered, that these were not presents: the provisions were necessary for the support of life, and the other was only assistance imparted in a case of need: to give both freely was a duty of the government. At the same time they informed us, that the emperor had issued a particular order to supply the ship with provisions for two months of every sort that we deemed expedient or desired. He had ordered besides two thousand sacks of salt of thirty pounds each, and a hundred sacks of rice of a hundred and fifty pounds each, with two thousand bundles of the finest Japanese raw silk, to be given us; the two former were for the crew, the latter for the officers. These the ambassador refused, saying, that if the emperor declined accepting his presents, he could not possibly accept the articles offered.

While these discussions were going on, pipes had been brought us, and tea without sugar, with some sugared things as refreshments. The latter were upon separate sheets of paper for each person, and consisted of a variety of articles bound together with a sugar-work, which had all the appearance of a very pretty striped ribband.

After the interpreters had explained the emperor's pleasure, they brought a small roll of paper, which was addressed by the governor to the ambassador. Its principal contents were, to recommend that our ship, immediately on leaving the harbour, should stand out to sea to a considerable distance, as the coast, upon account of the rocks and frequent storms, was extremely dangerous; and to request, that if in future any Japanese

should be thrown upon the Russian coasts, they might be consigned to the Dutch, who would transport them to Batavia, whence they might easily return to Japan.

Our audience being now at an end, about four in the afternoon we were carried back in the Norimons to Ochatto, but without any train, and thence proceeded by water to Megasaki. The whole day was very cloudy, with some heavy showers of rain, which only contributed to increase the gloom in our minds created by our disappointment. As it was doubtful whether our audience might not be protracted to a late hour in the evening, preparations had been made for illuminating all the streets through which we were to pass: at every four or five paces a post of about two feet high was stuck into the ground, to which was fastened a paper lantern.

On the sixth, the interpreters came to talk once more with the ambassador, in the name of the governor, about the provisions and the silk. They assured us that the governor could not do any thing in the affair from his own judgment; he must obey the emperor's orders; and if the ambassador persisted in refusing the things offered, he must send a courier to Jedo to signify as much, which would prolong our stay at least two months. In order, therefore, to obtain our liberty, his excellency was obliged to accept the silk and provisions. The interpreters then asked whether it would be agreeable to him to have his audience for taking leave the next day, or whether he would defer it for some days. The ambassador chose the first, that he might quit Japan as soon as possible.

Towards noon, therefore, on the seventh of April, we passed again through the streets of Nangasaki; they were ornamented as before with hangings, and beset with guards. As it rained very hard, we were each provided with a new umbrella when we arrived at Ochatto, and were carried in our Norimons.

The audience consisted in a reciprocal exchange of compliments and friendly adieus. We were then conducted into an adjoining apartment, where were the two thousand bundles of silk sent by the emperor. The interpreters assured us that it would have been an extraordinary piece of ill-fortune to them if the ambassador had not permitted the officers to accept this present, since they would have been supposed to have ill-interpreted the emperor's orders, and this is a very heavy crime; they were therefore eloquent in their acknowledgments for the ambassador's condescension.

Thus ended our extraordinary embassy to Japan. Nothing now remained for us but to repack the presents destined for the emperor as soon as possible, and return them on board the ship, and to proceed with the utmost dispatch in all other preparations for our departure. While we were proceeding in them, we once more made an attempt to gain permission for visiting the Dutch at Desima, and one of the temples in or about Nangasaki, but we could not succeed in either.

After very urgent and repeated solicitations, the ambassador did at length obtain leave to make seven of the principal interpreters a trifling present in acknowledgment of the trouble we had given them; and the governors at length consented to

accept, as remembrances, the little pocket globe, with some maps and sketches of the different nations that compose the Russian empire.

The utmost exertions were now made to get the ship ready for sailing with all possible dispatch; and it was evident that the Japanese were not a little astonished, when on the sixteenth we announced that every thing was ready for our departure.

CHAPTER XIV.

Departure from Japan.—Voyage from thence to Kamschatka.—Cape and Straits of Sangaar.—Description of the West and North-West Coasts of Matmai, or Jesso.—Stay in Aniwa Bay.—Description of the same, with the South-East Coast of Sachalin, or Tschoka.—Departure from Tschoka, and Arrival in the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul.

THE presents we had brought with us being once more returned on board the ship, the water casks being filled, the provision of rice, salt, and biscuit allotted us by the emperor being safely stowed, and the Japanese documents, with the translation of them into Dutch, being remitted to the ambassador, nothing remained but to bid adieu to our irksome imprisonment at Megasaki. On the seventeenth, therefore, we went on board. Several of the interpreters and civil officers appeared to be really affected at our departure, and to lament sincerely that all hopes of an intercourse of trade being established between their country and our's must be finally relinquished.

Our departure was without any pomp and ceremony. Prince Tschingodsi had, some days before, entered upon his office of guardian of the harbour of Nangasaki for the ensuing year, and the embassy was conveyed to the ship by one of his barges of state. No sooner were we arrived on board, than the anchor was weighed, and we were towed by a hundred little boats to the

western side of the Papen mountain. We were accompanied by the Banjos who were upon guard, and some interpreters; and the powder and arms which we had been constrained to deliver up on our arrival were faithfully restored: the latter were in a very rusty condition. The imperial guard-house was now, as we passed it, but scantily decorated, and not with new hangings; nor did we see at our departure, as at our entrance, soldiers, with their muskets and standards, assembled to do us honour. Even the barge of the Prince of Tschingodsi was very inferior in splendor to that of the Prince of Fisi.

Early in the morning of the eighteenth we quitted the bay. Our hasty departure must have given the Japanese no ill opinion of the nautical talents of the Russians; for we learnt from the interpreters the day before that they expected we should, like the Dutch, linger in the bay for at least a week before we were ready to proceed. They had therefore, unsolicited by us, promised, in the name of the governor, that we should be furnished daily with fresh provisions to the moment of our departure, even though it should not take place for several weeks. The sails were set late in the evening of the seventeenth; and early in the morning, before the guard-boats, which had never quitted us, could fairly see what was going on, we were under sail. Many of them, when they perceived it, strained every nerve to keep us company, but a brisk gale from the south-south-east carried us on so fast, that they were soon left at a distance, and obliged to return.

Captain Krusenstern had for some time determined upon returning to Kamschatka along the western coast of Japan,

through the sea of Corea, and passing the straits of Sangaar, to examine the west and north-west shores of Matmai or Jesso, with the eastern coast of Tschoka. By this course he would be enabled to prosecute farther the discoveries made by the unfortunate and ever to be lamented La Perouse. The voyage, therefore, which I am about to describe, will be found well worthy of attention, since very few Europeans have at any time navigated the sea of Corea; and our excellent captain is the first who ever thought of making the parts above-mentioned a principal object of their scientific researches.

Geographers, and those who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of our globe, are consequently under considerable obligations to him; and we, who were the sharers in his voyage, must for ever feel grateful in reflecting, that through his exertions we were enabled to become acquainted with a part of the world so rarely frequented. Although the second part of Captain Krusenstern's work on this subject is, at the very time I am writing, already in the press, yet I trust that I shall not be condemned if I am here somewhat diffuse in my geographical descriptions, or if I interweave with my own remarks the nautical and astronomical questions he has so ably decided, referring my readers to his maps for the elucidation of my descriptions.

On the eighteenth, in the evening, a brisk south-east wind rose, and in the night, amidst cloudy and rainy weather, we passed a strait, thirty-two miles over, between the little island called *Asses-ears* and Cape Gotto. A strong wind and high sea carried us rapidly forwards on the nineteenth in a north-north-

easterly direction, and in the evening we were already in the neighbourhood of the island of Tsus *. At day-break on the twentieth we saw it to the north, and determined its northernmost point to be in latitude 34° 40′ 30″ north, longitude 230° 30′ 30″ west.

Contrary winds, fog, and rain, prevented us following the opposite coast of Japan, which we saw in the east towards evening. We could still however catch a glimpse of it at intervals on the twenty-second and twenty-third, at the following degrees: latitude 35° 15′, 35° 45′, 36° 1′, 36° 14′ north, longitude 227° 40′, 217° 10″ west. On the thirtieth of April we again approached the western coast of Japan, to seek for Cape Sangaar, and ascertain its situation; and the following day we discovered a very high cape in latitude 39° 50′, longitude 220° 16′

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* This island is called by the Japanese *Tsus-sima;* by the Chinese, *Tui-ma-tao*, that is, island of the *opposite standing horses.* It has a very deep bay on the western side, which begins at the two promontories of Kukuissaki and Ossaki, and runs very far into the island. This bay is joined to the sea on the eastern side of the island by means of a canal, which is called the *Ship's Canal*, and by which the island is divided in two. The usual way taken by the Japanese to arrive at the harbour of Kokuyannoura, on the north side of the island, is to sail from the harbour of Karazu, in the province of Fisi, to the island of Iki, which is thirteen Japanese miles or *Ri*, from whence to the harbour above-named on Tsus-sima is forty-eight miles. From thence to the harbour of Tooscha (*a*) in Corea, at the mouth of the river Fusan, is again forty-eight miles. The principal place in the island of Tsus-sima is at the south-east point, and is called Jata, very near to which is the spacious and commodious harbour of Ooura: both are at the foot of a pretty high hill. The southernmost promontory of Tsus-sima is called Oos-saki, and the northernmost Toyos-saki: the latter lies between the islands of Kaito and Oonoscheto.—Julius Von Klaproth.

(*a*) The Tshosan of Captain Krusenstern's map.

To this Captain Krusenstern gave the name of *Promontory of the Russians* *.

On the second of May, the weather being very clear, we were pretty near the land, so that we could plainly distinguish a town in latitude 40° 50′ north, longitude 219° 54′ west; we could also see several little boats lying at anchor. A large bay is here formed round a flat and sandy shore, which is bounded by two high hills, forming very prominent land-marks. The town seemed tolerably large, and the country round, to judge by the colour of the ploughed lands, by the meadows, and by the woods, must be both fertile and beautiful. The harbour, if there be one here, may very probably be formed by the mouth of a river, and may be presumed useful to vessels, which, like those of Japan, do not require any great depth of water. At three miles from the shore the water was no more than twenty-five fathom deep. In the back ground of the fine landscape before us high mountains reared their snow-clad summits. We saw a number

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* This great peninsula is called by the Japanese Votoko-issikas-simi; that is, the *Stag's Island;* the hill upon it has the name of Joo-moto, and the south-western promontory that of Nankaba or Komo (*a*). On the second of May the ship was opposite to the plain and forest at the issue of the Rossiro-gawa, which in some Japanese maps is called Rodai. The snowy mountains which were seen from this spot separate the provinces of Dewa and Ooschin, and have no particular name. On the western side of the province of Ooschin, which the ship passed on the third of May, are the two striking promontories of Nangasaki and Torüs-saki, the latter being the northernmost. Behind these is a high mountain called Twaki-jama; and eastward from the latter is the striking town of Fümenai, on a river which flows into the sea almost at the north-west point of Japan.—Julius Von Klaproth.

(*a*) The latter is called in Captain Krusenstern's map the *Promontory of the Russians.*

of whales, and daily collected sea-weed of various kinds, particularly in the neighbourhood of the land.

Towards evening four boats, each carrying fifteen or twenty men, came towards us; but though we invited them in a very friendly manner, and in the Japanese language, to come on board, they would not venture. The construction of these boats, and the form of the oars, as well as the manner of rowing, was so different from what we had seen at Nangasaki, that we should scarcely have supposed them Japanese.

The next morning the wind was very favourable, and we ran along the coast at the rate of eight knots an hour. We saw several creeks and bays, and at length in the north perceived a high point of land projecting very far into the sea in latitude 40° 37′ 40″ north, longitude 220° 11′ 30″ west; to this was given the name of Cape Gamaley. A very high mountain, covered with snow, not far from the cape, in latitude 40° 40′ 40″, longitude 219° 49′, was named Peak Tilesius. In the afternoon, after much expectation, we at length came in sight of Cape Sangaar. This cape, with another now lying directly in the north, and which is the southernmost point of Jesso, form the entrance to the straits of Sangaar. To the latter was given the name of Cape Nadeschda after our ship. Cape Sangaar lies in latitude 41° 16′ 30″ north, longitude 219° 46′ west; Cape Nadeschda in latitude 41° 25′ 10″, longitude 219° 59′ 30″. The distance between the two capes is eighteen miles.

Later in the evening we approached the south-western coast of the island of Jesso, and remarked, in a very open insecure

bay, the considerable town of Matzumai *. We could distinguish the houses and temples very clearly with the assistance of our glasses; it lies in latitude 41° 32′, longitude 219° 56′. Somewhat to the south-west of this town are two islands, the westernmost and largest of which is called Oos-sima; the other has the name of Kos-sima, or the Little Island; the former is in latitude 41° 31′ 30″, longitude 220° 40′ 45″, the latter in latitude 41° 21′ 30″, longitude 220° 14′. They are the never-to-be-mistaken marks of the entrance of the straits of Sangaar.

The land of Jesso is here pretty high, and most of the mountains about were covered with snow: they have a volcanic appearance, are naked and barren, and are full of rugged irregular clefts. It is very probable that in the interior of the country, in parts sheltered from cold and strong winds, there may be pleasant and fertile vallies; but about the town of Matzumai the country is so desert and sandy, that it would have been

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* Matzumai is the name of the principal town upon the island of Jesso; it signifies the *Town of Firs*. The island itself is never called Matmai, but by the Japanese Jesso, and in the Chinese language Chia-y, which signifies crabs (*a*). The harbour of Matzumai is inconvenient and insecure even for Japanese vessels. Before it lies the little island of Besaite; this is considered as holy ground by the Japanese, for which reason they have built a temple upon it. To the south-east of the town lies Ssirakamis-saki, the most southern promontory of the island; and eastward of that are two convenient harbours for small ships. Farther east is the harbour of Chakotade, near which are several Japanese farms; and some way farther within the land is the habitation of the Kurilian interpreter. Along the whole south-west side of the island are a great number of *Fuci*, particularly that called by the Japanese *Kombie*, and which they make use of as food.—JULIUS VON KLAPROTH.

(*a*) *Chia* are a sort of small sea-crabs, called in German *Garneelen*, in Spanish *Camarones*, and in English *Shrimps*.

difficult to conceive how the numerous population could find wherewithal to sustain their existence, if we had not previously learnt at Nangasaki that the whale-fishery was the principal support not only of the whole island of Jesso, but of Nipons to the north of it. We observed many little vessels under sail in the bay, and many more at anchor before the town, without being able to determine where the harbour could be.

Early in the morning of the fourth we still saw the straits of Sangaar, though from the force of the current we had been carried in the night to some distance from them. We directed our course to Oos-sima, the westernmost of the two small islands, which is about six miles in circumference, and steered northwards between that and Kos-sima through a channel about twenty miles over. Both islands are steep, rugged, and not habitable, appearing to be of volcanic origin. Towards noon we perceived a third island, Okosiri, which is much flatter than the others: it lies westward of Jesso, and to the north of Oos-sima, in latitude 42° 9′, longitude 220° 30′. It is considerably larger than either of the others, being eleven miles long and five broad: at the south-western end it rises gently above the sea. It has a pleasant and fertile appearance, being well covered with wood, but appears notwithstanding to be uninhabited. We did not perceive boats, houses, or smoke, along any part of the coast.

After we had sailed round this island, early in the morning of the fifth we approached the island of Matmai, on which we discovered in the fore-ground a thick smoke ascending from a valley behind a hill, and far back in the perspective a chain of

mountains covered with snow. A high promontory in the neighbourhood, in latitude 42° 38′, longitude 219° 59′ was called by us Cape Kutusoff*. It was almost a dead calm, and the weather being very fine, we had an opportunity of comparing the face of nature here at this time of the year with what is to be seen at the same time in Europe. There every thing is in flower, and excellent fruits of various kinds are now to be found: here even the lowest mountains and the fields were covered with snow.

On the sixth we came in sight of another lofty promontory, which we called Cape Novosilzoff; behind it was a very deep bay, which appeared almost as if it would afford a passage through it †. Under the idea of this possibility, and with high-raised expectation, we began to examine it. On the southern shore we saw a volcano sending up vast columns of smoke, and several other hills with rounded summits: it appeared singular that the smoke was ascending from a very inconsiderable hill,

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* This promontory is called in Japanese Chokossinossaki. On the south side of it are the last Japanese habitations on the west side of the island; northwards from thence the farms of the natives, *Ainu*, begin. Still farther north lies the promontory to which Captain Krusenstern gave the name of Cape Novosilzoff, but which is here called Komoinossaki.

† According to the Japanese maps there is no passage through here; but at the end of the bay is a large river, which comes from a lake called Issikari, four Japanese miles or *Ri* in circumference. This lake is formed by the junction of several small rivers. It is separated from two other lakes by a low ridge of hills, and these lakes have a communication with the sea on the eastern side of the island. South of this bay is the high Peak Ssiribetsu, at the foot of which rises a little river which falls into the sea north of Cape Chokossinossaki. To the north-west of this is another peak called Yuuben, which lies on the eastern side of the island.—Julius Von Klaproth.

while a high peak close by gave no indication of being a volcano. To the highest and most considerable of these hills the name of Peak Rumoffski was given: it lies in latitude 42° 50′ 15″ north, longitude 218° 48′ 30″ west. We could not proceed far into the bay, but were obliged, on account of the adverse south-winds, to tack about there the whole day.

In the morning of the seventh a favourable south-west wind rose, which enabled us to penetrate farther into the bay; but it was soon obvious that the hope of a passage through must be abandoned. The land kept constantly approaching nearer and nearer to the south-east, the depth of water decreased at every sounding, and its saltness was sensibly diminished: nothing therefore remained but to return, deceived in our expectations. We now steered towards the northern promontory which borders this gulf: to this was given the name of Cape Malespina: it lies in latitude 45° 42′ 15″, longitude 218° 41′ 30″.

On the eighth, in the forenoon, we observed two small islands*, Teurire and Janikeseri, in the north-east, about ten miles from the island of Matmai or Jesso: the one lies in latitude 44° 27′ 45″, longitude 218° 43′ 15″, the other in latitude 44° 28′ 45″, longitude 218° 37′ 45″. We continued to follow the coast of Jesso at a distance till the tenth of May, when we reached its

* The westernmost of these islands is called, in the language of the country, Teumus-siri, and the other Ankes-siri. They are, according to the Japanese maps, ten miles, or *Ri*, asunder. Some of the Japanese maps call the first island *Feure*, perhaps this is the Japanese name for it. Eastward of these islands, upon the island of Jesso, is a high peak called Yullbetsu.—Julius Von Klaproth.

north-western point: here we saw a high peak, which we afterwards recognized to be the Peak De Langle *, mentioned by La Perouse as on the north-west coast of Matmai. This round-headed hill, with its snowy head, which appears so remarkable at a distance, now lay directly before us. It is not, as La Perouse believed, upon the island of Matmai, but forms a separate island of itself.

The wind being extremely favourable, before noon on the eleventh we reached the most north-western point, called by the inhabitants Soya, but which Captain Krusenstern named Cape Romanzoff: it lies in latitude 45° 25′ 50″ north, longitude 218° 25′ 30″ west. Scarcely had we perceived that it was inhabited, before a little boat came out from the land and approached us. It contained four persons, who had coarse lank hair upon their heads, and long thick beards, with dirty white garments. Though they rowed directly up to the ship, they would not come on board upon our invitation, but after having contemplated us awhile, rowed back again to the shore. Towards ten o'clock we discovered behind Cape Romanzoff a large bay open to the north: here we cast anchor in ten fathom water, about two miles from the shore. A thick fog had a short time before shut out the Peak and the

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* Peak de Langle is called by the inhabitants of Jesso Rüs-siri: it is twenty miles, or *Ri*, distant from Teumus-siri. Opposite to Peak De Langle, on the western side of Jesso, is the high peak Akanuno. North of Peak De Langle lies the island of Nebunos-siri, or Rifunos-siri; and north-west of it another island called Issigorotan, or Isschorotan; and to these follow the south-western point of the island of Tschoka. This point is called by the inhabitants of Jesso, Ssari, and the south-east point is called Karafuto: the latter is considered by them as a separate island.—Julius Von Klaproth.

neighbouring country from our view. It was not long before several boats, like the first, came to us. Some of the people, with our consent, immediately came on board. They saluted us by rubbing the palms of their hands together, and then raising the hand slowly several times towards heaven; after which they stroked their beards from the chin to the breast, and then threw themselves on their knees exactly in the Japanese fashion, repeating a compliment in like manner. The expression of their countenances was friendly and benevolent: they had tolerably large eyes, rather high cheek-bones, a somewhat broad and compressed nose, and among most the cheeks and chin were overgrown with long thick black beards. They had a language of their own, but understood some Japanese words, and as far as we could comprehend them, seemed to disavow being Japanese, or belonging to Japan. They called themselves *Aïno* or *Aïnu* *.

When we asked them about Matmai, they pointed towards the south; hence we concluded that they did not give this name to the whole island, only to the town of Matmai or Matzumai. They drank the brandy offered them without any hesitation,

* Aïno, or Aïnu, signifies, in the language of all the people who belong to the Kurilian tribes, *Man*, and is the name they give themselves. The Kurilians at Kamschatka call themselves Aïnu; those on the Kurilian islands call themselves Aïnuh; and those at Jesso and Tschoka Aïno; those in the neighbourhood of the river Amur say Aïnuh. According to my investigations as a linguist, the Kurilian tribes seem to be spread from the southernmost point of Kamschatka to Japan, over all this range of islands, and the whole coast of what is falsely called Chinese Tartary below the Amur, to the place where the Ussuri-Uka falls into the sea. The Giljaki of the Russian maps, the Yuibi and Gedsheum of the Chinese, belong to these tribes; the country therefore is improperly called Tungusi. The Kurilians inhabiting the continent call themselves and their language Fiatta.—Julius Von Klaproth.

and without making a wry face, emptying the last drop into the palms of their hands, which they then raised towards heaven, and again stroked their long beards. When they had been presented with some trifles, such as knives, nails, looking-glasses, &c. they returned to their boats, and made signs to us to come and visit them on shore. A boat with a party accordingly put off from the ship; but as the *amateurs* of a land party were very numerous, and all could not go, I was obliged for once to control my inclinations, and remain on board. Scarcely had the boats, by which we had been visited, landed on the eastern shore of the bay, when another very large boat, not much unlike the Japanese ones, came out from the western side, and made towards our ship. In fact, there were four Japanese on board, who, to judge by their external appearance, were of the very lowest class of the people, probably fishermen.

They were extremely free and sociable in their behaviour, inquiring who we were, and telling us the names of the islands and country round. Shortly after came a better dressed Japanese in another boat: he was no less frank in his intercourse with us; and after what we had experienced at Nangasaki, this surprised us very much. He gave us to understand that he was a merchant, and offered us several Japanese things for sale, or rather for barter; among them were lackered wooden drinking cups, razors, tobacco-pipes, books with wooden cuts, which the Japanese are forbidden, on pain of death, to sell to strangers, but which are tolerably well known in Europe under the name of Chinese bibles.

On the following morning I went on shore with another party. The surf was so strong upon the flat sandy beach, that our boat could not get over it, and an Aïnu, whose habitation lay very near, came out with his little boat, into which we removed, and were landed in safety. Our conductor then led us to his miserable hut : it was constructed with trunks of trees as the main supports, the walls and roof being covered with straw. Behind the house, and before the entrance of it, were a number of poles and trees decorated with a sort of garlands, probably with some religious view. The inside of the hut consisted of only one apartment ; in the middle of it was a fire, round which the whole family, consisting of an old woman, a young girl, and several men, were sitting. Over the fire hung an iron kettle, in which they were dressing fish.

I soon quitted this company to take a walk along the shore. Here I found various sorts of sea-weed, as the *Fucus saccharinus*, *Fucus perforatus*, *Fucus graminoides*, and *Fucus siliquosus*, with many others wholly unknown to me. Among the remains of different sorts of shells I found those of the *Nautilus papyraceus*. I also found several large nuts, which resembled very much our Italian nut, *Nux juglans* : where they grew, however, or how they came there, or indeed what claim they had properly to be called nuts, I could not discover. The principal stone on the shore was a hardened argile, into which the *Pholasses* had penetrated in great abundance. The plants were very backward in their growth. I saw the *Caltha palustris*, Angelica of several sorts, *Fumaria*, *Equisetum*, and *Allium*. A bog, in which grew a reed of no great strength or size, stretched along the shore to the foot of the nearest hill. This hill is steep, but

not very high. Patches of snow were lying about in different parts. Firs and birches were the principal trees that fell under my observation. The shore was in many places intersected by crystal streams, on the banks of which the habitations were placed.

I saw every where a great many dogs, which seemed of the same breed with those of Kamschatka, only much smaller. I afterwards learnt that here, as well as there, they are made use of as draught animals, and harnessed in the winter to sledges. Bears were to be seen, domesticated, about almost all the houses: they are taken when young, fed carefully, and at length, when arrived at a proper age, killed and eaten as dainties. Among the furs worn by these people, I observed a small silver-grey skin of an animal wholly unknown to me. The inhabitants make their winter clothing of these as well as of bear and dog skins. During my absence from the ship, some sea-otter skins had been carried thither for sale; it is therefore to be presumed that this animal is common here as well as at the Kurile islands.

The habitations do not lie at any great distance from each other: I counted seven large ones in the space of not more than a German mile, each of which seemed to have from fifteen to twenty grown men belonging to it. Most of the women ran away when I came near a house; a few only stayed, concealing themselves behind their husbands, for the purpose, as it appeared, of gaping at me. The men were little, at the utmost not more than five feet and a half in height, but strong built and muscular; the women were still smaller, with coarse black

lank hair hanging from their heads, and bluish lips. I could not discover whether this was their natural colour, whether it was produced by tattooing, or was the effect of some kind of tint given them. Some of our party insisted upon it that they had seen women with their arms tattooed.

At Soya, the most western point of land, some Japanese are established under a civil officer. They are here by order of the Japanese government to watch the coast; and the officer, with two sabres at his side, came in virtue of his office on board our ship to inquire who we were, and with what views we were come. At first he would not believe that we were Russians, because we had short unpowdered hair; whereas the Russians who came with Lieutenant Laxmann, whom he had known, wore their hair dressed and powdered.

He entreated, or rather commanded us, as soon as the weather was clear, to proceed on our route, since in case we did not, he must be under the necessity of sending information of our arrival to the government, and this might occasion us much embarrassment. He would not accept the smallest present, nor would he even drink a glass of the Japanese wine made from rice, called *Saki*, which we had brought with us from Nangasaki. He appeared to be a sensible man, and, as far as we could judge, well-informed; he shewed a good deal of geographical knowledge, and gave Captain Krusenstern some useful information respecting the names and situations of the neighbouring islands. He knew the name and situation of Kamschatka, and talked about Ochotsk and America.

Tschoka, or Sachalin*, he called a Tartarian island; and assured us that it was different from Karafuto, an island separated only by a narrow strait from the north of Jesso. Karafuto, he said, was only inhabited in the southern part, and that by some Japanese. From him we learnt that the part of Jesso inhabited by the Japanese, that is the southern part, is alone properly called Matmai, or Matzumai; perhaps he even meant to confine that name to the town. The proper name of the island, he said, is Jesso, and the inhabitants are called Aïnu. It is very probable that in ancient times Jesso was the name given to the whole island; but since the Japanese have driven the Aïnu to the north, and possessed themselves completely of the southern part of the island, the northern part only has retained its original appellation.

During my excursion, I came to the habitation of the Japanese merchant, as he called himself, who had visited us the day before. All about it were several hundred thousand herrings hung up to be dried. According to what he told us, he brings hither every year lackered wooden eating and drinking vessels, tobacco and tobacco-pipes, rice, kitchen utensils, coarse cotton cloth, and

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* It is very improper to call this island Sachalin, since the inhabitants call it Tschoka. The Mandschus, not knowing its name, might very probably call it *Saghalin-ann'gachoda*, that is, the island with the black mouth, because it lies opposite the mouth of the Amur, which is called by them *Saghalin-ula*, or the black river. *Saghalin* signifies *black*, and is not the name of the island: people are wrong in circulating such errors. This island is not under the dominion of the Mandschurian Chinese, as was once supposed, for in the great Chinese government geographical work called *Fai-zinn-y-tunn-dschi*, which appeared under *Kin-henns*, it is entirely omitted.—Julius Von Klaproth.

other things wanted by the Aïnu, for which he is amply paid in dried fish and furs. He assured me also that he visited most of the near and distant islands, even the Kurilian islands Urup and Iturup. By all that fell under my observation, it appears as if the Japanese took but little care of the Aïnu, for they are very ill clothed, and possess scarcely any even of the most necessary kitchen utensils. Some knives, a kettle, tobacco and pipes, fishing nets, a little rice, and some coarse cotton cloth, appear to constitute the whole of their possessions.

They shoot wild animals with poisoned arrows. The poison they use for this purpose is the thick sap of some plant, probably of a species of aconite which grows here in abundance. It is so subtle in its nature, that in a few minutes after the animal is wounded the blood rushes out of the mouth, nose, and ears. In this way they kill bears, wolves, foxes, sea-otters, &c. &c.

Although the Japanese visit the northern parts of Jesso, the southern of Tschoka, Karafuto, and the southern Kurile islands, and maintain a very close union with the Aïnu, the latter seem as little as any other nation to venture upon visiting any of the Japanese possessions. They are even precluded all intercourse with the principal town of their own country, Matmai, or Matzumai. The climate is much colder here than in many other countries in the same latitude. At this advanced season the plants were but just beginning to shoot, and very few firs were in blossom: the snow lay in many places at the foot of the hills, and the tops of them were covered with it. On the twelfth of

May, in the morning, Reaumur's thermometer was only two degrees above the freezing point, and at noon only six.

On the thirteenth, at daybreak, we weighed anchor. The weather had become clear, and we could see all the points and islands around very plainly. Our principal attention was directed to the island of Karafuto, as it is called in the Japanese maps, and which we could see in the horizon. We had scarcely quitted our anchoring-place, when all doubts as to our situation were cleared up; it was evident, both from the testimonies of the unfortunate La Perouse, and from our own observations, that the island of Karafuto, now seen in the north, was one and the same with Tschoka or Sachalin. What had been at first only presumption, was towards noon, when we observed the situation of Cape Crillon, and compared it with that of the rock *La Dangereuse*, reduced to a certainty.

The weather was fine, and the wind brisk, so that we soon approached Cape Crillon; but as night closed in we rather bore away from it again, in order to avoid the formidable rock *La Dangereuse*. It was now about five sea miles to the north, and we observed a capacious passage between that and the cape: on the morning of the fourteenth we indeed saw a Japanese vessel come through this passage. The rock lies in latitude 45° 47′ 15″ north, longitude 217° 51′ 15″ west.

As we approached this rock the next morning, we heard a very loud and continued noise, which we concluded at first to be the breakers dashing against it; but we afterwards, by the assistance of our glasses, discovered an innumerable quantity

of sea-lions, sea-dogs, and sea-calves, *Phoca*, from which we had no doubt it proceeded. At that distance it was impossible to determine the species of any of these animals. Some of them lay upon the rock, others had their heads only raised just above the water, making a most frightful howling.

Cape Crillon, which lies in latitude 45° 54′ 15″, longitude 217° 17′ 21″*, was now to the west of our course, while at a much greater distance in the eastern horizon we could discern Cape Aniwa, the south-eastern point of the island of Tschoka. At first we thought this cape appeared a separate island, since the northern part of the land is much lower than the southern, consequently was not so soon seen by us. The wind had somewhat freshened, so that we ran at the rate of seven or eight knots an hour towards the Gulf of Aniwa.

Towards four in the afternoon we could at length discern the low land, by which the two promontories that form the gulf are united, and towards evening we cast anchor in nine fathom water in the north-western part of the gulf, in the creek called by the Dutch Salmon Bay. Not far from us lay a one-masted Japanese vessel, and upon the land we saw several buildings entirely in the Japanese taste. The Japanese ship which we saw early in the morning pass by Cape Crillon had anchored in a little creek upon the eastern promontory.

Late in the evening I learnt that Lieutenant Ratmanoff pro-

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* The Translator has ventured here to mark the longitude as above. In the original it stands 217° 71′ 21′. As the 71′ must be a mistake, the probability is that it will be corrected by transposing the figures.

posed going on shore the next morning by four o'clock, in hopes of being able, if possible, to throw the nets. I begged, therefore, to be permitted to accompany him; and accordingly, on the fifteenth, nine of us set off in a boat upon our expedition. We steered towards the north and north-east part of the bay, in hopes of finding a river, but when we were got several miles from the ship, the surf was still so great all along the shore, that it was impossible to land; our boat had indeed, in making the attempt, been in the utmost danger of being dashed to pieces.

We followed the whole northern, and a great part of the north-eastern coast, at the distance of about a sea mile from the shore, and found in general from two to three fathom and a half of water. On the northern coast we passed the mouth of a river, but on account of the surf could not enter it. We had constantly about us a great number of whales, sea-mews, ravens, and wild ducks. We were already eight sea-miles from our ship, and had reached the northern part of Cape Aniwa, when, to our great joy, we arrived at a spot which we could wade through without any danger. And now, since we had gone so far, we resolved to visit the habitation before which we had seen the Japanese vessel at anchor the preceding day. Our sailors were ordered, therefore, to continue their course with the boat along the coast till they came to this spot.

The shore was very flat, but not far from it the hills rose so steep that they were wholly inaccessible. In our way we passed a number of habitations. The huts were very poor, and scattered about at no great distance. Probably, however, these are only

summer residences of the fishermen, since most of the people we saw were full-grown labouring men: there were very few women and children. This supposition seemed much strengthened by perceiving a number of foot-paths, which led through the plain, and over the nearest hills, into the interior of the country. The few women to be seen were occupied with cutting up and cleaning the fish preparatory to their being dried; in doing this we observed that the entrails were thrown away, but the roes were preserved and cured. The people were all sitting out in the open air, only sheltered on the side towards the wind by straw mats fixed to poles stuck into the ground. Their clothing, like that of the people of Jesso, was a long full gown open in front, a sort of night-gown.

As we passed their habitations, or the places where they were at work, the men generally rose up, and coming some steps towards us, saluted us with a friendly half-smiling mien in the manner of the Aïnu of Jesso: the women, however, remained sitting behind their straw mats. Although our appearance must have been wholly strange to them, their manner was such that they did not appear at all struck, but as if the sight was quite familiar to their eyes. Some of the men, apparently out of courtesy, accompanied us a few paces, and then left us, so that we pursued our way unmolested by their curiosity. After walking about a German mile, we arrived at the spot to which our course was directed, where the Japanese vessels were at anchor. There was much variety in the walk, and we were not fatigued with it, as we found all along the coast a very good foot-path, which we followed. The soil of the wooded hills seemed for the most part argillaceous. Here and there pleasant vallies

opened upon us, watered by little streams, which ran into the bay; over three of the principal of these were laid broad planks, instead of bridges, for the convenience of foot-passengers.

As we approached the habitations, we saw two Japanese officers dressed in silk, and each with two sabres, coming towards us. They saluted us with a friendly demeanour, and then sat down in the open air, upon a straw mat which was spread for the purpose. Without asking us to sit, they began questioning us officially who we were, and why we and the ship had come thither. The answers to these questions being written down, they rose up and invited us to take some refreshment in their habitations close by. Such an invitation was the more agreeable to us as it was now near noon, and from four in the morning, when we sat out on our expedition, we had not taken any thing.

This Japanese hamlet consisted of six large and several smaller houses, round a sort of court or open place, so that the whole was not very unlike an European farm. Most of the buildings served as a sort of warehouses. We were introduced into the first house: it was built of wood, one story high, and after the Japanese fashion, that is, with a gallery and trellis, and instead of windows, paper over a frame-work.

The first room was large, and surrounded with a sort of little chambers or divisions open to it: in these lay merchandise of various kinds. Next to this was a spacious apartment raised one step above it, which seemed to serve as a kitchen. In the

midst was a fire, and near it were spread some fine straw mats, on which we were invited to sit down. On our apologizing that we should dirty the mats with our boots, in which we had been walking so long, the upper mats were taken away, and we were desired to sit upon those underneath: they were very clean, though not so fine. Since, however, we were little accustomed to the oriental mode of sitting, and seated ourselves rather awkwardly, with our legs stretched out sideways, our host ordered some little barrels to be brought, and laying a plank over them, made us a bench, on which we sat very commodiously after our own fashion. We were then each presented with a square wooden trencher, upon which was a small lackered plate full of excellent cooked rice, with another sort of saucer, in which was cooked fish: we were also furnished with two little wooden sticks, such as they themselves use instead of forks. Thus, after having been six months at Japan, we now, for the first time, upon the Island of Tschoka, eat our dinner with a Japanese family.

While we remained here our hosts endeavoured to obtain information from us upon several subjects, and we were not sparing of our questions to them. One of the Japanese officers said he had lived six years, the other said he had lived eight upon the island: both called it Karafuto. They considered it as about half the size of Jesso; but from what they said, we inferred that the northern part was entirely unknown to them. They seemed to have very little knowledge of Russia, though they talked a good deal about Kodai and Lieutenant Laxmann: they did not appear to be acquainted even with the name of Kamschatka. As we had our fowling-pieces with us, they

begged permission to examine one, and were in great astonishment at the lock, which was quite new to them. It has been mentioned before that the Japanese fire their guns with lighted matches. They inquired with evident apprehension whether the piece was loaded, and seemed so much afraid of gunpowder that they would not even burn some grains of it which had shaken out at the touch-hole. I am almost convinced that they have no other arms for the defence of their settlement than, perhaps, some bows and arrows. The original inhabitants of this island are also called Aïnu: they are evidently of the same race with the natives of Jesso and the Kurile islands.

I counted two-and-twenty Japanese, who observed us and all our movements with the utmost curiosity. As I am of opinion that several of them were only sailors who had come with the ships now at anchor, whose stay was, therefore, confined to some days, or perhaps weeks, it is probable that at another time, especially in winter, very few Japanese would be found here. The first large apartment was filled with a great many of the natives, who were all upon their knees in token of submission: by this it should appear that they are kept in very strict obedience by the unarmed Japanese, disproportionate, beyond all conception, as they are in their numbers. Scarcely had these poor creatures remained a quarter of an hour thus seeking to satisfy their curiosity, when they were again driven away to their work. They were employed in cutting up, cleaning, and salting the fish for drying, in hanging up the fresh ones, and turning those that were already partially dried. Among some hundred of the Aïnu that we saw, one or two.

only had a good deal of coarse hair growing about their bodies, as may, perhaps, occasionally happen among Europeans; but that this whole race of men are covered all over with hair, is one of the poetical flourishes in which travellers will sometimes indulge themselves.

Near the hamlet, on a little hill, stands a Japanese temple, which we were told we might visit, on the condition of first taking off our boots. This we should gladly have done if we had not been afraid that it would take up too much time. It was already four o'clock in the afternoon, and our boat with the sailors, which we had long expected, was not yet even in sight. The wind and tide were both against them, and Lieutenant Ratmanoff was under considerable anxiety lest they should have met with some accident; we therefore agreed to go in search of them without farther delay. So taking leave of our hosts, with many acknowledgments for their hospitality, we returned along the shore, and in half an hour met with them.

Though the wind was brisk, and not favourable, we sailed directly across the bay to our ship, then at the distance of fourteen miles from us. Scarcely had we left the shore, when the wind increased so much, and the waves ran so high, that our little bark, loaded with nine persons, had great difficulty to get on. We, however; fought through all our difficulties, and arrived safely at the ship about eight o'clock, I may truly say, to the great joy of our companions; they had witnessed, not without very great anxiety and apprehension, our long and arduous struggle with the elements. The ship was anchored in latitude 46° 41′ 15″ north, longitude 217° 28′ west.

On the sixteenth, at day-break, we once more weighed anchor, and having a fresh south-east wind, towards evening reached Cape Aniwa, which Captain Krusenstern determined to be in latitude 46° 2′20″, longitude 216° 29′40″. On the following morning we doubled it; but soon after the wind sunk, and by noon a dead calm came on. The whales sported in great numbers about the ship, commonly in companies of two or three together. Towards evening we saw a boat with six persons put off from the land at seven miles distance, and row towards us. Neither the appearance of the boat or the men differed in any way from those we had seen before. Night coming on, probably, induced them to return.

We continued to pursue our way along the coast, and on the nineteenth approached a bay in latitude 46° 50′, longitude 216° 27′, bounded to the south by the Cape Tongu of the Dutch. From the anchorage being very indifferent, this can only serve as a temporary asylum in cases of extreme necessity: it affords very little shelter against the north and north-east wind. The distance from hence to Salmon-bay is between twenty and thirty miles: the two bays are separated from each other only by a low ridge of hills. This bay is thinly inhabited, but there is a superfluity of good water and fire-wood. In the afternoon we came in sight of a high rounded hill, in latitude 47° 33′, longitude 217° 14′, which we believed to be the Spenberg of the Dutch, and the Peak Bernizet of La Perouse.

The coast that we passed on the twentieth afforded a pleasing, smiling aspect: the weather was rough, and we had some

showers of snow: the following day was cloudy. On the twenty-second we were in the bay called by the Dutch the *Gulf of Patience,* and the next day we observed the mouth of a river. As it was a perfect calm, Captain Krusenstern resolved to drop the anchor, and examine the coast somewhat nearer: it was low, woody, and had a very inviting appearance.

A boat was therefore hoisted out, in which several of the officers went on shore. At their return in the evening they brought a great deal of tattered sea-weed, a great many broken shells, and some dried fishes' roes, a large salmon, and a thornback, with the information that they had found a river very full of fish, fine woods of fir and birch, abundance of juniper bushes, and very few inhabitants. The weather was still troubled, and seemed to threaten being stormy; and as the northern boundary of the gulf is fixed by navigators in latitude 49° 19′, Captain Krusenstern thought it prudent to return southwards. It is considered as very dangerous to be too near the land here in stormy weather. Seal Island, as it is called by the Dutch, is particularly to be avoided, and from this we could not now be far distant.

On the twenty-fourth, towards noon, we saw the dangerous reef of rocks that surround Seal Island, on which we turned to the south and south-west, as well for the purpose of avoiding them as of doubling Cape Patience. Captain Krusenstern determined the latitude of Seal Island to be between 48° 28′ and 48° 36′, the longitude between 215° 27′ and 215° 50′. On the twenty-sixth we were presented with a spectacle no less new than unexpected: this was a considerable quantity of floating

ice in the west, some in small pieces, some in large islands. We were constrained, in consequence, to take an easterly course, that we might not run the hazard of getting too much into the neighbourhood of such dangerous company.

On the following morning, at four o'clock, we saw again in the north-west vast fields of floating ice. Under these circumstances it seemed impossible, at the present time of the year, to sail farther, in order to examine the north-eastern coast of Tschoka. Nothing, therefore, remained, but to choose between cruizing about farther to the south for some weeks, to wait the melting of the ice, or sailing away immediately for Kamschatka. In the latter case the ambassador, who was not very much interested in geographical researches, would be released, and at a more favourable period, those to whose tastes they were better suited, could return and prosecute them where they were now broken off. This was the thing resolved on, and we accordingly steered directly eastwards, towards the Kurile islands.

In the afternoon of the twenty-eighth the wind freshened exceedingly, and towards evening it encreased to a violent storm. Our situation this night was by so much the more disagreeable, as we could not be far from the Kurile islands. The whole night through the wind was extremely boisterous, the waves ran very high, and the rolling of the ship was almost insupportable.

On the twenty-ninth, at day-break, we saw land in the south-east, but it was soon lost again in a thick fog: later in

the day, when the weather was somewhat clearer, a high peak was discernible in the south-south-east. While we were cruizing about in order to steer our course eastward in these unknown regions with more accuracy, and were waiting the dispersion of the fog, which concealed all the surrounding objects from our view, we were carried some miles nearer to the peak, for the wind was so trifling that we were almost entirely at the mercy of the currents, which sat to the west. During the whole day we could perceive a clear, yellowish grey smoke ascending from the peak, very distinguishable from the dark grey of the fog; the crater of the volcano, which was on the western point of the hill, was also clearly to be discerned. The summit of the peak, at the distance of three sea-miles from its foot, was observed to be two degrees above the horizon. In the evening came on a heavy fall of snow, and the air was extremely cold. The thermometer, during the day, was for the most part at 6°, but in the night it fell to only 1°.

Early in the morning of the thirtieth we perceived an island, which we supposed to be the tenth or eleventh of the Kurile islands. We steered north-east, and expected as soon as we had turned our backs upon this to be in the waters of Kamschatka; but towards noon we saw another little rocky island, and farther in the north-east we still discerned another through the fog. A strong east wind so increased the thickness of the atmosphere, that Captain Krusenstern could no longer venture to tack about among unknown islands and reefs of rocks; he resolved, therefore, rather to return to the Sea of Ochotsk, where we were within our knowledge. The wind was now so strong that it carried us at the rate of eight miles an hour, and

continued to blow with considerable violence the whole night. In the morning of the thirty-first, after a very heavy snow shower, the thermometer was only half a degree above the freezing point; and it was with no small astonishment, when we awoke on the first of June, that we found the deck of the ship covered some inches deep with snow. The weather cleared, however, in the day, and we steered once more to the north-east, towards the Kurile islands. Several whales, some of them very large, were our companions all this day.

A thick fog began to disperse towards noon, when we could see the high Peak of Onnekotan, one of the most northerly of the Kurile islands, not very far from us. Towards evening the atmosphere was so much cleared that we could discern the lower parts of the shore of these islands very plainly, though some of the ridges and peaks of the mountains were still enveloped in mist; we could only occasionally see the high round hill, of which we had first caught a glimpse in the morning.

With the assistance of a fresh breeze, which rose towards ten in the evening, we sailed through the channel between Onnekotan and Charamukatan. This channel is only eight miles over. Early in the morning of the second we were in the open sea of Kamschatka. This day was clear, and permitted us to see the greater part of the coast of Poromuschir and the snow-clad mountains with which the island abounds: we were now steering directly for Kamschatka. On the following days we ran along the south-eastern coast of this peninsula, in which we saw and admired some very high peaks.

On the fourth we perceived in the offing the lofty Peak of Awatscha: the neighbouring shores had not now the same pleasing appearance as when we arrived within sight of them the year before; for the hills were all covered with snow. On the following day, about five in the afternoon, we came to an anchor happily in the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul. Here we were rejoiced with receiving letters from our friends and relations, and news from Europe; but of all that we received, none was so important and so unexpected as that Bonaparte was declared Emperor of France.

VOCABULARY

OF THE

LANGUAGE OF NUKAHIWA.

SUBSTANTIVES.

A man	Enata.
A woman	Wahine.
A married man, a husband	Meduà.
A married woman, a wife	Mahui, Wehanna.
An old man	Kouha.
An old woman	Bachaïo.
A father	Motua.
A mother	Ekuhi.
Parents	Teamutu.
A boy, a son	Etama.
A little boy	Etama iti.
A brother	Tuuane eteine.
A girl, a daughter	Moï.
A sister	Tōăhine.
A handsome girl	Pohotu.
A tall man	Enata hoa.
A lean man	Enata mocca.
A fat man	Enata nui.
A man-eater	Kaïnata.
The skin	Kuko.
The head	Oopocho, obogo.

The forehead	Hāi.
The eyes	Matta.
The eyebrows	Tuke hāë.
The ears	Buaĭna.
The chin	Cohu āï.
The jaw-bone	Coufai.
The mouth	Henatu.
The lips	Kinutu.
The teeth	Niho.
The tongue	Eēho.
The beard	Kumi.
The hair	Whu-oho.
The shoulder	Bowhei.
The arm, the hand	Eïma, ehima.
The elbow	Hima.
The fingers	Magamagaïma.
The finger nails	Matugu.
The neck	Kaki-kākĕihe.
The breast	Huma-huma.
The bosom of a female	Tehu-ehoa.
The heart	Tĕ-ā-te.
The back	Matetua.
The belly	Koopu, or Ecopu.
The legs	Waïwaï.
The thigh	Puwha.
The knee	Moë.
The foot	Tewaï-waï.
The heel	Tuki-te-Waïwaï.
Blood	Tooto.
The kidneys	Comaï.
A leader, or chief	Aiki.
A friend	Taï.
A friendly man	Enata-mitaï.
A stranger	Manehih.
A thief	Ekamu.
A dog	Buaka-nūohĕ.
A cat	Potu.
A hog	Buaca.

Fish, in general	Tana-ika.
A fish	Ika.
A particular kind of black fish	Pahua.
Flying fish	Māŏ-ŏtemāŏ.
A shark	Mono.
An eel	Puchi.
Oysters	Uchi.
A sort of crab	Epōōto.
Another sort of crab	Pēhū.
A muscle	Tū-ŭ-āï.
A bird	Emānu.
A hen	Moha.
Hen's feathers	Teubu.
A lizard	Ekaha.
Flies	Tika-uë.
The bread-fruit	Mähie.
The bread-fruit tree	Tĕmŭ-meï.
Fermented bread-fruit	Maa.
The leaf of a tree	Tehōŭ.
Cocoa-nuts	Niu-aehie-*teehi*.
Bananas	Meiga.
Batatas	Tekuma.
The sugar-cane	Teto.
A sort of root (*Arum macorrhizon*)	Happeh.
A flower	Puamomono.
Beans	Boniū.
A bush	Teita.
Grass of different sorts	Mugu, totoë, buaga.
Wood	Wahie.
The bark of a tree	Eipāu.
The sun	Umati.
The moon	Mahine
The stars	Evetu.
The new moon (*the moon that will come*)	Mahine etamai.
The full moon (*the great moon*)	Mahine nui.
The earth, land	Kennua, Whennua.
An island, a rock	Mooto.
A hill	Pūfi.

A river, a stream (*much water*)	Wai-nui.
The sea	Tăi.
Fire	Eachi, eahi
Water	Ewai, ewahi
The wind	Metani.
The north wind	Tukuahu.
The east wind	Tiutiu
Thunder	Hatu-piki, hatuti
Lightning	Teū-ï-ïa.
Rain	Eua.
Iron	Toki
Day	Uateu, watea
A house	Ohăāi, tchāë.
A boat, a canoe	Waga.
A fishing hook	Medau.
An axe	Toki.
The cloth worn round the waist	Eūte.
Glass beads	Pipi
A dagger	Cohe
A fan	Tahi.
A fan with a carved handle	Tahikatu.
Fire-arms	Pūi.
An ornament of feathers for the head	Beūe.
Another sort of ornament	Heigūa.
An ornament of feathers for the back	Hopemoa.
A flute of two reeds	Buchoche.
A calebash, as used to hold water	Huë.
A battle, a fight	Toua.
An oath	Memai, mamai.
A woman's waist-binder	Tciwēu.
The mind	Wahinehaï.
A spirit, a phantom	Tetua.
A necklace of red beans	Teha, tefa.
A lie	Tichoë, tiwawa.
A comb	Koheu.
A club, for fighting	Kăāu-toa.
A heavy long lance	Pakehu.
A lighter sort of lance	Kēbu.

A straw mat	Moïca.
A knife	Koche.
Iron nails	Puïpuï.
A priest	Taua, etua.
Smoke	Uwai.
An oar	Ehoh.
Salt	Tāi.
Sand	Enutai
Seed	Kakanai
Cord	Vhau
Thin packthread	Iti iti vhau
A looking-glass	Ehakatta, Uhatta
Cloth, made from the paper-mulberry-tree	Kachu
Stone	Ekiwa, kiwa
A sail	Tēa
A present	Taitai
A drum	Epachu
An orphan child	Enata tubenda.
Twins	Mahaka
An European ship, a large canoe	Tewaka nui
Instruments for cutting, as oyster or muscle shells	Uchi

PRONOUNS.

I	Au, or waa
Thou, or you	Oï
He or she	Oë
Ye	Ooë

ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, &c.

Black	Keke.
Red	Kua.
Yellow, and, probably, also the root that dies yellow	Jega mōa.
Good	Mei.
Wicked	Whahai.
Poor, or a poor creature, or a wretch	Kikino.
Handsome	Metaki.
Dirty	Eĕpo.

High, tall	Oă.
Very high, very tall	Oă nui.
Great, much	Nui.
Very great, very much	Nui-nui.
Great, long, or large	Hoa.
Little	Iti.
Very little	Iti-iti.
Light, not heavy	Eama.
To-day	Kabo.
Yesterday	Enenahe.
This evening	Achi-achi.
This morning	Oï-oï
Early morning	Oï-Oï tika.
Yes. This is often used as a question—Is it so?	Ah.
No	Aoë.
Still, silent	Tuitui.
A piece, or a part of any thing	Pōōtōnōa.
How much	Ehia.
Both of us, us two	Tchua.
Both	Tau.
Soon	Eppo, or heppo.
Principally	A-ï-ki, or e-ï-ki.
Where	Thea.
Wherefore, why	Ehata.
Come hither	Itamāi, bimai, ïutamai.
Enough	Etoe.
An exclamation, an expression of astonishment	Ehōōōh.
Lame	Cowi.
Cold	Eanu.

VERBS, AND VERBAL EXPRESSIONS.

To bring, bring me	Tukukumai.
To burn, to set on fire	Etutu teāhi.
To fasten, to tie on	Ahumu.
Fasten the skull to the hip	Ahumu te opogo tēhōbĕ.
To eat	Akaï.
Give me to eat	Akaï maï.

Is it so? Is it true?	Ehoï.
To catch, as in a snare or trap.	Amu.
To make fire, by friction	Eiaka teahi.
To fight	Toūa.
To catch with the hand	Ahekc.
To join noses, the substitute for kissing	Ehoni-teihu, Onaichu.
To laugh	Bucata, Whacata.
Let us see	Aï.
Let me alone, said in anger	Tume aha.
To love	Nau
To deposit in the earth, to inter	Etomi.
To fetch, fetch it for me	Atu utio-oë.
To coūgh	Ehapu.
To be hungry	Eone.
To scratch	Tube.
To fly	Eohna.
Let us be friends	Mitaï ane-u-tau.
To be afraid, to have fear	Hametau oë.
I am not afraid	Aoë hametau aü.
Follow me	Mamūï maï.
To give	Tukemai.
Give me something	Tukemai taïtaï.
To bear, to bring forth a child	Aïa teama.
To be lame	Mohoi cowi.
This is good	Mei tahi mitaki.
To hold as a vessel holds water	Koiteima.
To take hold of	Akāēa.
To descend a hill	Amaï aheke.
To ascend a hill	Amaï ahiti.
To break	Wiwah.
To break any thing in pieces	Wiwah ïaoë.
To cut down	Koti.
Let us cut down trees or make wood	Koti te wahie.
To bite	Anē-nahu.
Bite a piece of swine's-flesh	Ane-nahu te buaca oë.
To cool, to make an air with a fan	Tahi te tukuanu.
Take a fan to cool yourself	Ata oë tahi maï oë te tukuanu.
To scrape to pieces	Awau.

Scrape cocoa-nuts, and press out the juice.....	Awau oë teehi ooë toco ehi.
To sail	Wate-e.
The ship has sailed away	Te waka wate-e.
To shorten, to cut a piece off.....	Kokō oti pōōtonōa.
To undress, that is, to unbind the cloth worn round the waist.....	Atō te kachu.
To arrive at a place.....	Watata.
A ship is arrived.....	Te waka nui Watata.
Answer me	Apea maï oë.
To be hot.....	Kaï-kaï.
To awaken.....	U-a-aï.
To cut out.....	Ehū:
To hang up against the wall	Ahiki tiūka.
To strike a light	Apūhi teama.
To extinguish the light.....	Matte teama.
To bathe, to wash.....	Kaukau.
To invoke, the spirit of a person, to which something is offered.....	Natetu.
To make, what do you make.....	Ehata oë.
To make or build a house	Ehata tehae.
To come near.....	Auhahaga pimāï.
What is your name.....	Oaïtoiehoa, oaïtouhoa.
To join cloth together, to sew.....	Tuitui kachu.
Take this away.....	Akawe.
Take this, accept this	Aï-ïa.
Open the cocoa-nut	Wahi teehi.
Pack off, get you gone	Ata oë.
To pack up	Appa.
To clean, to make white.....	Tawaīhĕ.
To call.....	Apewau.
Call the man.	Apewau-t-enata.
To smell sweet, as a flower	Kekau.
To say	Peau.
I tell you	Peau maï oë
I say.....	Eata oë.
Tell me the name of the country	Ahaki maï oë te hennūah ŏh.
Bring me sand	Tukumāi enutaï.
To be pregnant.....	Etŭbŭtāma.

To strike	Pchi-pchi.
To sleep	Emoë.
Sleep with me	Emoë taua
To snore	Matekāŭhiemōĕ.
To cut	Kokoti.
To cry out	Wewan.
To sweat	Tuchuanu.
To swim	Ekau.
It gives me pain	Hemimaï.
To sit, sit down	Noho oë.
To see	Tioche.
Let us see	Tioche aï-aï.
To sing	Caba.
Sing something	Caba maï oë.
To sing as the priests over the dead	Ewanahna.
To spring, to leap	Hobu.
To die	Mate-matte.
To steal	Makamu.
Don't make a noise	Maï nia te buaĭna.
To stink	Tuchia.
To tattoo	Pipikatu.
To dance	Ehaka, wehaka.
To drink	Aïnu, eïnu.
To be dry, free from moisture	Waïwei.
The earth is dry	Hennuah Waïwei.
To be married	Noho te wahanna.
What would you have	Ehata oë.
To grow, to thrive	Uatubu.
To wash	Ookau.
To weep	Uwah.
To hurt, to give pain	Hemimaï.
To go away	Tahatăchōĕ.
To draw, to drag away	Hakawe, wahio.
I will	Nui.
I will not	Koë nui.
I will drink	Einu nui.
To will, to be willing	Teaki.
To be wounded	Bohohe.

NUMERALS.

One	Botahai.
Two	Bohua
Three	Botou.
Four	Boha, bofa.
Five	Bohima.
Six	Bohono.
Seven	Bofiddo, fiddu.
Eight	Bowahu.
Nine	Bohiwa.
Ten	Boohu, ongofulu.
Twenty	Itua-fulu.
Thirty	Tolu ongofulu.
Forty	Fa ongofulu.
Fifty	Hima ongofulu;
A hundred	Tehau.
Two hundred	Uatehau.
Three hundred	Tou-tehau;
A thousand	A feï.

SPECIMENS OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN AMONG DIFFERENT TRIBES OF THE AINU;

THOSE WHO INHABIT THE SOUTHERN PART OF KAMSCHATKA, THE KURILE ISLANDS, THE NORTHERN COAST OF JESSO, THE SOUTHERN PART OF TSCHOKA, AND THE NORTH-EAST POINT OF TSCHOKA.

English.	Aïnu of Kamschatka.	Aïnu of the Kurile Islands.	Aïnu of Jesso.	Aïpu of the Southern Coast of Tschoka.	Aïnu of the North-east Point of Tschoka.
Heaven	niss	kandŏ		nischiuro	
The Sun	tschuppu	tschūpŭh	tonotschu	tombi, tschukfkamoi	
The Moon	tschuppu	tschūpŭh	tschu	tombi, tschukf	
The Stars	keta	kitta	nodschu	keda, nodsi	
A Cloud	uuràr	ūrăĭăk	nischi, nischikuri	urari	
Rain	ssirugen	ssyrūyhn	apto	apto, apftu	
Hail	kaukàch		kawukawu	kawukawu, kaukaubass	
Snow	úpasch	ūpāss	ubaschi	upaschi, obass	nito
Wind	keera	rāhrā	dida	dirra, rera	
Thunder	um	kāmŭighumph	kannokimoi	kannakamoi	
Lightning	kamùi-ssiuuné			kamoinibigi	
Fire	apì	āpĕh	undshi, abe	abe, undshi	undshi
Water	pi	pēh	waka	waka	wachkaa
Earth	kotàn	kūdăn	toi	toi, tui	
A Hill	othùr	tāpkŭp	nuburi	kinda, noburi	
Smoke	ssuipuja	ssupūjah	pa	sschubuja	
Stone	poinà	poīnăh		schiuma	
Sand	otá		ota	ota, oda	
Argile	teinitoi	doi	toi	toi	
The Sea	atuika	ādŭikă	atui	atui, adui	
A Lake	sso			to, geschi	

English.	Aïnu of Kamschatka.	Aïnu of the Kurile Islands.	Aïnu of Jesso.	Aïnu of the Southern Coast of Tschoka.	Aïnu of the North-east Point of Tschoka.
A river	pet, mem....	peth.....	piz.....	pez, bez	.....
A man	ainù.....	āinūh.....	aino	aino, guru.....	uru .....
A husband	kokaiò.....	mamăth kōrgur	chobu.....	chobu, chogu.....	.....
A wife	kamtschi....	gmātschi	mati.....	mati, maz	.....
A father	mitschi.....	grupnainu...	.....	eischiwa	.....
A mother	áapu.....	grūpnĭtschimăt.....	.....	chabu	tschokkara..
A son	kpúhu.....	ōkăijĕnŏ bōmpŏ.....		poo	.....
A daughter	kpómmatschi.	mātnĕbōmpŏ.....	.....	mazpu, mazenebu..	.....
The head	papóp	gpa.....	nanu	nanu, schaba	.....
The ear	ksar.....	gsāhr.....	kĭschara	kischara	toko .....
The eye	ssik.....	ssik.....	schiki.....	schiki, schigi.....	keremante...
The nose	etù.....	āhdūm.....	ito.....	idu.....	teneschi....
The mouth	tschar.....	tschar	zaro	paro, paru.....	.....
The tongue	achù.....	aūch.....	barumbi	au.....	.....
A tooth	imak	.....	jumaki	nimaki	.....
The hand	tek.....	dēk.....	amoini.....	undi, tegi	kema-tiké...
The foot	kemà.....	kēhmmă	uzkami	kema.....	kamko.....
Flesh	kam.....	kām.....	naschi	kam.....	.....
Blood	.....	kēhm.....	kem.....	to, kim.....	.....
Fat	.....	pījĕp.....	ke	ke, kiü, schium ...	.....
The heart	ssampe.....	sāmpĕh.....	.....	schambi.....	.....
The back	ssetur.....	ssedur.....	schedru.....	schedaru, scheduru.	.....
A nail	.....	āhm.....	am	am, ami.....	.....
A house	tsche	.....	.....	zisse	kee.....
A knife	epirá.....	epyhră.....	magide.....	magiri	bakiro.....
An axe	.....	mūkăr.....	.....	mukar.....	ukari.....
A plant	mun.....	muhn	mun.....	mun.....	kĭu.....
A seal	.....	thoar.....	.....	tukari	.....
A sea otter	.....	kjakko, kothōnăp		raku	.....
A crab	.....	chaū ĭng	takaki.....	takaki.....	.....
A dog	stapu.....	stahpu.....	cheta.....	scheta, scheda.....	scheta .....
A mouse	ermu	ārmŭh	irimo.....	irimo, pon irimo...	.....
A fox	kimutpé.....	kymothpĕh..	schumari.....	schumari, schiumari.	.....
A bear	kamui	kāmŭĭ.....	hippari	chugujukf, zira-mandi.....	.....

English.	Aïnu of Kamschatka.	Aïnu of the Kurile Islands.	Aïnu of Jesso.	Aïnu of the Southern Coast of Tschoka.	Aïnu of the North-east Point of Tschoka.
A wolf	orgiù.	storkhyg. . . .	. . . . .	uschi kamoi	. . . . .
A bird	. . . . .	tschirpu.	tschika	tschikapu zkapf. . .	. . . . .
A goose	kuitàp. . . .	kŭĭtūp	. . . . .	guitu.	. . . . .
A duck	tschirpu . . .	. . . . .	kobettscha.	kobettscha	. . . . .
An egg	noki	nōhk.	nuki.	zapfnuku.	. . . . .
A fish	ssŭttschip. . .	tschep.	tschep	tschep, zma, zepf. .	iroki. . . . .
A ray	omà	hóma.	. . . . .	chuma, zepfchuma.	. . . . .
A tree	ni.	nyh.	ni	ni, niï.	appec. . . . .
A leaf	niep.	. . . . .	. . . . .	nï-chamu`	. . . . .
A root	ssiurit	. . . . .	. . . . .	schyndshiz.	. . . . .
Birch	tanni.	tah-nyh.	. . . . .	karīmba-niï	. . . . .
Salt	ssippù	. . . . .	abi.	schippo, schipo. . .	. . . . .
Milk	toopi.	dōpĕh	. . . . .	too.	. . . . .
Large	porogò. . . .	bŏrūkŭr	poro.	poro	. . . . .
Little	moiogò. . . .	mŏĭjop	pon	ponno, pon.	. . . . .
High	triïva.	rihärujewa . .	ri	ruino, riuwa.	. . . . .
Low	oramua. . . .	. . . . .	tam	chaukino, uramua. .	. . . . .
White	rétanoo. . . .	. . . . .	detara	tetara, tedari.	. . . . .
Black	ékururoko. .	. . . . .	kunne.	kunni.	. . . . .
Red	úratatkiwa . .	hūrĕp.	kure.	furi	. . . . .
To eat	ischama. . . .	īppăh	amama.	ebe, annuwa.	. . . . .
To drink	kpekreigina. .	pēhkŭh. . . .	ogauni.	iku, igu.	kagai. . . . .
To sleep	kmokonrossiva	mōkŏr.	mogoro.	mokuru, moguru. . .	. . . . .
I	ka	gānū.	. . . . .	tschogai.	. . . . .
Thou	éa	cānny	. . . . .	itschogai	. . . . .
He	. . . . .	tăängūr.	. . . . .	tada ogai.	. . . . .
One	ssinep.	ssyhnāp	schinep.	schineni, schnepf. .	. . . . .
Two	tuup.	dūph.	toopu	toni, tup.	. . . . .
Three	rep.	rāch.	reepu.	reni, repf.	. . . . .
Four	inèp	yhnāp	inepu.	ine, inipf.	. . . . .
Five	assik.	ahssīk	aschiknepu	aschikine, aschiki nipf.	. . . . .
Six	ivan	yhgŭähn	iwanebe.	iwanbe, juwambi. .	. . . . .
Seven	aruuàn	ārŭahn.	aruwanbe.	aruwanbe, aruwam-bi.	. . . . .

English.	Aïnu of Kamschatka.	Aïnu of the Kurile Islands.	Aïnu of Jesso.	Aïnu of the Southern Coast of Tschoka.	Aïnu of the North-east Point of Tschoka.
Eight	tubis	dūhpyhs	tobischanbe	tobischanbe, tubis-chambi	. . . . .
Nine	ssinepïs, ...	ssyhnapyhs . .	schnipischanbe	schinpischanbe, schnebischambi . .	. . . . .
Ten	uupis.	ūpyhs	wanak	wambe, wambi	. . . . .
Eleven	ssinep-ikamua	ssynapikas maŭă.	schinepu ikaschima wanbe.	schnepu, igaschima wambi	. . . . .
Twelve	tuuptsch ikamua	duphīkās maua	toopu ikaschima wambe	tupu ikaschima wambi	. . . . .
Twenty	tuampè. . . .	dūāmpītschi, hoth	chozu	schnechoz, choz . . .	. . . . .
Thirty	reuampè . . .	rauampitsch .	wanbeitozu.	wambi idochoz	. . . . .
Forty	ineuampè. . .	dūgōth	togozu	tochoz.	. . . . .
Fifty	assikneuampè	uampöhrä hoth*	wanbeniregozu . . .	wambi irichoz	. . . . .
A hundred	uánuampe. . .	ahssik nä höth†	aschikenegozu	aschikinichoz	. . . . .
A thousand	uanotnékampe		. . . . .	aschikinischine wano choz	. . . . .

JULIUS VON KLAPROTH.

* That is to say ten less than three times twenty.

† Five times twenty.

INDEX.

A.

Aïno, or Aïnu, a number of tribes on the western coast of Asia, so called, 328, and note—A mild and benevolent race, *ib.*—Kept in great subjection by the Japanese settlers, 341.

American Seamen, numbers settled in Owhyhee, 187.

American Vessel, great mistake made by one in the longitude, 27.

Aniwa Bay, in the island of Tschoka; the ship anchors there, 336,—Dinner of a party that went on shore with some Japanese merchants, 339.

Anthropophagism, the nations that have been guilty of it, 140—Motives that lead to it, 142—Particular and extraordinary instances of it, *ib.*

Atomeri, a small island off Santa Catharina, 32 and 34.

Atuan, an evil spirit so called at Nukahiwa, 138.

Audience, the first given to the Russian Ambassador at Japan, 307—The second, 308—The third, 315.

Aurora Borealis, a very uncommon one seen upon the voyage, 2.

Author, the, goes to Portugal with Prince Waldeck, Introduction, vii—His love of Natural History, *ib.*—Settles at Lisbon as a Physician, viii—Appointed Surgeon to an English corps, *ib.*—Returns to Germany, *ib.*—Applies for an appointment in the Russian expedition, ix.—Is disappointed of obtaining it, *ib.*—Resolves to meet the ship's company at Copenhagen, x.—Obtains the ambassador's consent to his joining them, *ib.*

Awatscha, the bay of, in Kamschatka; arrival of the vessel there, 195.

B.

Balloon, one sent up by the author at Japan, 293.

Balls, shot from bows instead of arrows, 45—Extraordinary instances of dexterity in shooting with them, *ib.*

Bananas, various ways of dressing them in Brazil, 53—The leaves of the tree used as parasols at Nukahiwa, 113.

Banjos, or Opperbanjos, a title given to a certain class of persons in Japan, 224—The Russians on their arrival questioned by them, 225.

Bird-Spider, an insect in Brazil, curious account of it, 72.

Botanic Garden, account of one at Teneriffe, 15—Plan of the establishment to familiarize the plants of hot countries with colder ones, *ib.*

Bows, a particular sort used at Santa Catharina, 45.

Brazil, Continent of, beauty of the country, 55—Variety and beauty of the natural productions, 56.

Bread-fruit, one of the most essential articles of food at Nukahiwa, 123—Description of it, 124—Principal modes of cooking it. *ib.*

Butterflies, numbers seen at sixty miles from the coast of Brazil, 29—Various kinds in that country, and particularly beautiful, 32, 54, 55, 58, 73, 74.

Butterfly-nets, the proper ones required in Brazil.

C.

Caboclos, the native inhabitants of Santa-Catharina, 38—Their inroads upon the settlers, *ib.*

Cabri, Jean Baptiste, a French sailor found on the island of Nukahiwa, 97—Almost naturalized there, 98—Slightly and irregularly tattooed, 121—Suspected of eating human flesh, 148—Superstitions imbibed by him, 157—Carried away by accident from Nukahiwa, 181—He refuses to remain at Owhyhee, 184—Goes to St. Petersburgh, Introduction, xi—Exhibits the dances of the savages there, and at Moscow, xii—Appointed to be teacher of swimming at Cronstadt, *ib.*

Cadeirinhas, a species of chair used at Santa Catharina, 47.

Cassava-root, or Tapioca, a material article of food at Santa Catharina, 36.

Catilina-crameri, an extraordinary species of butterfly that emits froth, 74.

Cattle, a great number bred at Santa Catharina, 38—Suffered to run wild, *ib.*—Manner of catching them, *ib.*

INDEX.

Child-birth at Nukahiwa, customs observed on the occasion, 151.

Children at Japan, long garments worn by them, Introduction, xviii.

Chinese junks, very heavy clumsy vessels, 239 and 268.

Circumcision, a custom observed at Nukahiwa, 158.

Compliments, the manner of making them in Japan, 226—All persons compelled to make them to persons of distinction, 232—Description of one made to the Russian ambassador, 259.

Copaiva-balsam, or balsam of Tolu, cultivated at Santa Catharina, 43.

Coral-snake, a very venomous reptile in Brazil, 70.

Cornish minerals, a complete collection of, possessed by Counsellor Klaproth of Berlin, 3, note.

Coronation, festival of the Russian Emperor's, celebrated, 210.

Cotton-wool, inconvenient machine used by the Brazilians in preparing it, 63.

Cuova del Gelo, a curious cavern in the Peak of Teneriffe, 19.

D.

Daïri, the spiritual sovereign of Japan, his intrigues, 290.

Dances, those of the negroes at Santa Catharina, 47—Those of the Nukahiwans, 158—That of the Kamschadales, 202.

Dangereuse La, a rock mentioned by La Perouse, 335.

Dog-fish, two very large ones caught in the Pacific Ocean, 192.

Dominicans, a convent of, at Teneriffe, 12.

Dragon's-blood tree, a very remarkable one in the island of Teneriffe, 16.

E.

Earth-nut, much cultivated at Santa Catharina, 36.

Easter Island, extravagant account given of the natives by the first discoverers, 85.

Ecclesiastics, very few at Santa Catharina, 44.

Electrical machine, the Japanese particularly interested by one, 235.

Embassy, the Russian to Japan, circumstances that led to it, 203.

Equator, the, passed for the first time by a Russian ship, 23—Ceremonies observed on the occasion, 24.

Emperor of Japan, his name never known during his life, 241.

F.

Falmouth, description of that town, 2—Fish brought to market there, 3.

Fingers, used very much in eating at Santa Catharina, 61.

Fish, great abundance brought to market at Santa Cruz, 9—Different sorts eaten at Santa Catharina, 75—Not eaten at Nukahiwa but in cases of necessity, 126.

Fisi, Prince of, at Japan, his boat particularly splendid, 248—Description of it, 280 The ambassador goes in it to Nangasaki, 304—The town hung partly with his arms, 305.

Foot-baths, very much used at Santa Catharina, 46—The author's delight in one, 53.

Fortresses, the constructions in Japan so called, 233.

Froth, emitted by an extraordinary species of butterfly, 74.

Funeral ceremonies, those observed at Nukahiwa, 154.

G.

Garachico, harbour of, at Teneriffe choaked with lava, 20.

Geography, very much attended to by the Japanese, 237 and 246.

Glands, two remarkable ones in the heads of the Nukahiwans, xiv.

Globe, a pocket one, very much admired by the Japanese, 238.

Gold and Silver Islands, sought for in vain by Captain Krusenstern, 193.

Grottoes, several among the mountains of Teneriffe, 10—Supposed to have been the ancient habitations of the Guanches, *ib.*

Guanches, the original inhabitants of Teneriffe, 11—Some genuine descendants of them still existing, *ib.*

Guns, those of Japan fired with lighted matches, 263.

H.

Harbours, several good ones enumerated in the island of Nukahiwa, 104.

Herrings, immense quantities dried on the island of Jesso, 329.
Horner, Dr. his merits as an astronomer, 33.
Houses, manner of building them at Nukahiwa, 126.
Human flesh, eaten at Nukahiwa, 126, and 149.

I.

Ice, a quantity of floating, seen from the ship, 345.
Interpreters, a number of official ones at Japan, 224, note.

J.

Japanese, some wrecked on the coast of Kamschatka, 203—Carried home by Lieutenant Laxmann, 204—Others wrecked on the same coast, 207—Four of them carried home by Captain Krusenstern, 208—First visit of some to the Russian ship, 221—Particular attention of these people to making compliments, 226—The Russians required by them to give up their arms and powder, 228—Those carried home by the Russians reproved for misconduct, 236—Great attention of the Japanese to Geography, 246—The boys early expert at mechanical occupations, 260—One of the Japanese interpreters wishes much to travel, 266—One of those brought from Russia attempts to destroy himself, 287—Some settled upon the island of Jesso, 329—and upon the island of Tschoka, 339.
Jesso, island of, appearance of the country, 323.

K.

Kacha, a sort of charm used at Nukahiwa described, 155.
Kakuh, a sort of food made from the bread-fruit. 124.
Kamschatka, aspect of the country in approaching it, 195—Difficulties found by the author in exploring the country, 199—Its political situation, *ib.*—Not so poor a country as is generally imagined, 201.
Kermes, the Dutch name for a Japanese festival, 238.
Klaproth, Counsellor, of Berlin, his collection of Cornish minerals, 3, note.
Kombie, a sort of food eaten at Jesso, made from a species of *fucus*, 323, note.

L.

Lanterns, small paper ones very much used in Japan, 224, 247, 273.
Lava, the houses at Santa-Cruz built, and the streets paved with it, 10—A quantity of vitrified lava about the Peak of Teneriffe, 17.
Lobster, the, considered at Japan as the emblem of health, 291.

M.

Mandioca, another name for tapioca, or cassava-root, 36.
Marriages, form of them at Nukahiwa, 153.
Mechanics in a very low state at Brazil, 63—Inconvenience of all the implements for mechanical trades, *ib.*
Medusæ, a great number in the Pacific Ocean, 191.
Megasaki, description of the ambassador's house there, 279, and 282.
Minerals, the various sorts in the mountains of Teneriffe, 10.
Mollusquæ, a great variety seen by the author in the Atlantic, 29—Also between Owhyhee and Kamschatka, 191.
Mongolfier, one made by the author at Japan, 293.
Monks, two convents of at Santa-Cruz, 9—A monastery of Dominicans in another part of Teneriffe, 12
Mufau Taputakava, an inhabitant of Nukahiwa, his extraordinary stature, 108—His proportions the same as the Apollo of Belvedere, 109—The particulars of them, *ib.*—Shorter by a head than another Nukahiwan, *ib.*—His extraordinary dexterity in swimming, 170.
Mummies, curious dried ones found in the island of Teneriffe, 11—Some nearly similar found in London, *ib.* note.

N.

Nangasaki, a town and harbour at Japan, 220—Arrival of the Russian vessel

there, 220—It anchors in the outer harbour, 222—The town first seen by the Russians, 246—They at length anchor very near it, 266—Procession of the ambassador to the governor's house there, 305.

Naturalist, obstacles to his pursuits at Santa Catharina, 39—The author meets with an experienced one in Brazil, 51—Different excursions made with him, 54.

Nava, Marquis de, his botanic garden at Teneriffe, 15—His plan for familiarizing plants of hot countries with colder ones, *ib.*

Negro-slaves, a great number at Santa Catharina, 41—Whence imported, *ib.*—The prices at which they are sold, *ib.*—Often join the natives in their inroads upon the settlers, 42—Their dances, 47.

New year, manner of celebrating it in Japan, 290, and 292.

New-year's gifts at Japan, account of them, 291—A splendid one sent to the Russian ambassador, *ib.*

Norimon, a sort of Sedan-chair used in Japan, 302.

Nossa Senhora do Desterro, the principal town of Santa-Catharina, 34.

Nukahiwa, island of, arrival of the Russian ship there, 88—Visited by the king, 90—Great numbers of the islanders come on board, 91—Importunity of the women, 93—Extent of the island, 104—Its harbours, *ib.*—Its population, 105—The inhabitants a handsome race, 108—Extraordinary stature of one, *ib.*—Another still taller, 109—Their expression of countenance pleasing, 110—The women handsomer than those of Otaheite, 111—The people not naturally brown, but the men soon sun-burnt, 113—The women of distinction careful of their complexions, *ib.*—Their mode of bleaching their skins if tanned, *ib.*—Frequently rub themselves with a yellow ointment, 114—Tattooing brought to great perfection by the Nukahiwans, 117—The taboo societies, 121—Clothing of the people, 123—Their food, *ib.*—They eat human flesh, 126—Their habitations, *ib.*—Their government, 130—Their manner of going to battle, 150—Some other customs, 151—Marriages, 153—Funeral ceremonies, 154—Superstitions, 155—Dances, 158. Music, 160—Measured striking on their bodies, 163—Their musical instruments, 164—One of their popular songs, 165—Their running on stilts, 168—Their swimming, 169—Their ornaments, 170—Their canoes, 173—Very few quadrupeds, 176—Danger of the ship on quitting the island, 179.

Nuns, a convent of, at Teneriffe, 13.

O.

Ointment, a yellow one much used by the Nukahiwans, 114.

Opperbanjos, or Banjos, a title of distinction at Japan, 224.

Owhyhee, island of, arrival of the ship there, 182—Progress made in civilization, 185—Endeavours of the King to increase its prosperity, 186—Many of the inhabitants serving as sailors on board American vessels, 187—Excellence of the cordage made there, *ib.*—State of the marine, 188—A sort of wood said to grow there impervious to worms, *ib.*

P.

Peak of Teneriffe, its heighth, 17—Heighth of the plain on which it stands, *ib.*—Abounds with vitrified lava and pumice stones, *ib.*—Circumference of the crater, 18—Its composition, *ib.*

Pease, roasted ones used in Japan as a charm against evil spirits, 292.

Petropaulowsk, the town of, in Kamschatka, its situation, 196—Ball given there by General Koscheleff, 201.

Physalis pelagica, smart occasioned by touching it, 23.

Physician of Japan, his mode of examining his patient, 294—Objections made against his attending the Russian ambassador, 295.

Popoi, a sort of fermented bread-fruit made at Nukahiwa, 125.

Porto de l'Orotava, town of, at Teneriffe, 14—Its fine situation, 15.

Presents, enumeration of those sent by the Emperor of Russia to the Emperor of

INDEX.

Japan, 235—The Japanese not permitted to accept any presents, 238—Those sent to the Emperor refused, 312.

Procession, that of the Russian ambassador to the governor's house at Nangasaki, 305.

Promontory of the Russians, one so named by Captain Krusenstern, 321.

Provisions, articles of, and their prices, at Santa Catharina, 36, and 37.

Pulex penetrans, or sand-flea, a troublesome insect at Santa Catharina, 46—Inconveniencies often experienced from it, *ib.* and 68.

Purchases, none permitted to be made in Japan, 299.

Q.

Quadrupeds, very few at Nukahiwa, 176.

R.

Ray, the fish, popular belief that the thorns in its tail are poisonous, 9.

Roberts, an English sailor found on the island of Nukahiwa, 90—His enmity towards a French sailor on the island, 96—His zeal in the service of the Russian ship and crew, 97—Very little tattoooed, 122.

S.

Saint Peter and Saint Paul, a fine harbour in Kamschatka, 197—Productions of the country round it, *ib.*

Sand-flea, great inconvenience often experienced from it, 68.

Santa Catharina, island of, beautiful approach to it, 31—Its extent, 33—Population, 34—Manners of the inhabitants, 35—Extent of its dependencies, *ib.*—Its productions, *ib.*—Articles of food, and their prices, 36 and 37—A great many cattle reared there, 38—Suffered to run wild, *ib.*—Manner of catching them, *ib.*—The Portuguese settlers there subject to inroads from the natives, 38—Particulars relative to the climate, 39—Customs and habits that prevail in the country, 40, and 44—Great number of negro slaves, 41—Numerous objects of trade that might be produced there, 43—Very few ecclesiastics, 44—A particular sort of bow for shooting balls used, 45—Importance of the whale-fishery, 64—Diseases of the island, 67—State of medicine, *ib.*—Bad teeth of the natives, 69—Natural history, 70.

Santa-Cruz, the principal town on the island of Teneriffe, 7—Rabble constantly in the streets there, *ib.*—Good anchorage in the harbour, 8—Plenty of fruit, and other provisions, *ib.*—No regular inns, *ib.*—Abundance of fish, 9—Two convents of monks there, *ib.*—Monument to the Virgin Mary, *ib.*—The houses built, and the streets paved, with lava, 10—Some pleasant society there, 12.

Santa-Cruz, a fort so called, on an island off the coast of Brazil, 32 and 34.

Sea Voyage, far from tedious, 4—Various amusements and employments upon it, 5.

Sepia, very large ones in the sea about Brazil, 75—Dangerous to people bathing, *ib.*

Serenades, frequent at Santa Catharina, 50.

Serpents, great numbers in Brazil, and very venomous, 70.

Silver and Gold islands, sought for in vain, 193.

Societies, the Taboo ones at Nukahiwa, 121.

Storm, Account of a dreadful one off the coast of Japan, 214.

Straw mats, used as beds and tables at Santa Catharina, 60.

Sea-mews, immense quantities on the shores of Kamschatka, 196.

Sugar-canes, abundance in the island of Nukahiwa, 106—And in Owhyhee, 188.

T.

Taboo societies at Nukahiwa, 121—Objects of Taboo enumerated, 133.

Tapioca, or cassava-root, a principal article of food at Santa Catharina, 36—Manner of preparing and eating it, 61.

Tattooing, the people at Nukahiwa particularly remarkable for it, 116—Considered as a badge of distinction among them, 117—Made a profession by particular persons, *ib.*—Manner in which it is performed, 118—The women very little tattooed, 120—Explanation of most of the figures used in it, Introduction, xv.

INDEX.

Tauas, or priests of Nukahiwa, great eaters of human flesh, 149—The popular belief in their knowledge of magic, 157.

Tea, a particular sort used at Santa Catharina, 44.

Teneriffe, island of, arrival of the Russian ships there, 7—The wines, 8—A great deal of Teneriffe wine sold as Madeira, *ib.* Brandy scarce there, *ib.*—Evident marks of volcanoes in various parts of the island, 10 and 20—The climate very mild, 11—Dominican monastery there, 12—Convent of nuns, 13—Hospitality of a citizen there, *ib.*—Heighth of the peak, 17.

Tolu, balsam of, prepared at Santa Catharina, 43.

Tschingodsi, Prince, at Japan, his splendid boat, 254—The Russian ambassador returns in it on board the ship, 317.

V.

Virgin Mary, a monument to her at Santa-Cruz, 9.

Volcanoes, several craters of, about the island of Teneriffe, 20.—Flaming ones on the coast of Kamschatka, 195—A remarkable one upon the island of Jesso, 325—Another remarkable one among the Kurile islands, 346.

Vulcan's Island, sought in vain in the Pacific Ocean, 209.

U.

Upoa, a remarkably tall inhabitant of Nukahiwa, 109.

Ursula, Santa, much honoured at Teneriffe, 13.

W.

Waikai, a sort of food made from the bread-fruit, 124.

Walk, description of one made at Japan for the Russian ambassador, 259.

Washington's Islands, or the New Marquesas, arrival of the ship there, 86—Description of the group of islands, 100—Tabular view of them, 102—Climate, and course of the seasons, 103—Prevailing winds, *ib.*—Productions of these islands, 106—Beauty and fine form of the inhabitants, 108.

Whale-fishery, its importance at Santa Catharina, 64—Different establishments in Brazil for carrying it on, *ib.*

Women of Japan, large parties come out to see the Russian ship, 248.

Wood, a sort impervious to worms, said to grow at Owhyhee, 188.

X.

Xiraracca, a very venomous serpent in Brazil, 70—Smell said to be emitted from it, 71.

Z.

Zoophytes, a great variety seen by the author in the Atlantic, 29—And between Owhyhee and Kamschatka, 191.

THE END.

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